



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

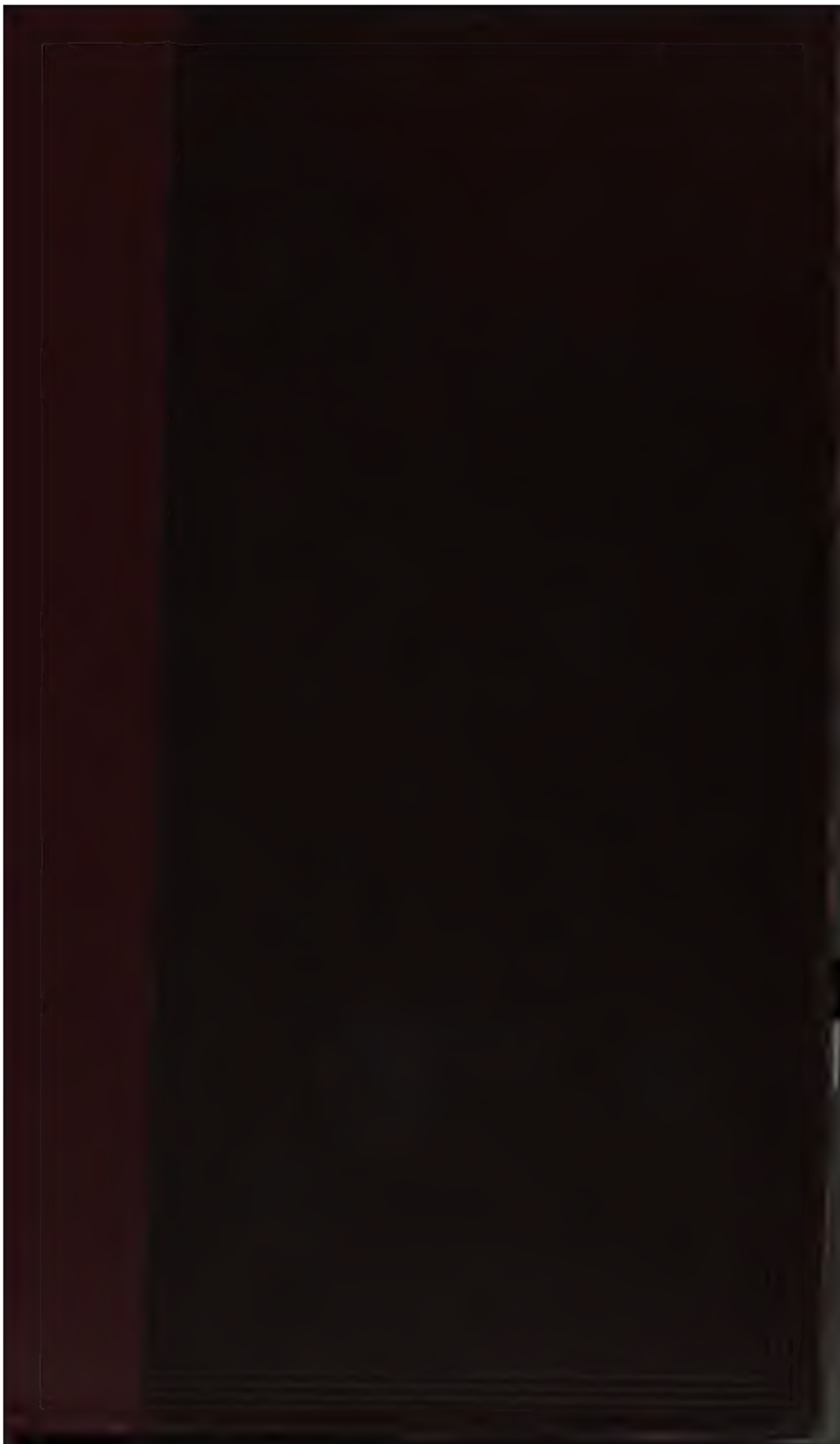
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

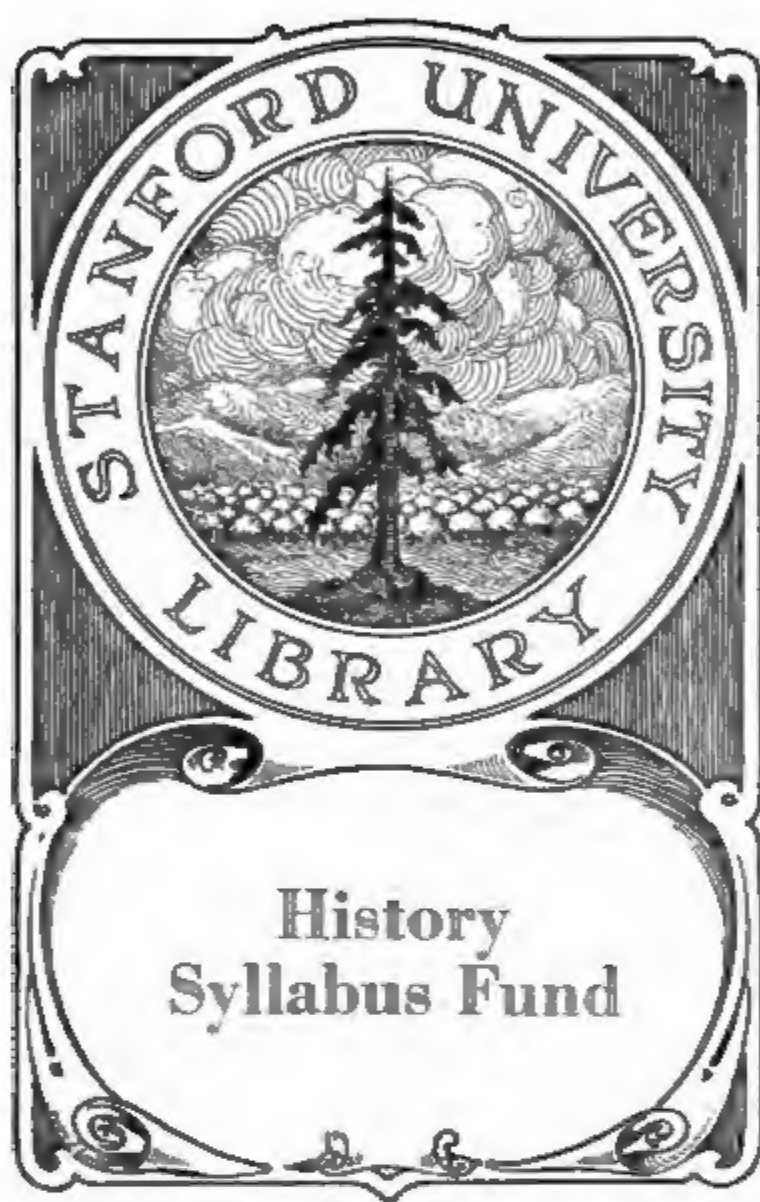
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



cop. 2



H68
cop. 2

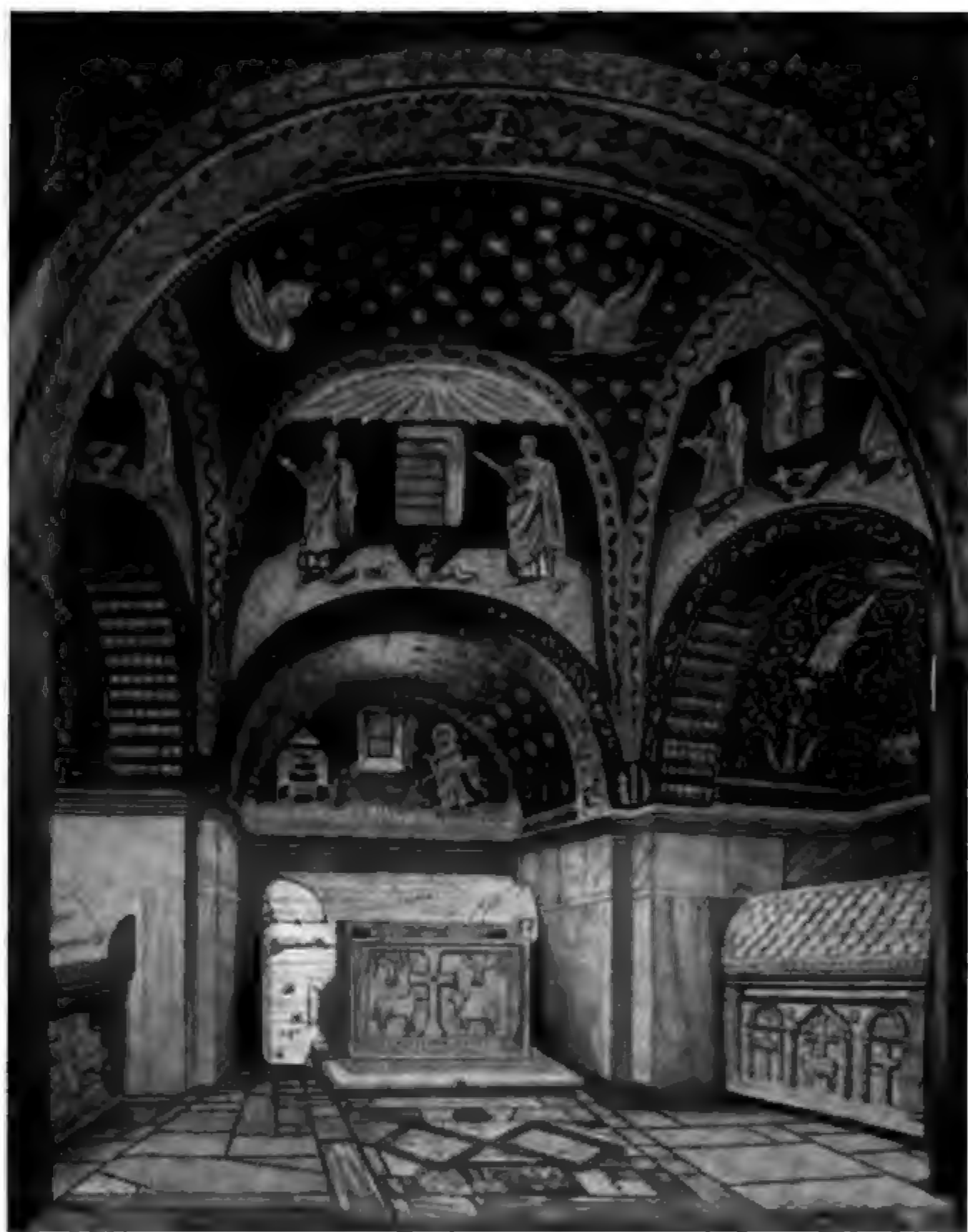


ITALY AND HER INVADERS

HODGKIN

ITALY AND HER INVADERS

HODGKIN



MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA

ITALY
AND
HER INVADERS

BY
THOMAS HODGKIN
D.C.L., OXFORD AND DURHAM
LITT. D, DUBLIN
FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

VOLUME I
BOOK I. THE VISIGOTHIC INVASION
PART I

SECOND EDITION

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

449083

Impression of 1928

First Edition 1880

Second Edition 1892

*This impression has been produced photographically
from sheets of the Second Edition*

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Printed wholly in England for the MUSTON COMPANY

By LOWE & BRYDONE, PRINTERS, LTD.

PARK STREET, CAMDEN TOWN, LONDON, N.W. 1

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

OF VOLS. I. AND II

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to meet the requirements of two different classes of readers. For the sake of the general reader, who may not have his Gibbon before him, nor a Latin Dictionary and Classical Atlas at his elbow, I have taken for granted as little special knowledge of Roman history as possible, I have generally kept the text clear of untranslated quotations, and I have explained, with even tedious minuteness, the modern equivalents of ancient geographical designations, and have sometimes used the modern name only, at the cost of an obvious anachronism.

On the other hand, as I have proceeded with my work, and become more and more interested in the study of my authorities, I have begun to indulge the hope that I might number some historical scholars among my audience. To these, accordingly, I have addressed myself almost exclusively in the notes, whether at the foot of the page or at the end of the chapter; and these notes, for the most part, the

general reader may safely leave unstudied. Should my book be fortunate enough to come into the hands of a scholar, he is requested to pardon many an explanation of things to him trite and obvious, which I should never have introduced had I been writing for scholars alone.

It will be observed that when sums of money are spoken of, I have generally given the equivalent in sterling. This does not, however, convey much information to the mind unless it be also stated what was the 'purchasing power' of a sum equivalent to a pound sterling in those days. I would gladly have added a chapter on 'The History of Prices under the Empire,' and had collected some materials for that purpose, but I feared to weary my readers with a discussion which might have interested only a few. The general conclusion at which the most careful modern enquirers seem to have arrived is thus stated by Gibbon: about the year 470, 'the value of money appears to have been somewhat higher than in the present age.' The general rise of prices since Gibbon's time may justify us in making this statement somewhat stronger. It is probable that in Imperial Rome £100 would have had about the same command over commodities which £200 has in our own day. But of such enormous differences in value, when measured by the precious metals, as exist between the England of Victoria and the England of the Plantagenets there is here no question.

I have made a slight departure from precedent by introducing more illustrations than are usual in a work of this description. The chief object of the chromolithographs of ecclesiastical edifices at Ravenna is to

convey to those who have not visited that place some idea of the general effect of the Mosaics. They are engraved from drawings carefully made on the spot by Mr. George Nattress. The coins here figured are, with one exception¹, all in the British Museum. I am indebted to the kind assistance of Mr. H. A. Grueber (in the coin department of that institution) for their selection and arrangement. For the maps, though chiefly founded on Smith's Classical Atlas, I must be myself responsible. Some boundaries are conjecturally drawn, but I have endeavoured to make this conjectural element as small as possible.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to three friends, with whom this book, which has given me six years of happy labour, will always be connected in the mind of the author. My brother-in-law, Mr. Justice Fry, first encouraged me to attempt such an undertaking, and the advice of Mr. Bryce and the Rev. M. Creighton was exceedingly helpful at a later period of the work. My hearty thanks are also due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, for undertaking the publication of the work of one who is a stranger to the University of Oxford.

The volumes now published form a chapter of history which is complete in itself; but if life and health be continued to me, I hope to narrate hereafter the fortunes of the Ostrogoths and Lombards, and thus to bring my work down within sight of the august figure of Charles the Great.

THOS. HODGKIN.

BENWELLDENE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE:

5th December, 1879.

¹ Aelia Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius I.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

OF VOLS. I. AND II

I HAVE re-written the greater part of the First Volume, which, as I could not but feel, was of too slight and sketchy a character to be of much use to a historical student. In the process I have unavoidably added a good deal to its bulk, and that which was originally one volume is now virtually two, though for the convenience of those who already possess the later volumes the numbering is unchanged.

I have also re-written, and I trust improved, most of the chapter on early Vandal history. With that exception, the Second Volume remains nearly in its previous condition: nor do I anticipate the necessity of making much change in the Third and Fourth Volumes, should another edition of these be required.

Though still conscious of the many deficiencies of the book, I hope that these changes may have made it somewhat less unworthy of the ancient and venerable University from whose Press it issues, and which since the publication of the first edition has bestowed upon me its honorary degree.

It will be seen that in connection with the story of Bonifacius and Aetius I have ventured on a little

friendly controversy with the late Professor Freeman, the sad tidings of whose death reached me just as I was correcting my last proof-sheets. It will always be one of my pleasantest remembrances in connection with this book that it procured for me the great privilege of his friendship, and few of his scholars will feel the blank caused by his death more deeply than I.

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. G. M^cN. Rushforth, M.A., of St. John's College, who has prepared the Index to this Edition. Besides sparing me a large amount of irksome toil he has made several valuable suggestions, some of which I regret to say reached me too late for inclusion in the text, and have had to take their place in the list of *Corrigenda*.

The labour of thus revising my earlier work has hindered me from making the progress which I desired with that portion of the book which is to deal with the history of the Lombard invaders of Italy, but I hope to complete it in two years at the latest.

THOS. HODGKIN.

FALMOUTH :

13th April, 1892.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
Plan of the work	I-4
Survey of history of Imperial Rome from the death of Augustus :—	
Julian and Claudian Emperors, A.D. 14-68	5
Flavian Emperors, A.D. 69-96	6
Adoptive Emperors, A.D. 96-192	7-10
Barrack Emperors, A.D. 192-284	11-13
Partnership Emperors, A.D. 284-326	13-16
Theologian Emperors, A.D. 326-363	16-21

BOOK I.

THE VISIGOTHIC INVASION.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GOTHs.

Authorities: Jordanes and others	23-31
Destiny of the Gothic people	32
Their ethnological position	32
Jordanes' account of their primeval home	33
Migration to the Southern shore of the Baltic	33
Theory as to their share in the development of Runic writing	35-39
Migration to the Euxine	39-43

A. D.		PAGE
	Royal houses	43
	Relation of the Goths to the Empire	44-46
241-270	Wars with the Empire	46-71
	King Ostrogotha's invasion	49
	War with the Gepidae	51
249-251	King Cniva's invasion	52-57
258-269	Maritime expeditions of the Goths	58-66
267	The barbarians at Athens	63
269-270	Victories of Claudius Gothicus	67
270	The Emperor Aurelian abandons Dacia to the Goths	70
270-365	A century of nearly unbroken peace between the Goths and the Empire	71-76
	Domination of Hermanric	77
	Introduction of Christianity among the Goths	80
	Bishop Ulfilas, translator of the Scriptures and in- ventor of the Gothic alphabet	81-88
	Arianism of the Goths and its historical consequences	89-93
	Note A. On some omitted chapters of the 'De Rebus Geticis' and on the Identification of the Goths and Getae	95-100
	Note B. On the names Ostrogoths and Visigoths	100-102
	Note C. On the Runic Alphabet of the Goths, the Alphabet of Ulfilas and Gothic Grammar	102-111

CHAPTER II.

JOVIAN, PROCOPIUS, ATHANARIC.

	Authorities: Ammianus Marcellinus	112
	Themistius	115
363	Death of Julian	118
	Election of Jovian	119
	Ignominious peace with Sapor	123
	Abandonment of Nisibis	126
364	Death of Jovian	129
	Election of Valentinian: his previous career	131-133
365	Association of his brother, Valens	135
	Adventures of Procopius	139
	Proclamation of Procopius	143
	Receipt of the tidings by Valens and Valentinian	146-148

A.D.		PAGE
365-366	Civil war	151-156
	Death of Procopius	156
	After-rebellion of Marcellus	157
	Oration of Themistius	158-160
	The Goths entangled in the rebellion of Procopius	160
367-369	Gothic War	161-168
	Themistius on the Peace	168-173
	Causes of the Roman triumph	173
	Athanasius's persecution of the Christians	175-183
	Civil war between Athanasius and Frigidian	183

CHAPTER III.

VALENTINIAN THE FIRST.

	Authorities	185
	Character of Valentinian	186
367	Association in the Empire of his son Gratian	187-190
	Wars with the Alamanni	191-197
	Roman perfidy to the barbarians	197-200
	Religious toleration of Valentinian, except towards Mani- cheans and Mathematicians	200-204
	Persecuting zeal of Valens, the Arian	205
	Internal administration of Valentinian	207
	His ungovernable temper	209
	Cruelty of his Illyrian ministers	210
	Career of Maximin and Simplicius	210-212
	Career of Romanus	213-218
	Incapacity of Petronius Probus	218-222
	Valentinian makes peace with the Alamanni	223
	Valentinian in Pannonia	224
375	His death	229
	Valentinian II proclaimed Emperor	232

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST YEARS OF VALENS.

	Authorities : Zosimus	234-236
	Valens at Antioch	237
	Arts of divination	237
	Affair of Theodorus	238-241

A. D.		PAGE
	Irruption of the Huns	242-246
	Overthrow of Hermanric and the Ostrogothic kingdom .	247
376	Athanaric defeated by the Huns	248
	The Visigoths seek shelter in the Empire	250
	Conditions on which they are received	253
	Dishonesty and mismanagement of the Imperial officers.	255
	Banquet at Marcianople. Revolt of Fritigern	257
377	Battle of 'Ad Salices'	262
	Success of Frigeridus against the barbarians	265
	Valens at Constantinople	267
378	Battle of Hadrianople	271-275
	Death of Valens	274

CHAPTER V.

THEODOSIUS AND THE FOEDERATI.

	Genealogical Table. Family of Theodosius	276
	Authorities: Eunapius and others	277-281
	Unsuccessful siege of Hadrianople by the Goths	284
	Repulse of the Goths before Constantinople	285
	Murder of the Gothic hostages	286
	Career of Theodosius the Elder	287-292
379	His son, Theodosius, associated in the Empire by Gratian	294
	First campaign. Theodosius at Thessalonica	297
	Panegyric of Themistius on Theodosius	298-300
	Brave deeds of Modar against his countrymen	301
	Sickness and baptism of Theodosius	303
	Bauto and Arbogast: generals of Gratian	305
380	Peace concluded. The Goths become <i>foederati</i>	307
	Athanaric at Constantinople	309
	His death and splendid funeral	310
	Meaning of the 'federate' condition of the Goths	310-315
	Oration of Themistius on the Consulship of Saturninus	315-320
	Invasion of the Greuthungi under Odotheus	320-323
386	Triumph of Theodosius	323
	Zosimus on the policy of Theodosius	324
	§ 1. The tumult at Philadelphia	325
	§ 2. Night attack by the barbarians. Narrow escape of Theodosius	327

Contents:

xv

A. D.	PAGE
§ 3. The Bravery of Geroncius and its reward . . .	329
§ 4. A Gothic Debate. Ermlph and Fravitta . . .	331
Defects of the philo-Teutonic policy of Theodosius . . .	333

CHAPTER VI.

THE VICTORY OF NICANA.

Authorities	334
Edicts of Theodosius <i>de Fide Catholica</i>	335
Early life of Gregory of Nazianzus	337
He repairs to Constantinople	341
His preaching at the church of Anastasia	343
Affair of Maximus the Cynic	346
Gregory in presence of Theodosius	349
380 Theodosius enters Constantinople	351
The Arians expelled from their churches	353
Gregory enthroned in the Church of the Apostles	355
381 Council of Constantinople (May)	358
Gregory consecrated Bishop of Constantinople	359
Death of Meletius. Discussion as to his successor	361
Gregory attacked by the Egyptians. His abdication	364
His old age and death	366
Legislation of Theodosius against heretics	368-373
Were these laws enforced?	373
Effect of this legislation on the Empire and indirectly on Mediaeval Europe	375

CHAPTER VII.

THE FALL OF GRATIAN.

Authorities	377
Gratian's capital: Augusta Treverorum	378
Merobaudes, counsellor of Gratian	380
Ausonius, tutor and friend of Gratian. His poetry	38c-384
His religious position	385
St. Ambrose	386
His treatise, <i>De Fide</i> , composed for Gratian	388
Themistius' 'Love-speech concerning the beauty of the Emperor'	389-392
Consulship of Ausonius and his panegyric	393-396

A. D.		PAGE
	Affair of the Altar of Victory	397-398
	Emperor's title of Pontifex Maximus	399
	Unpopularity of Gratian	401
	Revolt of Maximus. He enters Gaul	403
383	Gratian's flight and death	405
	Note D. The Altar of Victory	407
	Note E. St. Chrysostom on the deaths of Emperors	408

CHAPTER VIII.

MAXIMUS AND AMBROSE.

A. D.		PAGE
	Authorities	409
	Fate of Gratian's followers	410
	Ambrose's mission to Trier	411
383	Association of Arcadius in the Empire	412
	Embassy of Maximus to Theodosius	414
	Maximus recognised as legitimate Emperor	415
	Renewed discussions about the Altar of Victory	416
	'Relatio' of Symmachus	419
	Subsidies to the Vestal Virgins	420
	Letters of St. Ambrose in reply to Symmachus	422
	Valentinian II declines to replace the altar	424
385	Dispute between St. Ambrose and the Empress Justina as to the Porcian Basilica	425-433
386	Ambrose summoned to the Consistory	435
	Psalmody in the great Basilica	437
	Relics of Gervasius and Protasius	438
	St. Augustine at Milan	441
	Character of the government of Maximus	442
	Priscillianism	445
	The Priscillianists at the tribunal of Maximus	447
	St. Martin of Tours	448
385	Execution and banishment of Priscillianists	450
386	St. Martin at the Court of Maximus	452
	Maximus begins to threaten Valentinian	455
	Second embassy of St. Ambrose	456
	Ostentatious piety of Maximus	457

A. D.		PAGE
	Embassy of Domninus	459
387	Maximus invades Italy	461
	Flight of Valentinian and his mother	463
	Theodosius marries Galla, sister of Valentinian	464
388	Westward march of Theodosius	466
	Execution of Maximus	468
	The Western provinces restored by Theodosius to Valentinian	469

CHAPTER IX.

THE INSURRECTION OF ANTIOCH.

	Authorities: Libanius and Chrysostom	470-473
	Chronological table of the insurrection	473
	Extravagance of Theodosius	474
387	Quinquennalia of Arcadius	475
	Social condition of Antioch	476-482
	Arrival of the taxation edict. Overthrow of the statues of Theodosius and his family	483
	Prompt suppression of the insurrection	485
	<i>Laesa Majestas</i>	486
	Bishop Flavian departs to intercede for the city	489
	Miserable condition of Antioch	490
	Sermons of St. Chrysostom	491
	Arrival of the Emperor's commissioners, Caesarius and Hellebichus	493
	Trial of the accused citizens	495
	The hermits throng into the city	498
	Journey of Caesarius to Constantinople	501
	Flavian's address to Theodosius	502
	Antioch pardoned	504
	Arrival of the news of pardon	507
	Political condition of the Empire as illustrated by the story of the insurrection	509

CHAPTER X.

THEODOSIUS IN ITALY AND THE MASSACRE OF THESSALONICA.

	Authorities	510
	Theodosius and Ambrose. The synagogue at Callinicum	511-516
	Renewed petition as to the Altar of Victory	516
389	Visit of Theodosius and Honorius to Rome	517

A. D.		PAGE
	Panegyric of Pacatus	518
	Social condition of Rome as described by Ammianus	519-524
	The Christian aristocracy	525
	Chariot-races	526
	Theodosius returns to Milan	527
390	Outbreak at Thessalonica	528
	It is punished by an indiscriminate massacre	529
	Indignation of Ambrose. Theodosius placed under an interdict	531
	Mediation of Rufinus	532
	Penitence and absolution of Theodosius	533

CHAPTER XI.

EUGENIUS AND ARBOGAST.

	Authorities: Rufinus, Claudian, Prudentius	535-537
391	Return of Theodosius to the East	538
	Skirmishes with the barbarians	539
	Timasius and Promotus	539
	Ascendancy of Rufinus	540
	Fall of Promotus, Tatian and Proclus	541
	Destruction of the Serapeum of Alexandria	543-548
	Character of Valentinian II	549
	Arrogant conduct of Arbogast, the virtual regent of the West	551
	Valentinian vainly seeks to dismiss him	553
392	Mysterious death of Valentinian II	554
	Arbogast proclaims Eugenius Emperor	555
	St. Ambrose's funeral oration over Valentinian	557
	Theodosius temporises with the usurper	559
	Paganising policy of Eugenius and Arbogast	560
	Nicomachus Flavianus leads the Pagan party	562
	St. Ambrose retires to Florence	565
393	Honorius associated in the Empire	567
	Mission of Eutropius to an Egyptian hermit	568
394	Death of the Empress Galla	569
	March of Theodosius through Illyricum	569
	Battle of the Frigidus. Defeat of Arbogast	570-578
	Death of Eugenius and Arbogast	577-578
	Discussion in the Senate as to Pagan sacrifices	580-582
395	Consulship of Probinus and Olybrius	583

A. D.		PAGE
	Death of Theodosius	585
	His character	587
	Note F. On the Death of Valentinian II	590-593

CHAPTER XII.

INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Authorities : Codex Theodosianus, Notitia Dignitatum	594-597
Absolute power of the Emperor	598
His deification	599
Manner of his election	600
The Nobilissimi (family of the Emperor)	602
Illustres : Spectabiles, Clarissimi	603
The Praetorian Prefect	604-608
Prefect of the City	608
Master of the Offices	609
Quaestor	610
Count of the Sacred Largesses	611
Masters of Horse and Foot	612
Division of Civil and Military offices by Constantine	613
Superintendent of the Sacred Bedchamber	615
Count of the Private Domains	616
Counts of the Domestics	617
Imperial Consistory	617
Prefectures : Dioceses : Provinces	618
Table of the Dioceses of the Empire	619
Typical arrangement of offices	620
Illustration from the Diocese of Britain	620-622
Administration of Italy	622-623
Survivals of Imperial organisation in modern States	624
The Consulate	625
Office of the Defensor	625-628
Military organisation of the Empire	628
Nominal strength of the Imperial army	629
<i>Legiones Palatinae</i>	<i>631</i>
<i>Auxilia Palatina</i>	<i>631</i>
<i>Legiones Comitatus</i>	<i>632</i>
<i>Legiones Pseudo-Comitatenses</i>	<i>632</i>
<i>Limitanei or Ripenses</i>	<i>633</i>
Inferiority of Roman military to civil organisation	634

CHAPTER XIII.

HONORIUS, STILICHO, ALARIC.

A. D.		PAGE
	Authorities: Claudian, Orosius	636-638
	Birth and childhood of Honorius as described by	
	Claudian	640-643
	His real character, or absence of character	643
	Birth and parentage of Stilicho	645
	His marriage to Serena and upward career	646
	Doubt as to his integrity	647
	Animosity between Eastern and Western Empires	648
	Arcadius is married to Eudoxia	650
	Birth and early history of Alaric	650-652
	He is chosen king of the Visigoths	653
395	His expedition into Greece	654
	Double game of Rufinus	655
	Stilicho marches against Alaric: is recalled by Arcadius	657
	Revenge of the army on Rufinus	658
396	Another abortive campaign of Stilicho in Greece	660
	Alaric receives an official position in Illyricum	661-663
397	Famine in Rome	664
	Gildo the Moor	665
398	The Gildonic War	667
	Defeat and death of Gildo	668
	Death of Mascezel, brother and conqueror of Gildo	669
	Honorius marries Maria, daughter of Stilicho	670
399	Eutropius, the Eunuch, Consul	672
400	Stilicho's Consulship	673
	Congratulations of Claudian	674-675
	Note G. On the name Alaric	676
	Note H. On the division of Illyricum	677-678

CHAPTER XIV.

ARCADIUS.

	Authorities: Synesius	679
	Separation between Eastern and Western Empires	680
	Eutropius the Eunuch: his venality	681-683
397	St. Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople	684
	Aurelian and the patriotic Roman party	684

A. D.		PAGE
399	Oration of Synesius 'on Kingship'	685
	Rebellion of Count Tribigild	687
	Leo's disastrous campaign	688
	Fall of Eutropius : he takes refuge in the great Church	689
	Banishment and death of Eutropius	691
	Gainas in rebellion	692
400	Anti-Gothic tumult	694
	Gainas defeated and slain	695
	Reward of Fravitta, conqueror of Gainas	696
403	Intrigues against St. Chrysostom	698
	His banishment and recall	699
	Eudoxia's statue	699
404	St. Chrysostom's second banishment	700
407	His death	700
404	Death of Eudoxia	701
408	Death of Arcadius	701

CHAPTER XV.

ALARIC'S FIRST INVASION OF ITALY.

	Authorities : Prosper and Idatius	702-709
400	Alaric and his nation-army enter Italy	709
	Radagaisus co-operates, possibly in Rhaetia	711
401	Counter-movements of Honorius and Stilicho	712
	Panic at Milan	713
401-402	Stilicho's winter campaign in Rhaetia	715
	Troops withdrawn from provinces for defence of Italy	716
402	Battle of Pollentia	717-722
	Was Pollentia a Roman victory ?	722
	Retreat of Alaric : battle of Verona	723
	Claudian's 'Old Man of Verona'	725
	Effect of the invasion on citizens of Rome	726
404	Triumph of Honorius	727
	Last exhibition of gladiators : story of Telemachus	729
	The last of Claudian	730
405	Invasion of Radagaisus	731
	He is defeated by Stilicho and slain	733
	Note I. On the chronology of Alaric's first invasion	734-736

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FALL OF STILICHO.

A. D.		PAGE
	Authorities	737
406	Critical state of the Empire	738
	Irruption of barbarians into Gaul	739
	Disaffection of army in Britain	740
407	Elevation of Constantine	741
407-408	His conquests in Gaul and Spain	742-744
	Estrangement between Arcadius and Honorius	745
	Stilicho's plans of revenge	746
408	Death of Arcadius	747
	Alaric's claims : debates in the Senate	747
	Unpopularity of Stilicho and his family	749
	Warring ambitions of Constantine, Alaric, and Stilicho	751
	Olympius intrigues against Stilicho	752
	Mutiny at Ticinum	753
	Flight of Stilicho to Ravenna	755
	Death of Stilicho	756
	Conflicting evidence as to character of Stilicho	757-760
	Revenge of the legions on the <i>foederati</i>	760
	Moderation of Alaric	761
	Incapable conduct of Honorius	761
	Laws against heretics and heathens	762
	Case of the heathen Generidus	764

CHAPTER XVII.

ALARIC'S THREE SIEGES OF ROME.

	Authorities	766
408	Alaric marches into Italy	767
	Eucherius, son of Stilicho, put to death	767
	Alaric's <i>First Siege of Rome</i>	768-774
	Serena put to death	768
	Famine and pestilence in Rome	769
	Alaric's terms	771
	Recrudescence of heathenism	772
	Rome's ransom	774
409	Fruitless embassy from Rome to Ravenna	777
	Jovius supplants Olympius	780

A. D.	PAGE
The oath by the head of Honorius	782
Alaric's <i>Second Siege of Rome</i>	784
The city surrenders. Attalus anti-Emperor	785
Africa to be invaded	787
410 Meditated flight of Honorius	788
Attalus deposed by Alaric	790
Alaric's <i>Third Siege of Rome</i>	792-799
He breaks into the city (24th August)	793
Savage deeds of the Goths	794
Fugitives to Christian churches unharmed	796-798
The city not greatly injured by the barbarians	799 ✓
Effect of the tidings on St. Jerome	800-802
On St. Augustine	803
The 'De Civitate Dei'	803-806
Southward march of the Goths	807
Death of Alaric	808
His burial under the river Busento	809
How Honorius received the news of the fall of Rome	810
Note J. Statistical aspects of the contest between Rome and the barbarians	811-816
Number of the Goths	811
Of the Roman army	812
Population of Italy	813
Of Rome	815

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LOVERS OF PLACIDIA.

Authorities : Olympiodorus	817-818
Birth and parentage of Galla Placidia	819
Placidia taken prisoner by the Gothic army	821
Ataulfus, successor of Alaric, becomes philo-Roman	821
And falls in love with Placidia	822
His rival, Constantius, the new favourite of Honorius	823
409 Affairs in Gaul and Spain. Entry of the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi into Spain	824
Gerontius rebels against Constantine and proclaims Maximus	825
411 He takes Vienne and besieges Arles	825
Constantius also marches to Arles	825
Gerontius flees to Spain. Story of his death	826

A. D.		PAGE
	Arles is taken by Constantius. Constantine and his son are put to death	827
413	Revolt of Heraclian, governor of Africa. Its suppression	828
412	The Visigoths march from Italy into Gaul	829
	Ataulfus supports the usurper, Jovinus	829
	Sarus taken and killed by Ataulfus	830
413	Jovinus and his son surrendered by Ataulfus and put to death	830
414	Marriage of Ataulfus and Placidia	831
415	Death of their only child, Theodosius	833
	Ataulfus murdered by his groom	834
	Singeric, his successor, insults Placidia	835
	He is slain and Walia succeeds him	835
416	Placidia restored to Honorius. Treaty between Goths and Romans	836
	Miserable condition of Spain	836
417	Conclusion of history of Orosius	837
	Glance at subsequent history of the Visigoths	838
	Marriage of Constantius and Placidia. Their children	840
	Attalus taken prisoner, mutilated and exiled	841
	Triumph of Honorius. Prosperity of Rome	842
421	Constantius associated in the Empire. His death	843
	Strange conduct of Honorius	844
423	Placidia retires to Constantinople. Death of Honorius	844
	Joannes proclaimed Emperor	845
424	Theodosius II sends an expedition against Joannes under command of Ardaburius and Aspar	847
425	Deposition of Joannes. Valentinian III Emperor	848
	Note K. Usurpers in the Western Empire during the reign of Honorius	849

CHAPTER XIX.

PLACIDIA AUGUSTA.

	Authorities. Historia Miscella	850-851
425-450	Placidia rules the Western Empire for a quarter of a century	851
	Description of Ravenna, her capital	851-855
	Mosaics of Ravenna	856-857
	Apollinaris Sidonius on Ravenna	859-861
	Ecclesiastical traditions of Ravenna	862

Contents.

XXV

A. D.	PAGE
Lives of the Bishops by Agnellus	863
Bishop Severus	864-866
Joannes Angeloptes and Petrus Chrysologus	867
Placidia's Church of St. John the Evangelist	868-870
Otho's ecclesiastical traditions about Placidia's family	870
Rivalry of Aetius and Bonifacius	871
Early career of Bonifacius	872-874
Of Aetius	874-875
428 Plot of Aetius against Bonifacius. Bonifacius calls in the Vandals	877
432 Return of Bonifacius to Italy. He is slain by Aetius	878
433-450 Aetius, chief minister of Placidia for seventeen years	879
437 Marriage of Valentinian III to Eudoxia	881
Political aspect of Placidia's reign	881
Great fortunes of some Roman nobles	883
Ecclesiastical aspect of Placidia's reign. Monophysite controversy	884
450 Her death	886
Mausoleum of Placidia	887
Her cremation (1577)	888
Note L. Bonifacius and Aetius (discussion of Prof. Freeman's article on 'The Procopian Legend')	889-898
Note M. Bishops and Churches of Ravenna	899-917

CHAPTER XX.

SALVIAN ON THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

Life of St. Salvian, Presbyter of Marseilles	918
He attributes the fall of the Empire to the vices of the Romans	920
He rates the moral character of the barbarians above that of the Romans	921
But depicts the special vices of the barbarians	922
Profanity of the Gaulish provincials	923
Salvian's pictures of Roman society	924
The <i>Conventus</i>	925
Extortions of the tax-gatherers	925
Romans driven to take refuge in barbarian lands	926
Downward steps in the course of a provincial yeoman: <i>Dedititius, Colonus, Serrus</i>	927

A. D.	PAGE
Cruel treatment of slaves	928
Calamities and punishment of Trier	929-930
Magnificence and wickedness of Carthage	931-932
The Vandal purge	932
Rome fell because she had lost the Aryan traditions of family purity: the Teutons rose because they had preserved them	933

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, Etc., VOL. I.

Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna (chromolithograph). See page 469.	Frontispiece
Coins: Roman Emperors of first three Centuries (Plate I)	To face page 1
Coins: Emperors of the Third and Fourth Centuries, Diocletian to Valentinian II (Plate II).	„ page 13
Family of Valentinian	„ page 184
Map of the Roman Empire in the time of Valentinian I.	„ page 185
Map of Countries bordering on the Lower Danube	„ page 237
Coins: Emperors of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, Theo- dosius I to Theodosius II (Plate III)	„ page 277
Map to illustrate the Battle of the River Frigidus	To face page 569
Map of Italy at the Commencement of the Fifth Century	„ page 623
Medallion of Priscus Attalus (Plate IV)	„ page 785
Bas-Relief from the Tympanum of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Ravenna	„ page 867

CORRIGENDA

(Supplied by Mr. G. M^cN. Rushforth).

Page 107, note 2, for 'prune' read 'p rune.'

P. 146, l. 13 from bottom, for 'Fausta' read 'Faustina.'

P. 210, l. 16 from bottom, for 'Praetorian Prefect of the City of Rome' read 'Praetorian Prefect and Prefect of the City of Rome.'

Pp. 225-233, supply throughout the marginal date 375.

P. 344, ll. 17-21, insert double quotation marks before 'Wrinkled' and after 'brook.'

Page 421, note 2. This passage is explained by O. Seeck in the Introduction to his edition of Symmachus ('Monumenta Antiquissima'), p. liii, of the confiscation by Gratian in 382 of the temple revenues (see p. 398, and cf. Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 20), and their appropriation, partly by the Fiscus, partly by the Imperial postal service ('cursus publicus'). It is the latter which is here meant by 'merces vilium bajulorum.' For bajulus = tabellarius cf. Ammian. Marc. 28. 1. 33. Cf. Ambrosii Ep. 1. 17. 3: 'miror quomodo aliquibus in spem venerit quod debeas ad usus sacrificiorum profanorum praebere sumptum; quod enim jam dudum vel fisco vel arcae est vindicatum de tuo magis conferre videbere quam de suo reddere' (where the 'arca' is that of the Praefectus Praetorii who at this time had charge of the 'cursus publicus'). The allusion intended in 'trapezitae' is not clear. Perhaps it means the Imperial Government as the guardian or trustee of the endowments. The passage would then read thus:—This endowment remained intact until the days of (the present) degenerate custodians of it, who &c.

P. 453, note 2. The forest of Andethanum must have been in the neighbourhood of the Vicus Andethannalis, mentioned by the Antonine Itinerary. Its site is to be looked for in the modern Duchy of Luxembourg, about half-way between Trier and Arlon.

P. 599, l. 2 from top, 'God Tiberius . . . God Commodus.' Tiberius was never deified, and is therefore never styled 'divus.' Commodus was not deified until after the accession of Septimius Severus.

P. 785, l. 5 from top. For 'Praetorian Prefect of the City' read 'Prefect of the City.'

P. 830, second marginal note, for 'son' read 'brother.'

P. 908, l. 14 from top, 'after the protestation (?)'; i.e. the Creed.

P. 909, l. 10, 'ligarii(?).' Or *ligaria*. See Du Cange. Apparently the word is only found here, and seems to mean 'papers bound together,' 'a note-book,' from 'ligare' to bind.



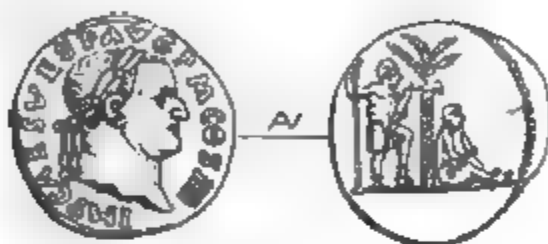
AUGUSTUS



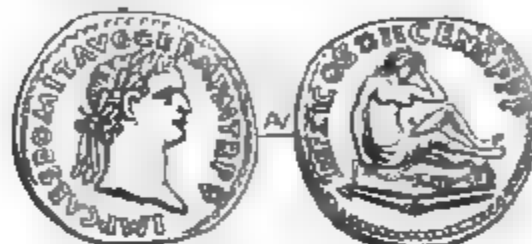
TIBERIUS.



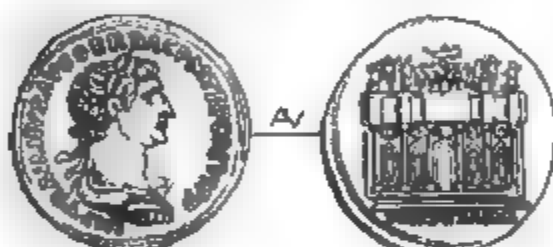
NERO.



VESPASIAN.



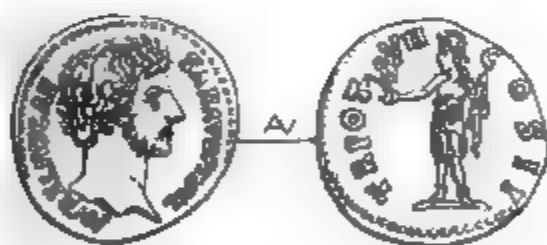
DOMITIAN.



TRAJAN.



ANTONINUS PIUS.



MARCUS AURELIUS.



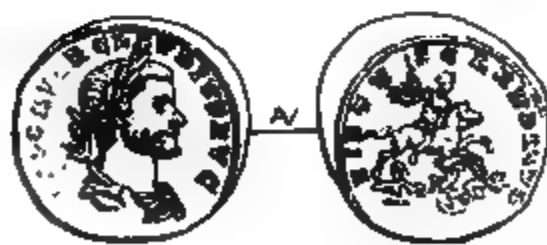
COMMODUS.



DECIUS.



GALLIENUS.



CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.



AURELIAN

COINS. FIRST THREE CENTURIES OF THE EMPIRE

INTRODUCTION.

PLAN OF THE WORK. SUMMARY OF ROMAN IMPERIAL HISTORY.

THE object of this history is to trace some of the ^{INTROD.} changes by which classical Italy, the kernel of the ^{Plan of} Roman Empire, the centre of government and law for ^{Work.} the Western world, became that Italy of the Middle Ages, whose life was as rich in intellectual and artistic culture as it was poor in national cohesion and enduring political strength.

To some other historian will belong the delight of telling worthily in the English language the story of those wonderful Italian Commonwealths, which nurtured and diffused the sacred flame of civilisation, while England, France, and Germany were still overshadowed by the darkness of feudalism. Other English scholars are even now relating the history of that succeeding age, so perplexing in its alternate appeals to our admiration and our abhorrence, during which Italy, still in the van of European nations, was passing from the mediaeval into the modern phase of thought and manners, the Age of the Renaissance. But my business is at the other, and to most readers the much less interesting, end of her history. I have to deal with the period of fading light and increasing ob-

INTROD. security during which the familiar Italy of the Classics slowly assumes the character which we term Mediaeval.

Italy is the country with which our interests will be permanently bound up, and other nations are mentioned only in so far as they directly or indirectly influenced her destinies. But I must warn the reader that this limitation will often be found to be of the most elastic nature. Every wandering tribe which crossed the Alps, eager to pierce its way to the dis-crowned capital of the world, contributed something to the great experiment of the making of the new Italy; and the previous history of that tribe, whether it dwelt in Lithuanian steppes or wasted Chinese provinces, is therefore within the scope of our enquiry, which proposes to deal not only with Italy but also with her invaders.

In the period covered by the present volumes, moreover, it is impossible wholly to dis sever the history of Italy from that of the other portions of the Roman Empire. This is shown in the lives of two of the first statesmen whom we meet with. A Spanish gentleman (Theodosius), clothed with the Imperial purple at Constantinople, by a battle fought among the mountains of Friuli makes himself master of Italy, and dies at Milan, leaving the dominion of Western Europe to his son. The chief minister of that son (Stilicho), a soldier of German extraction, born probably in Thrace, first emerges into notice as ambassador to the king of Persia, is married beside the Bosphorus to a daughter of Spain, wars by the Rhine, and dies at Ravenna.

Do what we may, therefore, we shall find our story continually diverted from the country between the Alps and Etna by the perturbing influences of other

countries, especially by Byzantium, in the earlier part INTROD. of this period, and by Gaul in the later. Still, the reader is requested to bear in mind that it is the history of Italy primarily which I shall endeavour to set before him, that the course of the narrative is prescribed by the order of the successive appearances of the barbarians upon the Italian theatre, and that I am not so presumptuous as to endeavour to tell over again what has been already told by the unsurpassable skill of Gibbon, the story of the Fall of the Roman Empire.

Five great invasions by the barbarians, corresponding roughly to five generations of mankind, or 160 years, mark the period which may be called *The Death of Rome*. These five invasions are those of the Visigoths, the Huns, the Vandals, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards. Alaric the Visigoth first led a hostile army into Italy A. D. 400: Alboin the Lombard entered the same country with his conquering host A. D. 568.

In the first two volumes I shall attempt to tell the story of the first three invasions.

The First Book, which covers the longest interval of time, will deal with the events of the close of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, considered either as causes or as consequences of the great *Visigothic* invasions (A. D. 400 to 414). After a sketch of the earlier history of the Gothic nation, I shall relate with some detail the history of the Empire, both in the East and West, after the death of Julian (363), in order to explain the series of events which ultimately brought the Visigothic invaders into Italy. For it was from the East that the impulsion came. The cause which set the Visigoths in motion, and which more than any

INTROD. other determined the great migration of the Germanic tribes into the countries forming the Roman Empire, was the appearance of the Huns, a horde of Asiatic savages, on the confines of the Visigothic territory between the Black Sea and the Carpathians, in the year 376. (By a coincidence which may help to fix both dates in the memory it was precisely a century after this date, in the year 476, that the boy-Emperor Romulus Augustulus was pushed from his throne by the first Teutonic ruler of Italy, Odovacar.)

The Second Book, after describing the efforts of scholars to throw light on the darkness of the history of the *Huns* previously to their arrival in Europe, will deal chiefly with those eventful years in the middle of the fifth century, during which Italy and the whole of Europe, Teutonic as well as Roman, trembled before the might of Attila.

The Third Book will be devoted to the early history of the *Vandals*, their invasions of Italy, and the revolt of the German mercenaries in the Roman army (476).

During the three centuries and a half which intervened between the death of Augustus and the beginning of the epoch which we are going to consider in detail, the Emperors who governed Rome may be divided broadly into six great classes :

Julian and
Claudian
Emperors.
A.D. 14-68.

1. The *Julian and Claudian* Emperors, four men whose names have burnt themselves for ever into the memory of the human race, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. All these men in different ways illustrated the terrible efficacy of absolute world-dominion to poison the character and even to unhinge the intellect of him who wielded it. Standing, as it were, upon the Mount of Temptation, and seeing all the kingdoms of the

world and all the glory of them stretched at an immeasurable distance below their feet, they were seized with a dizziness¹ of the soul, and, professing themselves to be gods, did deeds at the instigation of their wild hearts and whirling brains such as men still shudder to think of. Their hands were heavy on the old Senatorial families of Rome, heavier still on their own race, the long-descended posterity of Venus and of Iulus. In the genealogy of the descendants of Augustus, 'stabbed,' 'poisoned,' 'starved to death,' are the all but invariable obituary notices of the women as of the men. But the imperial Reign of Terror was limited to a comparatively small number of families in Rome. The provinces were undoubtedly better governed than in the later days of the Republic, and even in Rome itself the common people strewed flowers on the grave of Nero. Frightful as was the waste of money on the wild extravagances of Caligula and Nero, it perhaps did not outrun the supply received from the vast confiscated estates of the slaughtered senators; and the tax-gatherer, at any rate in Italy and the West², was not yet that name of terror to the provincials which he became in after days.

2. The *Flavian Emperors* ought, perhaps, hardly to be classed together, so little was there in common between the just, somewhat hard, rule of Vespasian, or the two years' beneficent sway of Titus, 'the delight of the

*Flavian
Emperors.
A.D. 69-96.*

¹ This phrase is taken from Count Champagny, who in his book *Les Césars* has sketched with a master's hand the chief characters of that terrible time.

² Finlay considers that as far as Greece was concerned the first century of the Christian Era was the most miserable portion of the time passed under Roman dominion (*History of Greece*, vol. i, p. 80, ed. 1877).

INTROD. human race,' and the miserable tyranny of Domitian. But the stupendous Colosseum, the Arch of Titus, and the Amphitheatre at Verona, serve as an architectural landmark, to fix the Flavian period in the memory; and one other characteristic was necessarily shared by the whole family, the humble origin from which they sprang. After the high-born Julii and Claudii, the descendants of pontiffs and censors, noblemen delicate and fastidious through all their wild debauch of blood, came these sturdy sons of the commonalty to robe themselves in the Imperial purple, and this unforgotten lowness of their ancestry, while it gave a touch of meanness to the close and frugal government of Vespasian, evidently intensified the delight of Domitian in setting his plebeian feet on the necks of all that was left of refined or aristocratic in Rome. All the more strange does it seem, when we consider the humble extraction of these Emperors, that their name should have remained for centuries the favourite title of Emperors no way allied to them in blood, a Claudius (Gothicus), a Constantine, a Theodosius, and many more, having prefixed the once ignoble name of Flavius to their own. And hence, by a natural process of imitation, the barbarian rulers who settled themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, Burgundian, Lombard, Visigoth, adopted the same mysteriously majestic fore-name, unconsciously, as we must suppose, selecting the very epithet¹ which best described their own personal ap-

¹ Autharis the Lombard adopted the name of Flavius about the year 584, Recared the Visigoth about the same time. The intention appears to have been in each case to signify to their subjects in Italy and Gaul respectively that they claimed some portion of the dignity of the Roman Emperors (Paulus Diaconus de Gestis Langobardorum;

pearance¹, yellow-haired sons of the North as they were, INTROD
among the dark-coloured Mediterranean populations.

3. The *Adoptive Emperors* who followed the Flavian dynasty conferred upon the Empire the inestimable boon of nearly a century of internal peace, order, and good government. If we cannot acquiesce without reservation in the celebrated statement of Gibbon, that 'If a man were called on to fix the period in the history of the world in which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus,' we can truly say that we know not where to find any other consecutive series of sovereigns which can be compared to these illustrious names, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus. Valiant, accomplished, just, able to bear their share in the rough work of the defence of the Empire against external aggression, yet not delighting in war, these men, with many differences of temperament, of intellectual power, and of moral excellence, were alike in their earnest single-heartedness of purpose to use the vast power entrusted to them for the good of their world-wide realm. Alike in central Rome and in the remotest provinces of the Empire, we find the traces of their beneficent activity, working not as if for a year or a generation, but for eternity. The column at Rome which commemorates the Dacian triumphs of Trajan measures also the greatness of the excavations for the magnificent *Forum Trajani*. From the Lower Danube to the Black Sea, from the

Adoptive
Emperors.
A.D.
96-192.

cf. note in Dr. Abel's German translation, p. 60). Odovacar, if the coin attributed to him be correct, also called himself Flavius.

¹ Flavius, from flavus, light-haired.

INTROD. Upper Danube to the affluents of the Rhine, from the Tyne to the Solway, from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde, men can still trace the boundary lines of the Roman Empire traced by the mighty hands of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus. Not even the Colosseum of Vespasian or the Pantheon of Agrippa impresses the mind with a sense of the majestic strength of Rome so forcibly as the massive bulwarks of a bridge erected by Hadrian's cohorts over some little British stream unknown to the majority even of Englishmen, or the square and solid blocks of an Imperial guard-house on some remote and solitary Northumbrian moor¹. And of these works, with that peculiar quality of grand permanence which they bear upon their fronts, and which seems to say that they are the work of men who could count near a thousand years of empire behind them, and could count upon more than a thousand years of empire before them, the best and most characteristic are those which were reared in the second century by order of these princes whom we have called the Adoptive Emperors.

But for one consideration, the method of selection which gave to the Roman world so splendid a succession of rulers would seem to be so good as to deserve to be re-introduced into practical politics. The Commonwealth having once been fortunate enough to secure a wise and virtuous ruler, and having entrusted him with as much power as possible short of absolute despotism, leaves it to him to select, in the maturity of his years and judgment, the man whom he deems likeliest to carry on his great work in his own spirit of

¹ I allude especially to the bridge over the North Tyne at Chollerford and the Mile-castle at Housesteads.

absolute devotion to the welfare of the State. Avoid-
ing thus the oft-recurring absurdities of popular elec-
tion, avoiding also the hap-hazard of hereditary succes-
sion, wherein Nature seems sometimes to amuse herself
by producing sons who are the very burlesques and
parodies of their fathers, the State obtains the selection
of the man presumably the fittest of all her children to
govern in his turn. He is adopted by the reigning
sovereign, calls him father, is treated by him with the
confidence and affection due to a son, steps naturally
into his vacant place at his death, and carries forward
the great and beneficent schemes of which he has learnt
the secret.

An admirable theory, and one which owing to a
combination of favourable circumstances did, as we
have seen, for nearly a century work out most bene-
ficial results in practice. But every one can see what
is the deep-rooted and enduring principle in human
nature which must cause it to fail in the long run.
'And Abram said, "Behold to me thou hast given no
seed: and lo, one, born in my house is mine heir."
And behold the word of the Lord came unto him
saying, "This shall not be thine heir, but he that shall
come forth out of thy loins shall be thine heir¹."
Neither the proverbial jealousy between kings and
their sons, nor the nobler principle of postponing
family affection to the good of the State, can be
trusted to counterbalance, for more than a generation
or two, the irresistible instinct which makes a man
prefer to work for his own offspring rather than for
the offspring of other men, and unwilling to play at
adopting sons when he has sons of his own growing

¹ Gen. xv. 3. 4.

INTROD. up around him. So, having got this principle of hereditary succession deep in the nature of things, and likely to last as long as the human race itself, the wisest course seems to be to accept it, make the best of it, and by the safeguards of what we call constitutional government prevent it from doing more harm than can be helped to the world.

4. No more striking illustration both of the strength of the parental instinct and of the mischiefs of hereditary succession, could be afforded than by the change which befell the Roman Empire in the year 180, when Marcus Aurelius, wisest, most patriotic, and most self-denying of emperors, instead of adopting a successor, left his power to his son Commodus, most brutal and profligate of tyrants.

Barrack
Emperors.
A. D.
192-284.

The convulsions which followed his murder (192) were the prelude to the reigns of a class of men whom we may describe as the *Barrack Emperors*, whose reigns made up a century as miserable and ruinous as the period of the Adoptive Emperors had been prosperous and tranquil. The open sale of the Imperial dignity to Didius Julianus (193) by the Praetorian Guards was only the expression, in an unusually logical and shameless form, of the motives which animated the Roman armies in the successive revolutions with which they afflicted the State. The proclamation of a new emperor brought with it a liberal *donative* to the common soldiers, promotion and the chance of lucrative employment in the civil hierarchy to the officers. Therefore, as a skilful tradesman makes his profit by rapidly 'turning over' his capital, even so in the interests of the military profession must emperors be made and unmade with a rapidity which almost takes

away the breath of the historian who tries to record INTROD.
these bewildering changes. And the Praetorians of Rome were not to have a monopoly of this profitable speculation. It had been discovered long ago that 'emperors could be made elsewhere than at Rome,' and in Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, on the Persian frontier, wherever the legions were stationed, *pronunciamentos* (to borrow a term from Spanish politics) were constantly occurring, and second-rate generals were perpetually being hatched into emperors. To-day the purple robe, the radiated crown, the epithets, 'Augustus,' 'Pius,' 'Felix,' 'Invictus,' 'Pater Patriae,' and all the cant of conventional courtliness; to-morrow the headless trunk, the dagger-holes in the purple, the murdered children, and a legion in the adjoining province greedily fingering their new donative and shouting the names of another pious, happy, and unconquered emperor who had been mad enough to climb the slippery slope.

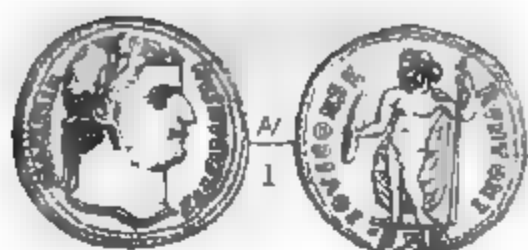
In the period of seventy-three years which elapsed between the death of Severus and the accession of Diocletian, no fewer than eighteen emperors were recognised at Rome, besides a crowd of anti-emperors in the provinces, whose shifting shadowy forms defy enumeration. Thus the average length of the reign of each of these comparatively legitimate emperors was only four years and three weeks. What state could prosper which changed even its ministers as often as this? But the course of events during the two preceding centuries had made of the emperor more than any single minister, far more of course than any constitutional king. He was the very mainspring of the State: in the army, in the courts of law, in the admi-

A.D.
211-284.

INTROD. nistration, in legislation, his impulse was needed to set the machine in motion, his guidance to keep it in the right track. There are some great names, some heroic natures belonging to this time. Decius, Claudius, and Aurelian will all claim a share of our admiration when we glance at their deeds in recounting the early history of the Gothic inroads. But what could the most strenuous ruler accomplish with so short a tenure of power? He was just beginning to learn his work when a mutiny of the soldiery or the sword of a barbarian, or one of those terrible pestilences which denoted and increased the misery of the time, carried him off, and the skein, more tangled than ever, fell into the hands of a too often incapable successor.

Add to this primary evil of the rapid change of rulers others which were derived from it—inroads of the Germanic tribes, triumphs of the increasingly arrogant Persian kings, dilapidation of the frontier fortresses, utter exhaustion of the Treasury, and above and beyond all, a depreciation of the currency such as the world hardly saw again till the days of the French *assignat*; and the picture of this most miserable century is, not indeed complete, but at least sufficiently dark to disenchant us with that theory of ‘Caesarism,’ of which it furnishes a fitting illustration.

One point ought not to be left unnoticed. Not till towards the end of this period of the Barrack Emperors do we meet with any traces of real generalship among the Roman military leaders. The wretched system of *pronunciamentos* not only drained the life-blood of the State but ruined the discipline of the army. It was seen then as it has so often been seen since in the history of the world, that if once the interests of the



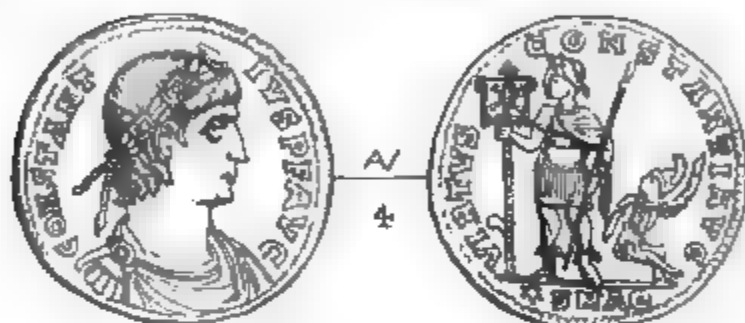
1
DIOCLETIAN



2
CONSTANTIUS I



3
CONSTANTINE I



4
CONSTANTIUS II



5
JULIAN II



6
JOVIAN.



7
VALENTINIAN I



8
VALENS.



9
GRATIAN



10
VALENTINIAN II

EMPERORS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES

DIOCLETIAN-VALENTINIAN. II

military profession are allowed to become a paramount INTROD. consideration in politics, it soon ceases to be an efficient instrument even for its own purpose of scientific manslaughter.

5. This time of anarchy was closed by the accession of Diocletian, who inaugurated a period short in duration but productive of boundless consequences to the world, the period of the *Partnership Emperors*. Himself borne to power by something not very unlike a mutiny of the troops on the Persian frontier, he nevertheless represented and gave voice to the passionate longing of the world that the age of mutinies might cease. With this intention he remodelled the internal constitution of the State and moulded it into a bureaucracy so strong, so stable, so wisely organised, that it subsisted virtually the same for more than a thousand years, and by its endurance prolonged for many ages the duration of the Byzantine Empire. With the same end avowedly in view but doubtless in part also at the promptings of his own superhuman pride, Diocletian severed himself more decisively than any of his predecessors from the Augustan policy of recognising in the emperor only the first of Roman citizens, and ostentatiously claimed from his subjects a homage no less servile than that which was rendered to the most absolute of Oriental despots. The diadem worn after the Persian fashion, the jewelled buskins with their very soles tinged with purple, the reverence, not by kneeling but by complete self-prostration on entering the Imperial presence, exacted from all subjects of whatever rank—these innovations, almost as alien to the spirit of Augustus as to that of either Brutus, were now contentedly acquiesced in and formed part henceforward of the tra-

Partnership
Emperors.
A.D.
284-316.

INTROD. ditions of the Roman monarchy. So, too, did the pompous and inflated phraseology of the sovereign and his retinue, of which some samples, such as Sacred Majesty and Serene Highness, have passed into the language of modern courts and survive even to our own day.

But the most important principle which Diocletian introduced into the politics of the Empire was Administrative Division. Recognising the impossibility of properly ruling those vast dominions from one only seat of government, recognising also the inevitable jealousy felt by the soldiers of the provinces for their more fortunate brethren under the golden shower of donatives at Rome, he divided the Roman world into four great Prefectures, which were to be ruled, not as independent states but still as one Empire by four partners in one great Imperial firm. This principle of partnership or association was made elastic enough to include also the time-honoured principle of adoption. Diocletian associated with himself the stout soldier Maximian as his brother Augustus; then these two Augusti adopted and associated two younger men, Galerius and Constantius, as junior partners in the Empire, conferring upon them the slightly inferior title of Caesars. The Caesar Constantius governed from his capital of Trier the Prefecture of the Gauls, containing the three fair countries of Britain, France, and Spain. Maximian from his capital (not Rome but Milan) administered the Prefecture of Italy, comprising Italy Proper, Southern Germany, and North-Western Africa. Galerius from Sirmium (near Belgrade) ruled the Prefecture of Illyricum, containing the countries which we lately knew as European Turkey, and Greece, with part of Hungary, while the rest of the Empire,

namely Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, bore the name INTROD. of the Prefecture of the East, and owned the immediate sway of Diocletian himself, who fixed his capital at Nicomedia in Bithynia.

According to this system while the younger monarchs, the Caesars, were engaged in the tough work of the defence of the frontiers, their more experienced colleagues were to apply their matured intellects to the less exciting task of internal government and legislation. Civil war, it was fondly hoped, was rendered impossible ; for whenever an Augustus died his Caesar stood ready to succeed him, and the nomination of the new Caesar would be decided by the calm collective wisdom of the three reigning sovereigns.

The scheme was really deserving of a certain measure of success, and had Diocletian's colleagues all been men as just and moderate as Constantius Chlorus, it probably would have succeeded, at least for a generation or two. But, as every one knows, it failed, and that in the very lifetime of its author. After nineteen years of sovereignty, on the whole well and wisely exercised, Diocletian retired from the cares of government to his superb palace and his cabbage-garden by Salona on the Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic. Much against his will, the elderly soldier, Maximian, retired likewise. The health of Constantius was visibly declining, and the choice of new Caesars was left to Galerius, the worst of the Imperial quartett, who chose two men, one of them the half-witted Maximin Daza, his own nephew, and both even more unsuited for empire than himself. Then steamed up and boiled over a very devil's-cauldron of resentments and rivalries. Constantine the Great claims successfully the purple worn by

INTROD. his dead father, Maximian retracts his abdication and associates his son Maxentius: everybody who has any conceivable claim upon the Empire is declaring himself Augustus and his son Caesar: before the death of Diocletian no fewer than six men are all posing as full Roman Emperors. We hasten on to the familiar end. By A. D. 314 two Emperors alone, Constantine and Licinius, are left, the former in the West, the latter in the East. They become brothers-in-law, they endeavour to persuade the world, perhaps even their own hearts, that they are friends. But it is of no avail; the two queen-bees cannot dwell together in the same hive; each is bound to destroy or be destroyed. At the **A. D. 323.** battle of Chrysopolis Licinius is defeated; soon after he is slain, and Constantine remains sole heir of the magnificent inheritance of Julius and of Marcus.

Yet let it not be thought that the scheme of Diocletian utterly failed. When Constantine dedicated in 330 the magnificent city by the swift Bosphorus, which still bears his name, that diamond which still makes so many sore hearts among the envious queens of the world, he was but giving bodily shape to the best thought of the deep brain of Diocletian, and that thought, if it ruined Rome, perhaps saved the Empire.

**Theologian
Emperors.**

**A. D.
323-363.**

6. Constantine the Great and his family make up the last but one of our Imperial classes, and may be styled the *Theologian Emperors*. There is this one feature common to Constantine the Eclectic, to Constantius the Arian, and to Julian the 'Apostate,' that with all of them the relation of man to the unseen world was the topic which most profoundly interested the intellect, whether it succeeded or failed in moulding the life. Constantine's youth and early manhood were

passed amid the din of Diocletian's terrible persecution INTROD.
of the Christians, a persecution which must have possessed a fascinating interest for him on account of his father's suspected and his mother's avowed attachment to the new faith. That persecution was not the work so much of the statesmanlike Diocletian as of the coarse and tyrannical Galerius: and yet we may almost say, looking to the relative positions of the Empire and the Church, that Diocletian himself was bound to persecute if he did not believe¹. The Christian Church, a strong and stately hierarchy, proclaiming its own eternal truth and the absurdity of all other faiths, had grown up within the easy latitudinarianism of the Roman Empire, an *imperium in imperio*. Its Bishops were rapidly becoming the rivals of the Imperial Vicars, its Patriarchs of the Imperial Prefects. Even the wife and daughter of the greatest of the Emperors were believed to be Christians at heart, and the most popular of his colleagues more than tolerated the new faith. In these circumstances, urged on by the malign influence of Galerius, and influenced perchance contrary to the advice of his deeper nature by the traditions of his predecessors and his supposed duty to the Empire, Diocletian became a persecutor, and having undertaken the bloody task brought to its execution the same thoroughness, the same square-headed pertinacity which characterised his whole career as a statesman.

He failed. The Empire which had accepted the challenge of the Church was signally defeated in the

¹ For a sympathetic, almost admiring estimate of Diocletian's character from the Christian point of view, see an interesting monograph by A. J. Mason (now Canon Mason), on *The Persecution of Diocletian* (Cambridge, 1876).

INTROD. encounter. Thenceforward it was in the nature of things that the Church should dominate the Empire. The corruption which was wrought in Christianity by the atmosphere of the Court of Constantinople is admitted more or less by all schools of Christian thought. But, on the other hand, unbelief itself recognises in the long theological duel of the fourth century something more than the mere hair-splittings of ambitious and worldly ecclesiastics. The constancy of Diocletian's martyrs had achieved the long delayed triumph of Christianity. The Roman world, which had been for three centuries in doubt what 'this new doctrine whereof thou speakest is,' was now prepared, not unanimously, but by an overwhelming majority, to accept it as 'the fixed Highway to the Infinite and Eternal,' as furnishing the long sought-for answer to the weary riddle of human existence.

But what *was* the answer? In what precise terms was it framed? As our poet says:—

‘Heaven opens inward, chasms yawn,
Vast images in glimmering dawn
Half shown are broken and withdrawn¹.’

There had been something of vagueness in the language of the earlier teachers of Christianity, in the very fulness and passion of their faith something almost like Agnosticism in their manner of speaking about heavenly things. This must now exist no longer. If the Gospel was indeed the new philosophy making void all that Zeno and Epicurus had taught before, it must have its own philosophical scheme of the nature of the Godhead, clear and sharp as anything in the

¹ Tennyson, *The Two Voices*.

writings of Plato or of Philo, and capable of being INTROD. defended by irresistible logic in all the schools of Alexandria. The attempt to elaborate such a theological system out of the statements of the disciples of Jesus concerning their Master involved the Church and the Empire in fifty years of the Arian controversy.

To settle this controversy, as he hoped, but in reality to open the lists and invite all the world to take part in it, Constantine summoned (A.D. 325) the august Council of Nicaea. From the standard of orthodoxy established in the Nicene Creed, Constantine himself before his death, in A.D. 337, visibly declined, and his son, Constantius II, eventually the sole inheritor of his power, became one of its bitterest opponents. The twenty-three years during which Constantius filled the throne of the East are emphatically the Age of Councils. Councils were held at Antioch, at Tyre, at Sardica, at Arles, at Rimini, and at Constantinople. In the words of a contemporary historian¹, 'Even the service of the posts was disorganised by the troops of Bishops riding hither and thither [at the public expense] to attend what they call Synods, convened by the Emperor's order, in the hope of bringing every man round to his own opinion.'

A strange spectacle truly, and one which it is difficult to think of without scorn. Not only the great and intelligible feud between Athanasius and the Arians, but the endless divisions and sub-divisions of the Arians themselves, Homoeusians and Homoeans and Euno-mians, the innumerable creeds, the Bishops set up and pulled down by the Imperial authority, make up a history which in the modern reader stirs alternately

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 16, 18.

INTROD. the sensations of weariness and amusement. But amusement changes into contempt, and contempt into indignation, when he discovers that Constantius, the main-spring of all this theological activity, was a moody and suspicious tyrant, deeply imbrued with the blood of his nearest kindred, constantly sentencing better men than himself to death at the bidding of the envious eunuchs who were the ministers of his luxury. Yet even for the perpetual theological fussiness of Constantius one might plead for a milder sentence in consideration of that influence of the spirit of the time, from which no man can altogether free himself. The whole current of the age swept men's minds irresistibly into theology. All that remained of the intellectual subtlety of the Greek, of the practical common sense of the Roman, was engaged in solving the momentous question, 'What is that true-opinion' concerning the Nature of Christ, the possession of which secures us eternal life, and the deviation from which, even by a hair's-breadth, means eternal ruin?' And the organ for discovering this true-opinion being a duly convened council of Bishops, and the expression of it a creed with duly accentuated anathemas upon all 'right-hand errors and left-hand deflections,' where could the uneasy conscience and mystified brain of a theologising Emperor find rest if not in the bosom of yet another council formulating with the conventional anathemas yet another creed?

The death of Constantius during the successful insurrection of his cousin Julian swept away for a time these endless creed-spinners. It may seem strange to class the so-called 'Apostate' among the Theologian Em-

¹ ὁρθὴ δόξα.

perors, yet every student of his life will admit that INTROD. with him too man's relation to the unseen universe was the point round which all his being turned. He was no Positivist (to use the language of our own day); though not a persecutor, except of the mildest type, he was no Latitudinarian in matters of religion: he was deeply, seriously, earnestly impressed with a belief in the existence of the old Olympian gods, and tried, but without a trace of success, to restore their worship. He did *not* say, dying in his tent by the Tigris of the wound inflicted by the Persian javelin, 'Oh Galilean, thou hast conquered!' yet he might truly have said so, for the one dearest wish of his life was foiled. The pagan Theologian Emperor had made no enduring impression upon his age. Once more had the full wave of Imperial power dashed against the calm figure of the Christ, and once more it retired, not a fold of the seamless vesture disarranged.

7. The last category of Emperors (from A.D. 363 to 476) might be styled *The Sovereigns of the Sinking Empire*: but as we have now reached the threshold of our special subject, it will be convenient to forego any general sketch, and to reserve the more detailed picture of these Emperors till we have given some account of the early history of the Barbarians with whom they had to contend.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GOTHs.

Authorities.

Sources :—

OUR chief authority for the early history of the Goths is BOOK I.
CH. 1.
JORDANES or (as his name was spelt in the first printed editions of his works) JORNANDES. Both as the earliest Teutonic historian whose writings have come down to us, and as having preserved much valuable information as to the Goths which would otherwise have perished, Jordanes claims an amount of attention to which his literary merits would never have entitled him.

All that we know certainly about the life of Jordanes (beyond the fact that he composed his histories between the years 550 and 552) is contained in the following sentences from his pen (*De Rebus Geticis*, cap. 50): ‘The Scyri and Sadagarii and certain of the Alani, with their general (dux) named Candac, occupied the Lesser Scythia and Lower Moesia [after the overthrow of the Huns, A.D. 454]. Of which Candac, Paria, father of my father Alanoviamuthes, and therefore my grandfather, was notary so long as Candac himself lived¹ I also, Jordanes, although an

¹ Here follows a sentence about a certain Gunthicis, nephew of Candac or of Paria, which is so unintelligible in the reading adopted by Mommsen that I will not trouble my readers by translating it. Possibly the meaning is that Jordanes was ‘notarius’ to this Gunthicis. But the passage is obscure, and the barbarous names really convey no idea to our minds.

BOOK I. unlettered person, was a notary before my conversion' [that is, entrance into the monastic state]¹.
C. II. 1.

We learn from these words that the family of Jordanes were settled during the latter part of the fifth century in the provinces south of the Danube, which are now called Bulgaria and the Dobrudzha. He may probably have been of Ostrogothic descent—we shall see hereafter that a considerable Ostrogothic remnant was left in these lands—but his grandfather was engaged in the service of the duke or chieftain of a motley confederation of Scyri, Alani and the less known tribe of the Sadagarii. The minister whose duty it was to put Duke Candac's decrees into writing and to keep some record of the judicial proceedings of his rude tribunal was called his *notarius*, and this office so long as Candac lived was held by the grandfather of Jordanes, Paria.

There can be little doubt that the childhood and early manhood of Jordanes were spent in these lands of the Lower Danube, and that this fact accounts for the strong *Moesian* colouring, which, as Mommsen points out², pervades his history. It is also highly probable that in later life he left this district and made his way either to Constantinople or to Italy. That he became a monk is clear from his own statement quoted above ('ante conversionem meam'): that he renounced (if he had ever professed it) the Arian creed of his forefathers, is proved by the whole tenour of his history; that he became a bishop is possible, but we have no proof of the fact. Bishop of Ravenna he certainly was not, though he is so styled in some early editions of his works. Of all the suggested identifications none is more probable than that which makes him the same person as Jordanes, Bishop of Crotona, who was at Constantinople in 551³. But all this is mere conjecture.

A word or two may be said as to the varying forms of his name. In the earlier MSS. this is written (in the nominative case) *Jordannis*. There can be no doubt however that his name, a tolerably common one in the sixth century, was derived from the

¹ 'Ego item, quamvis agrammatus, Jordanes, ante conversionem meam notarius fui.'

² See pp. x-xii of the Prooemium to his edition of Jordanes. He notices the enormously disproportionate number of Moesian names in the history compared with those belonging to other provinces of the empire.

³ See the quotation from Pope Vigilius' 'Damnatio Theodori Episcopi' in Mommsen's Prooemium, xiii. n. 22.

river Jordan, which has an obvious connexion with the baptismal ceremony. The correct form of the name of that river is *Jordanes*, but by a vulgar error which appears in many MSS. of the Bible from the ninth century downwards, and is found even in the Codex Amiatinus (written in the beginning of the eighth century) *i* is substituted for *e*. It is clear that Mommsen, the latest editor of the works of the Gothic historian, is right in refusing to perpetuate this blunder of ignorant transcribers, and restoring the true literary form *Jordanes*. Though the name is not one which has obtained any extensive currency among the nations of modern Europe, *Giordano* Bruno is a witness that it lingered on through the Middle Ages among the Christian names of Italian baptisteries.

The other form of the name, *Jornandes*, has given rise to much discussion. It is the form adopted in the first printed edition of his works (that published by Peutinger in 1515), in Muratori's collection of the writers of Italian history, in Grotius' *Historia Vandalarum*, and in fact by most editors till the research of German scholars in the present century showed that the authority of MSS. was in favour of the other form. The name appears as *Jornandes* in two MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries¹, which Mommsen designates as belonging to the second family of codices. The great German philologist, Jacob Grimm, interprets the name as signifying 'the bold boar,' and argues that this warlike Gothic appellation was changed (perhaps on his 'conversion' to the monastic state) to the more peaceful and pious *Jordanes*. The majority of scholars however, while admitting the *possibility* that the original text may have been written '*Jordanes sive Jornandes*,' prefer to consider the latter form as due merely to the carelessness of the tenth century copyists.

The only extant works of *Jordanes* are a short treatise on Roman history, generally known as *De Regnorum et Temporum Successione*, and one on Gothic history which is commonly entitled *De Rebus Geticis*, but which he apparently called *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*. With the former we have no present concern; our business is with the Origin and Acts of the Goths. *Jordanes*' own account of this performance (written as has been before said about the year 551) is contained in the following

¹ Ottobonianus and Breslaviensis.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

prefatory words, 'When I was wishing to sail in my little bark along the shore of a sheltered coast, and to catch—as a certain person hath said—some tiny fishes out of the ponds of the Ancients, you compel me, brother Castalius, with sails unfurled, to launch out into the deep, and leaving the work which I have now in hand concerning the abbreviation of the chronicles [the abstract of Roman History just referred to] you persuade me that in my own words I should condense into one little book the twelve volumes of Senator concerning the origin and acts of the Goths, beginning from olden time and coming down through generations and kings even to the present day. A hard enough command assuredly and apparently imposed by one who does not choose to know the weight of this labour! Nor do you perceive that my breath is all too weak to fill his so magnificent trumpet of speech. Beside every other weight is the fact that not even free access to those books is given to me that I may understand the author's meaning; but, not to tell lies, I did some time ago, by the kindness of his steward, receive those books for a three days' perusal¹.'

The history of Jordanes is then, according to its author's own account of it, a hastily-executed abridgment of the twelve books of Gothic History of CASSIODORUS SENATOR². Of the life and labours, literary and political, of this Roman statesman, who was for thirty years the chief adviser of Theodoric and his descendants, much will have to be said in future volumes of this history. It will be sufficient here to state that the one great aim of all his endeavours was to weld together the Ostrogothic warriors and the Roman citizens into one harmonious people under the sovereignty of the Amal kings, and that the composition of the Gothic History was undoubtedly part of this grand scheme. This work was probably executed by him about the year 520³, and he himself says of it (speaking through the mouth of his young Gothic sovereign Athalaric): 'He (Cassiodorus) extended his labours even to our remote ancestry, learning by his

¹ 'Super omne autem pondus, quod nec facultas eorundem librorum nobis datur, quatenus ejus sensui inserviamus, sed, ut non mentiar, ad triduanam lectionem, dispensatoris ejus beneficio libros ipsos antehac relegi.'

² Senator was not a title, but part of the name of Cassiodorus; and any of his contemporaries would understand that he was meant when 'duodecim Senatoris volumina' were spoken of.

³ Mommsen (pp. viii and xli) brings the composition of the History down to the years 525-533; but I prefer, with Usener, to assign it to the years 516-521. See my Letters of Cassiodorus, p. 29.

study that which scarcely the hoar memories of our forefathers retained. He drew forth from their hiding-place the kings of the Goths, hidden by long forgetfulness. He restored the Amals to their proper place, in all the lustre of their lineage, proving indubitably that for seventeen generations we have had kings for our ancestors. He made "the Origin of the Goths" a part of Roman history, collecting as it were into one wreath all the growth of flowers previously scattered over the expanse of many books. Consider therefore' (Athalaric is addressing the Senate) 'what love he showed to you in praising us, by his proof that the nation of your sovereign has been from antiquity a marvellous people; so that ye who from the days of your forefathers have ever been deemed noble, are still ruled by the ancient progeny of kings¹.'

From this account given by Cassiodorus of his work, we can see that he had two objects before him in writing it. One was to glorify the Amal line, the line of kings from which Theodoric, his master, had sprung, by giving literary shape to the dim traditions, the Sagas and battle-songs by which the memory of those ancestors had hitherto been preserved. The other was to glorify the Gothic people by showing that they too had a respectable historic past, and by bringing them into some sort of relation with the great nations of classical antiquity. In order to do this he made use, doubtless in perfect good faith, of an unfortunate confusion which had arisen in the minds of scholars between the Goths and the Thracian Getae, and also of the vague but convenient term Scythian, which practically included all peoples dwelling north of the Black Sea and east of the Danube.

This second element in the work of Cassiodorus is absolutely without historical value; and the chapters of Jordanes' book which are based upon it must be winnowed away before we can really understand or rightly estimate the materials for history with which he has supplied us. But the other element, the literary expression of the old Gothic traditions, is of almost inestimable value. Whether true in detail or not, these were the histories which filled the minds and flowed from the tongues of the Gothic invaders of the Roman Empire. These formed the historic background of the Past from which the great deeds of their Present stood forth. These were the Iliad and Odyssey

¹ Cassiodori Variarum, ix. 25.

BOOK I. of the Teutonic fore-world. Would that many another Cassiodorus had arisen to preserve these lays, and others like to them sung by the other Germanic tribes, from the oblivion which has fallen upon them !

CH. I.

There can, then, be no doubt that the staple of the work before us is derived from Cassiodorus. How far its actual present shape may be due to the hand of Jordanes is a matter of mere conjecture. Cassiodorus is an author of almost intolerable diffuseness, and probably much of his work might have been retrenched without any great loss to posterity. But Jordanes was evidently a man of very imperfect education, and with no literary insight ; and he has probably thrown away much which we should have deemed valuable, as he has retained some things that we could well have spared. He rightly calls himself *agrammatus*, and speaks of his *tenuis spiritus* ; but unfortunately he is not only ignorant but dishonest. The preface which has been quoted above, with its wonderful rhetoric about 'sails unfurled,' and 'little fishes,' and so forth, is taken without acknowledgment but with scarcely a word of change, from Rufinus' translation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans¹. He quotes, with an affectation of intimate knowledge of their works, about twenty Greek and Roman writers, of whom he does not seem to have read more than three or four. On the other hand he does not quote Marcellinus Comes, from whom he has taken over without alteration some sentences relating to the deposition of Augustulus. His style, when he is trying to write by himself, is deplorable, the thoughts inconsequent, and the sentences hardly grammatical.

If he really had, as he professes to have had, only three days in which to make his abstract of Cassiodorus, he would be entitled to indulgence on this score. But those who know Jordanes best will be disposed to trust him least on such a point as this. Even a practised man of letters (the opposite of an 'agrammatus') would require three weeks rather than three days for such a task. Different readers will form different opinions on such a point. My own belief is expressed in the words of a German scholar, 'The three days' interval to which Jordanes professes to have been confined for his use of the

¹ This impudent plagiarism seems to have been first detected by Von Sybel. (See Mommsen's note on the passage, p. 53.)

twelve books, is of course humbug¹: the truth of the matter may have been that through some limitation of time he was hindered from using the work down to the end; and it is also possible that Cassiodorus' style of narrative may, in reference to the reign of Theodoric, have degenerated into panegyric from which an epitomiser found it too hard work to extract the facts.'

Still, notwithstanding his many defects, we are under deep obligations to 'agrammatus Jordanes.' 'The Teutonic tribes, whose dim original he records, have in the course of centuries attained to world-wide dominion. Attila's great defeat (in 451), of which Jordanes is really the sole historian, is now seen to have had at least as important bearings on the history of the world as the battles of Marathon and Waterloo. Thus the hasty pamphlet of a half-educated Gothic monk has been forced into prominence, almost into rivalry with the finished productions of the great historians of Greece and Rome. Of course it stands the comparison badly; but with all its faults the *De Origine Actibusque Getarum* will probably ever keep its place side by side with the *De Moribus Germanorum* of Tacitus, as a chief source of information respecting the history, institutions, and modes of thought of our Teutonic forefathers.'

(I have here copied a few sentences from an article on the subject of Jordanes contributed by me to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. To this, and to the very thorough article (by Mr. Acland) in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, I refer the English student. The chief German authorities on Jordanes are: *Von Sybel* (*De fontibus Jordanis*); *Schirren* (*De ratione quae inter Jordanem et Cassiodorum intercedat Commentatio*); *Köpke* (*Die Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen*); *Dahn* (*Die Könige der Germanen*); *Ebert* (*Geschichte der Christlich-Lateinischen Litteratur*); *Wattenbach* (*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*); and last, but pre-eminent, *Mommsen's* Prooemium to his edition of Jordanes (1882).)

ZOSIMUS (who flourished in the latter part of the fifth century) gives some interesting particulars as to the early inroads of the Goths. His work will be more fully described hereafter.

¹ 'Die dreitägige Frist, die Jordanis zur Benutzung der 12 Bücher gehabt haben will, ist natürlich Schwindel' (Usener, *Anecdota Holderi*, p. 73).

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

DEXIPPUS (who flourished from about 254 to 278) wrote, besides other histories, one entitled *Scythica*, containing the account of the Gothic war in which he bore an honourable part. A few scattered fragments of this work have come down to us. Chief among them is a speech which he is supposed to have uttered to the Athenian soldiery. Photius says that 'his style is simple, grave, and dignified; and he is, so to speak, another Thucydides, but with greater clearness than that author displays; and these qualities are shown especially in his *Scythian histories*.' The fragments of Dexippus, edited by Bekker and Niebuhr, are contained in the First Part of the Bonn edition of the Byzantine Historians.

PETRUS PATRICIUS, a rhetorician of Byzantium, born at Thessalonica, Consul in 516, employed in diplomatic service by Justinian at intervals from 534 to 562, wrote a history of the Roman Empire (possibly meant as an abridgment and continuation of that of Dion Cassius), from which a few interesting extracts have been preserved, chiefly relating to the embassies of the barbarian nations to the Emperors. These extracts were made by order of the Emperor CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS (911-959), and are published in the same volume of the Bonn edition of the Byzantines which contains the fragments of Dexippus. For several details as to the personal history of Peter see the third and fourth volumes of this history.

GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, a Byzantine ecclesiastic of the end of the eighth century, who wrote a Chronicle 'from Adam to Diocletian,' notwithstanding his late date, has preserved for us some valuable facts which he derived from contemporary authorities.

We glean a few facts from the Epitomist, SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR, who wrote about 350; and more from the so-called AUGUSTAN HISTORY, which contains the lives of Emperors from Hadrian to Carinus, written by various authors (Spartianus, Capitolinus, Trebellius Pollio, and Vopiscus) under Diocletian and Constantine (circa 290-313).

The fragment called ANONYMUS VALESII, which will be more fully described in the next volume, is perhaps the work of a chronicler of the fifth century.

Guides:—

Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*. An invaluable manual of the history of the Teutonic migrations.

Aschbach, *Geschichte der Westgothen* (1827). A sensible and generally accurate monograph on the History of the Visigoths, from the earliest times down to the fall of the Gothic monarchy in Spain.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

Pallmann, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, vol. i (1863). The author is a very Rationalist in Teutonic history. Notwithstanding the title of his book, his chief object seems to be to show that there was no 'wandering of the nations,' that all the events which brought about the great movement of the barbarian races against the Empire may be accounted for by the most prosaic and commonplace motives; and to a certain extent he proves his point. His book is not very skilfully put together, but his microscopical analysis of the authorities may often be of service to the student.

Herzberg's *Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, vol. iii (1875), contains a very spirited and accurate sketch of the Gothic inroads into the Empire in the third century, and especially of the war in Attica.

For the life and literary work of ULFILAS consult :—

Massmann, *Ulfilas. Die Heiligen Schriften in Gothischer Sprache*. Stuttgart, 1857.

Rev. J. Bosworth, *Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels*. London, 1865.

(A complete English edition of Ulfilas is still a desideratum.)

Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, First Series, pp. 185–194 (fourth edition).

Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths, together with an account of the Gothic Churches and their decline, by Charles A. Anderson Scott. (1885.) This admirable monograph, by a young Scottish clergyman, may now be considered as superseding, at any rate for English readers, all previous works on the life of Ulfilas.

My own views on the literary and theological position of Ulfilas are stated at some length in an article on 'Ulfilas, the Apostle of the Goths,' contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1877.

THE Roman Commonwealth, from the time of Marius to that of Julian, had borne the brunt of the onset of various Teutonic peoples. The tribe which bore the

Destiny of
the Gothic
people.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

distinctive name of Teutones, the Suevi, the Cherusci, the Nervii, the Marcomanni, and in later times the great confederacies which called themselves Free-men and All-men (Franks and Alamanni), had wrestled, often not ingloriously, with the Roman legions. But it was reserved for the *Goths*, whose fortunes we are now about to trace, to deal the first mortal blow at the Roman state, to be the first to stand in the Forum of *Roma Invicta*, and prove to an amazed world (themselves half-terrified by the greatness of their victory) that she who had stricken the nations with a continual stroke was now herself laid low. How little the Gothic nation comprehended that this was its mission; how gladly it would often have accepted the position of humble friend and client of the great World-Empire, through what strange vicissitudes of fortune, what hardships, what dangers of national extinction it was driven onwards to this pre-destined goal, will appear in the course of the following history.

Their ethnological position.

The Gothic nation, or rather cluster of nations, belonged to the great Aryan family of peoples, and to the Low-German branch of that family. From the remains of their language which have come down to us we can see that they were more nearly akin to the Frisians, to the Hollanders, and to our own Anglo-Saxon forefathers than to any other race of Modern Europe.

Ethnological science is at present engaged in discussing the question of the original seat and centre of the Aryan family, whether it should be placed—as almost all scholars a generation ago agreed in placing it—in the uplands of Central Asia, or whether it was situated in the North of Europe and in the neighbourhood of the Baltic Sea. It is not likely that any great value

ought to be attached to the traditions of the Gothic people as to a matter so dim and remote as this: but as far as they go, they favour the later theory rather than the earlier, the Scandinavian rather than the Central-Asian hypothesis.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

The information which Jordanes gives us as to the earliest home and first migration of the Goths is as follows:—

‘The island of Scanzia [peninsula of Norway and Sweden] lies in the Northern Ocean, opposite the mouths of the Vistula, in shape like a cedar-leaf. In this island, this manufactory of nations (“*officina gentium*”), dwelt the Goths with other tribes.’ [Then follows a string of uncouth names, now for the most part forgotten, though the Swedes, the Fins, the Heruli are still familiar to us.]

Jordanes’
account of
the pri-
meval
home of
the Goths.

‘From this island the Goths, under their king *Berig*, set forth in search of new homes. They had but three ships, and as one of these during their passage always lagged behind, they called her *Gepanta*, “the torpid one.” Their crew, who ever after showed themselves more sluggish and clumsy than their companions, when they became a nation bore a name derived from this quality, *Gepidae*, the Loiterers.

Their first
migration

‘However, all came safely to land at a place which was called ever after Gothi-scandza¹. From thence they moved forward to the dwellings of the Ulmerugi by the shores of the Ocean. These people they beat in

to the
Southern
shore of the
Baltic.

¹ The Gothi-scandza of Jordanes cannot probably now be identified. But the allusions which follow to the Rugii (=Ulmerugi) and Vandals, make it clear that the region of which Jordanes is thinking is the South-East corner of the Baltic coast, probably not far from the modern city of Dantzic.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

pitched battle and drove from their habitations, and then, subduing their neighbours the Vandals, they employed them as instruments of their own subsequent victories.' So far Jordanes.

Testimony
of Pytheas
as to the
settlement
of the Gut-
tones
(Goths?) in
the amber-
producing
region.

This migration from Sweden to East Prussia is doubted by many scholars, but, till it is actually disproved, let it at any rate stand as that which the Gothic nation in after days believed to be true concerning itself. An interesting passage in Pliny's *Natural History*¹ gives us a date before which the migration (if it ever took place) must have been made. According to this writer, Pytheas of Marseilles (the Marco Polo of Greek geography, who lived about the time of Alexander the Great) speaks of a people called Guttones, who lived by an estuary of the Ocean named Mentonomon, and who apparently traded in amber. Seeing that the name Guttones closely corresponds with that of *Gut-thiuda* (Gothic people), by which the Goths spoke of themselves, and seeing that amber is and has been for 2000 years the especial natural product by which the curving shores and deeply indented bays of the Gulf of Dantzic have been made famous, it seems reasonable to infer that in these amber-selling Guttones of Pytheas we have the same people as the Goths of Jordanes, who must therefore have been settled on the South-East coast of the Baltic at least as early as 330 before Christ².

¹ 'Pytheas Guttonibus Germaniae genti accoli aestuarium Oceani Mentonomon nomine spatio stadiorum sex millium: ab hoc diei navigatione insulam abesse Abalum: illo vere fluctibus advehi [succinum] et esse concreti maris purgamentum: incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo proximisque Teutonibus vendere' (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 2).

² I learn from Dahn (*Bausteine*, i. 4 and *Urgeschichte*, i. 139) that Müllenhof disputes this identification, and places the amber-country of

Pliny himself (writing about 70 A. D.) assigns to the Guttones¹ a position not inconsistent with that which apparently was given to them by Pytheas; and Tacitus, the younger contemporary of Pliny, after describing the wide domain of the Ligii, who dwelt apparently between the Oder and the Vistula, says that ‘behind [that is Northwards of] the Ligii, the Gothones dwell, who are governed by their kings somewhat more stringently [than the other tribes of whom he has been speaking] but not so as to interfere with their freedom². This valuable statement by Tacitus is all the information that we possess as to the internal condition of the Goths for many centuries.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

Testimony
of Pliny
and
Tacitus.

But within the last few years the brilliant hypothesis of an English scholar as to the origin of the Runic mode of writing has given an especial importance to the settlement of the Goths at this South-East corner of the Baltic. If that hypothesis be correct—and it appears to find considerable acceptance with those philologists who are best qualified to decide upon its merits—we have not only a hint as to the social condition of the Goths and their kindred tribes, but we have a strong inducement to carry their settlement in East Prussia up to the sixth century before the Christian Era, that is some 200 years before the early date to which we were inclined to attribute it, by the authority of the navigator Pytheas³.

Suggested
connexion
of the
Goths with
the origin
of Runic
writing.

Pytheas on the Schleswig-Holstein coast: but I cannot help thinking that probability is in favour of the obvious and old-fashioned view.

¹ Hist. Nat. iv. 14.

² ‘Trans Ligios Gothones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam caeterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem’ (Germania, xliii).

³ Let it be clearly understood, however, that there is nothing in the

BOOK I.
CH. 1.Geographi-
cal distri-
bution of
the Runes.

It is well known that all over the North of Europe there exists a class of monuments, chiefly belonging to the first ten centuries of the Christian Era, which bear inscriptions in what for convenience sake we call the Runic character, the name Rûn, which signifies a mystery, having doubtless been assigned to them from some belief in their magical efficacy. Now these Runes are practically the exclusive possession of the Low German races, the term being used in that wide sense which was assigned to it at the beginning of the Chapter. Runic inscriptions were often carved by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors : they swarm in all Scandinavian lands : they were evidently in use among the Goths and the tribes most nearly allied to them. But along the course of the Rhine, upon the Northern slope of the Alps, by the upper waters of the Danube they are unknown. Franks and Alamanni and Bavarians seem never to have known the Runes. But where they were known, although many modifications were introduced in the course of centuries, there is a remarkable general agreement in all the early Runes, notwithstanding the wide geographical dispersion of the nations by whom they were used. To quote the words of Dr. Isaac Taylor, the author of the hypothesis which we are about to consider¹, 'This ancient and wide-spread Gothic alphabet is wonderfully firm, definite and uniform. To decipher the inscription on the golden torque of the Moesian Goths by the help of the alphabet stamped on the golden Bracteate from Swedish Gothland is as easy as it would theory about to be stated *inconsistent* with the statement of Pytheas, but rather strongly confirmatory thereof. If this theory be correct, the Guttones were near the amber coasts at the time when Pytheas says he met with them, and their ancestors had been there for centuries.

¹ *Greeks and Goths*, p. 13.

be to read an Australian tombstone by the aid of a spelling-book from the United States. Distant colonies employ the common alphabet of the mother country.'

BOOK I.
CH. I.

The origin of this widely spread Alphabet (or, to speak more correctly, of this *Futhorc*, for it begins not with Alpha and Beta but with the six letters whose combination makes the word *Futhorc*, and by that name it is generally called) has been hitherto a Rûn as full of mystery as the inscriptions themselves were to the unlettered warriors who gazed upon them with fascinated fear. That the *Futhorc* could not have been invented by the Northern tribes in absolute ignorance of the historic Alphabet of the nations that dwelt round the Midland Sea, was clear from some of the letters contained in it. *F* for *F*, *R* for *R*, *H* for *H*, *I* for *I*, *B* for *B*, *M* for *M*, could not possibly be all accidental coincidences. Yet on the other hand the divergencies from Mediterranean Alphabets were so many and so perplexing that it was difficult to understand how the Runes could be descended from any of them.

Relation of
the Runes
to the
Latin and
Greek
Alphabets.

Some years ago a theory which had obtained considerable currency connected the Runes with the Phœnician Alphabet, and suggested that they were the descendants of the letters introduced to the nations of the North by the adventurous mariners of Tyre. An earlier and perhaps more plausible theory was that the Runes represented the Latin Alphabet as communicated to the Teutonic nations by Roman traders and soldiers in the days of the Empire. An objection, apparently a fatal objection, to this theory is that precisely in the countries where Roman influence affected the Teutonic nations most strongly, in Gaul, in Rhenish Germany, in Helvetia and Rhaetia, no Runes are to be found.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

Dr. Isaac
Taylor's
theory that
the Runes
were bor-
rowed from
the Greeks
of Thrace.

But in the year 1879 Dr. Isaac Taylor, in a little monograph entitled *The Greeks and Goths*, advocated a solution of the enigma which, though daring almost to rashness, may possibly hold the field against all comers.

Examining the forms of Greek letters which were in use among the colonists (chiefly Ionian colonists) whose cities lined the Southern coast of Thrace and the shores of the Aegean in the sixth century B. C., he finds among them many remarkable coincidences with the earliest forms of the Runic Futhorc. Differences many and great still exist, but they appear to be only such differences as, in accordance with the ascertained laws of the History of Writing, might well creep in, between the sixth century before the Christian Era and the third century after it, the earliest period to which we can with certainty refer an extant Runic inscription.

Probable
commercial
intercourse
between
Greeks and
Goths in the
fifth cen-
tury B. C.

To what conclusion then do these enquiries point? To this, that during the interval from 540 to 480 B. C.¹ there was a brisk commercial intercourse between the flourishing Greek colonies on the Black Sea, Odessos, Istros, Tyras, Olbia and Chersonesos—places now approximately represented by Varna, Kustendji, Odessa, Cherson, and Sebastopol—between these cities and the tribes to the Northward (inhabiting the country which has been since known as Lithuania), all of whom at the time of Herodotus passed under the vague generic name of Scythians. By this intercourse which would naturally pass up the valleys of the great rivers, especially the Dniester and the Dnieper, and would probably again descend by the Vistula and the Niemen, the settlements of the Goths were reached, and by its means the

¹ These limits are indicated by the history of the Greek alphabet and the correspondence between some of its archaic forms and the Runic letters.

Ionian letter-forms were communicated to the Goths, to become in due time the magical and mysterious Runes. BOOK I.
CH. 1.

One fact which lends great probability to this theory is that undoubtedly, from very early times, the amber deposits of the Baltic, to which allusion has already been made, were known to the civilised world; and thus the presence of the trader from the South among the settlements of the Guttones or Goths is naturally accounted for. Probably also there was for centuries before the Christian Era a trade in sables, ermines, and other furs, which were a necessity in the wintry North and a luxury of kings and nobles in the wealthier South. In exchange for amber and fur, the traders brought probably not only golden staters and silver drachmas, but also bronze from Armenia with pearls, spices, rich mantles suited to the barbaric taste of the Gothic chieftains. As has been said, this commerce was most likely carried on for many centuries. Sabres of Assyrian type have been found in Sweden, and we may hence infer that there was a commercial intercourse between the Euxine and the Baltic, perhaps 1300 years before Christ ¹.

This stream of trade may have had its ebbings as well as its flowings. Some indications seem to suggest that the traders of the Euxine were less adventurous and 'Scythia' less under the influence of Southern Migration
of the Goths
by this
trade-route
to the
Euxine.

¹ I take these facts from a note in Professor Stephens' *Old-Northern Runic Monuments* (vol. iii. p. 267). He also quotes from the orientalist, M. Oppert, an Assyrian inscription, 'whose date is the tenth century B.C., which proves that at that early period Asiatic caravans traversed what is now European Russia, following the rivers, to procure yellow amber from the coast of the Baltic. The merchants of the Asiatic king said that they collected this substance in these seas when the Little Bear was in the Zenith.'

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

civilisation at the Christian Era than six centuries before it. But however this may be, there can be no doubt that the route which had thus been opened was never entirely closed; and when the most Eastern German tribes began to feel that pressure of population which had sent Ariovistus into Gaul and had dashed the Cimbri and Teutones against the legions of Marius, it was natural that they should, by that route along which the traders had so long travelled, pour forth to seek for themselves new homes by the great sea into which the Dnieper and the Dniester flowed.

Probable
date of this
migration,
cir. 170 A.D.

This migration to the Euxine was probably made during the latter half of the second century of our Era: for Ptolemy the geographer, who flourished in the middle of that century, mentions the 'Guthones' as still dwelling by the Vistula and near the Venedae¹. It was most likely part of that great Southward movement of the German tribes which caused the Marcomanni to cross the Danube, and which wore out the energies of the noble philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius in arduous, hardly-contested battles against these barbarians. The memory of the migration doubtless lingered long in the heart of the nation, and it was, as Jordanes himself says, from their old folk-songs, that the following account of it was derived.

First Mar-
comannic
War, 167-
175.
Second
Marcoman-
nic War,
178-180.

The migra-
tion to the
Euxine as
described
by Jor-
danes.

'In the reign of the fifth King after Berig, Filimer, son of Gadâriges, the people had so greatly increased in numbers that they all agreed in the conclusion that the army of the Goths should move forward with their

¹ Lib. III. Cap. 5. § 19, Κατέχει δὲ τὴν Σαρματίαν ἔθνη μέγιστα οἱ τε Οὐενεδαὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸν Οὐενεδικὸν κόλπον [the Baltic]. . . . § 20, Ἐλάττονα δὲ ἔθνη νέμεται τὴν Σαρματίαν παρὰ μὲν τὸν Οὐιστούλαν ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς Οὐενεδὰς Γύθωνες.

families in quest of more fitting abodes. Thus they came to those regions of Scythia which in their tongue are called Oium¹, whose great fertility pleased them much. But there was a bridge there by which the army essayed to cross a river, and when half of the army had passed, that bridge fell down in irreparable ruin, nor could any one either go forward or return. For that place is said to be girt round with a whirlpool, shut in with quivering morasses, and thus by her confusion of the two elements, land and water, Nature has rendered it inaccessible. But in truth, even to this day, if you may trust the evidence of passers-by, though they go not nigh the place, the far-off voices of cattle may be heard and traces of men may be discerned.

‘That part of the Goths therefore which under the leadership of Filimer crossed the river and reached the lands of Oium, obtained the longed-for soil. Then without delay they came to the nation of the Spali², with whom they engaged in battle and therein gained the victory. Thence they came forth as conquerors,

¹ Müllenhoff (quoted by Mommsen) says that Ulfilas would have written this word *aujôm*, dative plural of *au*, a well-known Teutonic root, signifying a watered meadow. He thinks that the regions of Oium were probably in Volhynia among the affluents of the Dnieper. The ever memorable passage of the Beresina (1812), which is recalled to us by this story of Jordanes, occurred in a district which lies somewhat north of the Gothic line of march.

² ‘*Ad gentem Spalorum adveniunt.*’ Pliny mentions the *Spalaei* as dwelling on the banks of the Don (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 7), but these seem to be too far east for the Gothic line of march (see Mommsen’s *Index to Jordanes*, p. 164). Zeuss (*Die Deutschen*, p. 67 note) thinks that the name is derived from a Slavonic word *Spol*, signifying companionship or partnership. Thus *Spali* or *Spoli* would be not dissimilar in meaning to the German *Ala-manni*.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

and hastened to the furthest part of Scythia which borders on the Pontic Sea. And so in their ancient songs it is set forth almost in historic fashion ¹.

Even from the brief note-book of Jordanes we can see what a fateful moment was that in the history of the Gothic nation, when, travel-worn and battle-weary, the heads of the long column halted, beholding the monotonous horizon broken by a bit of deeper blue. We can imagine the joyful cry 'Marei!' (Sea) passing from waggon to waggon, and the women and children clambering down out of their dark recesses to see that little streak of sapphire which told them that their wanderings were drawing near to a close. It was true. The journeyers from the Baltic had reached the Euxine, the same sea which, centuries before, the ten thousand returning Greeks had hailed with the glad cry, 'Thalatta, Thalatta!' Well might the Gothic minstrels in the palaces of Toulouse and Ravenna preserve the remembrance of the rapture of their forefathers at that first sight of the Southern Sea.

The Goths
probably
displaced
Slavonic
tribes.

The settlement of so large a nation as the Goths (for a large nation they must still have been, notwithstanding all their losses on the journey), cannot have been effected without the forcible displacement of tribes already in possession of the territory to which they migrated. No details of these wars of conquest have come down to us; but, from what we know of the map of Scythia in the

¹ Here Jordanes adds 'quod et Ablavius descriptor Gothorum gentis egregius verissimâ adtestatur historiâ.' I do not think it worth while to trouble the reader with the numerous conjectures as to this 'Ablavius,' whose name, as Mommsen points out, was doubtless really Ablabius. It is sufficient to say that he was probably a Greek or Roman, who (perhaps in the fifth century) wrote a history of the Goths, which was used by Cassiodorus and Jordanes.

third century, it may be conjectured that the Roxolani, the Bastarnae, and perhaps the Jazyges, had to make room for the Gothic invaders, after whose advent their names either disappear altogether or at least occupy a much less prominent position than before. The names of these tribes of barbarians probably convey little information to the reader's mind; but when we observe that they were probably of Slavonic extraction, while the Goths were pure Teutons, we see that we have here an act in that great drama in which Russia and Germany are at this day protagonists. Generally the Slav has rolled westwards over the lands of the Teuton. Here we have one of the rare cases in which the Eastward movement of the Teuton has ousted the Slav.

Thus then were the Goths by the beginning of the third century after Christ seated upon the Northern shores of the Euxine Sea. They appear to have soon become differentiated into two great tribes, named from their relative positions to the East and the West, *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*. It is curious to observe that throughout their varied career of conquest and subjugation, from the third century to the sixth, these relative positions continued unaltered. The two tribes, which were perhaps at first severed only by a single river, the Dniester or the Pruth, had for a time the whole breadth of Europe between them, but still the Visigoth was in the West, while reigning at Toulouse, and the Ostrogoth in the East, while serving in Hungary. If we may trust Jordanes, each tribe had already its royal house, supposed to be sprung from the seed of gods, to which it owed allegiance: the Visigoths serving the Balthi, and the Ostrogoths 'the illustrious

Differentiation of Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

Royal houses : Balthi and Amals.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

Amals¹. Modern criticism has thrown some doubt upon the literal accuracy of this statement: in fact, we discover from the pages of Jordanes himself that Amals did not always reign over the Eastern tribe, nor kings of any race uninterruptedly over the Western. But, remembering the statement of Tacitus as to the stringent character of the kingship of the Gothones, and knowing that as a rule the prosperity of the German nations waxed and waned in proportion to the vigour of the institution of royalty among them, we may safely conjecture that, during the greater part of the two centuries which followed the migration to the Euxine, the Goths were under the dominion of kings whose daring leadership they followed in the adventurous raids of which we have next to trace the history.

The Gothic
outlook to-
wards the
Roman
Empire.

For the two kindred peoples which were thus settled near the mouths of the great Scythian rivers and by the misty shores of the Cimmerian Sea knew that they were now within easy reach of some of the richest countries in the world. Along the Southern coast of that Euxine, the Northern coast of which was theirs, were scattered the wealthy cities of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, from Heraclea to Trebizond. Through the narrow stream of the Bosphorus (not yet guarded and made illustrious by the New Rome, Constantinople) lay the way to the famous old-world cities of Greece and the temple-crowned islands of the Aegean. Further

¹ 'Tertiâ vero sede super mare Ponticum jam humaniores et, ut superius diximus, prudentiores effecti, divisi per familias populi, Vesegothae familiae Balthorum, Ostrogothae praeclaris Amalis serviebant' (Cap. V). The 'tertiâ sede' alludes to certain migrations into and out of Dacia, which Jordanes (or Cassiodorus) was obliged to invent in order to suit his Gotho-Getic theory, of which more will be said hereafter.

North, on the right (that is the West) of the dwellings of the Visigoths rose the long curving line of the Carpathian mountains. Few were the passes which led between these broad beech-covered highlands; but it was well known to the Visigothic dwellers by the Pruth and the Moldava that those passes led into a Roman land where gold mines¹ and salt mines were worked by chained slave-gangs, where great breadths of cornland filled the valleys, and where stately cities like Apulum and Sarmizegetusa rose by the banks of the Maros or under the shadow of the Carpathians. This land was the province of Dacia, added to the Roman Empire by Trajan, and still forming a part of that Empire, notwithstanding the over-cautious policy of Hadrian, who dismantled the stone bridge which his great predecessor had thrown across the Danube, and who seems to have at one time dallied with the thought of abandoning so precarious an outpost of the Empire.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

Dacia.

Whatever may have been the original extent of the Dacian province², there can be little doubt that now, at any rate, it comprised only Transylvania and the Western half of Hungary, with so much of Lesser (or Western) Wallachia as was necessary to connect it with

Extent of
Dacia.

¹ See in the third volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (edited by Mommsen), pp. 924–960, the extremely interesting series of legal instruments inscribed on waxen tablets, which were discovered in the gold mines of Verespatak in Transylvania. The tradition is that some of these tablets were found in a vault filled with a foul and deathlike odour, in which was the form of an old man with long white beard, who crumbled into dust at the opening of the vault (p. 921). The tablets all belong to the period 131–167 A.D.

² See on this point a note contributed by me to the *English Historical Review* (vol. ii. pp. 100–103). I follow M. de la Berge (author of an *Essai sur le Règne de Trajan*) in greatly restricting the limits even of Trajan's Dacia.

BOOK I. the Roman base of operations in Moesia on the Southern
 CH. 1. bank of the Danube. Any one who looks at the map
 ——— and sees how Dacia, thus defined, is folded away in the
 embrace of the Carpathian mountains, will understand
 why, long after the barbarians on the Lower Danube
 had begun to move uneasily upon the frontier, the
 Dacian outpost still preserved its fealty to Rome.

Peace be-
 tween
 Goths and
 Romans,
 180 (?)—
 240.

For one or two generations the migrated Goths may
 probably have remained in some sort of peace and
 friendship with the Roman Empire¹. The wars with
 the nations whom they found settled before them in
 Southern Russia had for a time exhausted their energies,
 and as Rome was willing to pay to them (as also to
 others of her barbarian neighbours) subsidies which she
 called *stipendia*, and which she treated as pay, but the
 receiver might easily come to look upon as tribute, the
 Goths on their part were willing to remain quiet, while
 nursing the hope of an opportunity for proving their
 prowess in the rich lands beyond the River and the Sea.

The Scy-
 thian War,
 241-270.

That opportunity came at last, in the middle of the
 third century; but the great 'Scythian war,' as it was
 called, which lasted for a generation and filled the
 middle years of that century with bloodshed, seems to
 have been begun, not by the Goths themselves, but by
 a rival nation. The Carpi, a proud and fierce people,
 whose dwellings bordered on the Gothic settlement,
 chafing at the thought that the Goths received yearly

Petrus
 Patricius,
 Excerpt 9.

¹ It is important to observe that in the map known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* which (except for some subsequent additions) probably assumed its present shape under the Emperors of the house of Severus (A. D. 193-235), no mention is made of the Goths. This is an argument for bringing down their actual invasion of the Empire to as late a period as possible.

stipendia from the Empire, while they received none, sent ambassadors to Tullius Menophilus, governor of Lower Moesia under Gordian III¹, to complain of this inequality and to demand its removal. Menophilus treated the ambassadors with studied insolence. He kept them waiting for days, while he inspected the manœuvres of his troops. When he at length condescended to receive them he was seated on a lofty tribunal, and surrounded by all the tallest soldiers of his legions. To show the ambassadors in how little account he held them, he continually broke in upon their discourse to converse with his staff on subjects foreign to their mission, thus making them feel how infinitely unimportant in his eyes were the affairs of the Carpi. Thus checked and humbled, the ambassadors could only stammer out a feeble remonstrance, 'Why do the Goths receive such large moneys from the Emperor, and we nothing?' 'The Emperor,' said Menophilus, 'is lord of great wealth, and graciously bestows it upon the needy.' 'But we too are in need of his liberality, and we are much better than the Goths.' 'Come again,' said the governor, 'in four months, and I will give you the Emperor's answer.' At the end of four months they came, and were put off for three months more. When they again appeared, Menophilus said, 'The Emperor will give you not a denarius as a matter of bargain, but if you will go to him, fall prostrate before his throne, and humbly beg him for a gift, he may perchance comply with your request.' Sore at heart, but humbled and overawed,

BOOK I.
CH. 1.
Embassies
of the Carpi
to the
Governor
of Moesia.
oir.
238-240.

¹ Mommsen (*History of the Provinces*, i. 239, note 2, Eng. transl.) says, 'The administration of Tullius Menophilus is fixed by coins certainly to the time of Gordian, and with probability to 238-240.'

BOOK I.
CH. I.

the ambassadors left the presence of the haughty governor. They did not venture to the distant court of the dreaded Emperor, and for the three years that Menophilus administered the province they did not dare to break out into insurrection.

The Carpi
invade the
Empire,
241.

At the end of that time it seems that the Carpi took up arms, poured across the Danube into Moesia and destroyed the once flourishing city of Histros (or Istros) at the mouth of the great river¹. We hear nothing more of this invasion of the Carpi, but soon the Goths too began to move. By this time the confusion in the affairs of the Empire under the men whom I have styled the Barrack Emperors, had become indescribable. Civil war, pestilence, bankruptcy, were all brooding over the doomed land. The soldiers had forgotten how to fight, the rulers how to govern. It seemed as if the effete and unwieldy Empire would break down under its own weight almost before the barbarians were ready to enter into the vacant inheritance.

Philip,
Emperor,
244-249.

One of the worst of these Barrack Emperors was PHILIP the Arabian. He availed himself of his position as Praetorian Prefect to starve the soldiers whom

¹ Julius Capitolinus in his life of Maximus and Balbinus (xvi.), who reigned for a few months of 238, says, 'Sub his pugnatum a Carpis contra Moesos fuit et *Scythici belli principium* et Histriae excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Histricae civitatis.' The above-quoted fragment of Petrus Patricius seems to compel us to bring the actual outbreak of war with the Carpi a few years further down than the date assigned by Capitolinus. Ammianus Marcellinus probably alludes to this destruction of Histros, when he calls it 'Histros, quondam potentissima civitas' (xxii. 8. 43). It is clear that Histria and Histrica Civitas of the above quotation, the Histros of Ammianus, the Historius of the Antonine Itinerary, and the Histriopolis of the Tabula Peutingeriana are all different names of the same city, which was twenty-five miles north of Tomi.

the young Emperor Gordian was leading upon an expedition against Persia, and then used the mutiny thus occasioned as a weapon for his master's destruction and a lever for his own elevation to the throne. Having gained the purple by treachery and deceit, he stained it by cowardice and crime. Soon after his accession the Goths began to complain that their annual *stipendia*¹ were being withheld from them, an omission which was probably due, not so much to any deliberate change of policy, as to the utter disorganisation into which the finances of the administration of the Empire had fallen under the indolent Arabian who bore the title of Augustus. This default turned them at once from friends and *foederati* of the Empire into enemies and invaders.

Under their king *Ostrogotha* (whose name perhaps indicates that the Ostrogothic half of the nation took the lead in this expedition) they crossed the Danube, and devastated Moesia and Thrace. Decius the Senator, a man of stern and austere character, was sent by Philip to repel the invasion. He fought unsuccessfully, and indignant at the slackness of his troops, to whose neglect he attributed the Gothic passage of the Danube, he dismissed large numbers of them from the army as unworthy of the name of soldiers. The disbanded legionaries sought the Gothic camp, and Ostrogotha, who had probably retired across the Danube at the end of his first campaign, formed a new and more powerful

Gothic invasion of the Empire under Ostrogotha.

¹ 'Gothi, ut adsolet, subtracta sibi stipendia sua aegre ferentes, de amicis effecti sunt inimici. Nam quamvis remoti sub regibus viverent suis, reipublicae tamen Romanae foederati erant et annua munera percipiebant' (Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, xvi). This sentence admirably expresses the relations of the barbarian tribes to the Empire, both as friends and foes.

BOOK I.
CH. I.Unsuccessful
siege of
Marcian-
ople.

army, consisting of 30,000 Goths, of the Imperial deserters, of 3000 Carpi, of Vandals¹, and Taifali, and Peucini from the pine-covered island of Peucé at the mouth of the Danube. To the second campaign Ostrogotha did not go forth himself, but sent in his stead two able captains, by name Argaith² and Guntheric. Again the barbarians crossed the Danube, again they ravaged Moesia, but, as if this time not mere booty but conquest was their object, they laid formal siege to Marcianople, the great city built by Trajan on the Northern slope of the Balkans, named by him after his sister Marciana, and now represented by the important city of Schumla³. But the fierce, irregular onset of the barbarians was ill adapted for the slow, patient, scientific work of taking a Roman city. In their failure to capture Marcianople we have the first of a long series of unsuccessful sieges which we shall meet with in the history of the next three centuries, and which culminated in the great failure of the Ostrogoths to re-capture Rome from Belisarius. On this occasion the Goths received a large sum of money from the inhabitants of the untaken city, and returned to their own land.

War be-
tween the
Goths and
Gepidae.

For some time the further inroads of the Goths were delayed by a quarrel with the kindred tribe of the Gepidae, the 'Torpids' of the primaeval migration

¹ I think there can be little doubt that the 'Astringi nonnulli,' who are here mentioned by Jordanes, are Vandals of the Asdingian branch.

² Probably Argaith is the same person to whom Julius Capitolinus refers in his life of Gordian, iii. (*Historia Augusta*, xxxi): 'Arguntis Scytharum rex finitimorum regna vastabat.'

³ The site of Marcianople appears to be not actually at Schumla, but at Pravadi, a few miles from it.

from Scandinavia. This tribe, still lagging in the race, had not reached the shores of the Euxine, and were apparently stationed by the upper waters of the Vistula, perhaps in the region which we now call Galicia¹. Filled with envy at the successes of the Goths, and dissatisfied with their narrow boundaries, they first made a furious, successful, and almost exterminating raid upon their neighbours, the Burgundians, and then their king Fastida sent to Ostrogotha, saying, 'I am hemmed in with mountains and choked with forests; give me land or meet me in battle.' 'Deeply,' said Ostrogotha, 'as I should regret that tribes so nearly allied as you and we, should meet in impious and fratricidal strife, yet land I neither can nor will give you.' They joined battle 'at the town of Galtis, past which flows the river Auha²;' the Gepidae were thoroughly beaten, and Fastida fled humiliated to his home. So many fell in the battle that, as Jordanes hints with a grim smile, 'they no longer found their land too strait for them³.'

After this episode the Goths returned to their more

¹ 'Hi ergo Gepidae tacti invidia dum Spesis provinciâ commanerent in insulam Visclae amnis vadibus (sic) circumactam, quam patrio sermone dicebant Gepedoios. Nunc eam, ut fertur, insulam gens Vividaria incolit, ipsis ad meliores terras meantibus' (Jord. De Reb. Get. xvii). I have not met with any explanation which throws much light on 'Spesis provincia' or 'gens Vividaria.' Gepedoios no doubt means the Gepid Meadows, and resembles the Oium of Cap. iv. (see p. 41).

² Mommsen suggests for Galtis, the Transylvanian Galt (?) on the Aluta. Schafarik (quoted by Hunfalfvy, Ethnographie von Ungarn, p. 391) makes the Waag the equivalent of 'fluvius Auha,' and puts the battle in the North-West of Hungary. But it is lost labour trying to make sense of the geography of Jordanes.

³ 'Crescenti populo dum terras coepit addere, incolas patrios reddidit rariores' (De Rebus Geticis, cap. xvii).

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

Emperor
Decius.

249-251.

important business, the war with Rome. *Cniva* was now their King, and *DECIUS*, the general in the previous campaign, was Emperor of Rome. This man is unfavourably known to us in ecclesiastical history as having set on foot one of the fiercest persecutions of the Christians, that namely to which the illustrious Cyprian fell a victim. Yet Decius was no mere tyrant and voluptuary, persecuting and torturing for the sake of a new sensation. He had in him something of the heroic spirit of his great namesakes, the Decii of the Samnite wars. He was willing, even as they had been, to sacrifice himself for the glory of Rome, to which the Goths without and the Christians within were, in his eyes, equally hostile; and his calm readiness to accept death in the discharge of his duty, showed that he shared the heroism of the martyrs whose blood he blindly shed.

Invasion of
the Empire
by Cniva.

249.

250 (?)

King Cniva, with 70,000 of his subjects, crossed the Danube at the place (about thirty-four miles above Rustchuk) which is still called Novo-grad, and was then known as *Novae*. In his first campaign he fought with varying fortune against Gallus, the duke of Moesia, and Decius¹ the young Caesar, whose father the Emperor appears to have remained at Rome during the first year of his reign. Nicopolis² was besieged by the Goths, but of course not taken. Still Cniva moved southwards, first lurking in the fastnesses of the Balkans, and afterwards crossing that range and appearing before Philippopolis, now the capital of 'Eastern Roumelia,' then an important city at the intersection of the

¹ Otherwise called Etruscus.

² According to Jordanes this was Nicopolis on the river Iatrus, now Nikup.

highways in the Thracian plain. Hither vast numbers of panic-stricken provincials had flocked for refuge, and the Roman generals were naturally anxious to raise the siege. The young Decius led his legions over the rugged passes of the Balkans (a serious barrier to the passage of troops, as the Russian generals found in the campaign of 1877): and having surmounted these he gave his men and horses a few days' rest in the city of Beroa¹. Here Cniva with his Goths fell upon him like a thunderbolt², inflicted terrible slaughter on the surprised Roman soldiers, and forced Decius to flee with a few followers to Novae, where Gallus with a large and still unshaken host was guarding the Danubian frontier of Moesia.

BOOK I.
CH. I.
250.

After this battle the disheartened defenders of Philippopolis soon surrendered it to the barbarians. Vast quantities of treasure were taken, 100,000 of the citizens and refugees (so said the annalists³) were massacred within the walls of the city, and, what might have been yet more disastrous for the Empire, Priscus, governor of Macedonia⁴ and brother of the late Emperor Philip, having been taken prisoner, was persuaded to assume the Imperial purple, or persuaded the Goths to allow him to do so, and declare himself a rival Augustus to Decius. Thus early in their career were

Capture of
Philippo-
polis.

¹ Evidently the Beroa of the Antonine Itinerary, 87 miles North-West of Hadrianople (identified in Smith's Atlas with Eski Saara). Tillemont confuses it with the Macedonian Berea of Acts xvii. 10.

² 'Cniva cum Gothis in modum fulminis ruit.'

³ 'Post clades acceptas inlatas multas et saevas excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum millibus—*nisi fingunt annales*—intra moenia jugulatis' (Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 5, 17).

⁴ 'L. Prisco qui Macedonas Praesidatu regebat' (Aurelius Victor de

BOOK I. the Goths resorting to the expedient of creating an
CH. 1. Anti-Emperor¹.

250.
Decius the
Emperor
appears on
the scene.

Jordanes,
De Reb.
Get. xviii.

The proclamation of Priscus and the tidings of the Gothic successes drew the Emperor Decius to the scene of action. He probably left Rome at the end of the year 250 or the beginning of 251; and the persecution of the Christians seems to have abated somewhat on his departure. Priscus, who had been declared a public enemy by the Senate, was soon killed, and for a time the Gothic campaign went prosperously for the Empire. In the North, Gallus, 'duke of the frontier,' collected the troops from Novæ and Oiscus² (each the depôt of a legion) into a powerful army. In the South the Emperor provided for the safety of the rich and still unviolated province of Achaia by sending a brave young officer named Claudius to hold the pass of Thermopylae against the invaders, should they turn their steps southward³. While the Romans gained confidence

¹ This paragraph and its predecessor (which, as will be seen, differ considerably from the corresponding one in the previous edition) are the result of an attempt to combine the conflicting narratives of Jordanes (De Reb. Get. xviii) and Aurelius Victor (loc. cit.). I follow Tillemont in making the young Decius, not his father, the general in this campaign. Clinton (Fasti Romani, 250) holds the same view.

² At Novæ, as we learn from the Antonine Itinerary, was stationed the First Legion (Italica): at Oiscus (about sixty miles further up the Danube) the Fifth Legion (Macedonica).

³ We learn this fact from the Augustan History. Trebellius Pollio, near the end of the life of Claudius, quotes an interesting letter from Decius to Messala, the Praeses of Achaia, in which the above commission is stated to have been given to 'Tribunus Claudius, optimus juvenis, fortissimus miles, constantissimus civis, castris, Senatui et Reipublicae necessarius,' and Messala is directed to furnish him with 200 soldiers from the district of Dardania, 100 soldiers clad in mail (cataphractarii), 160 horsemen, 60 Cretan bowmen, and 1000 well-armed recruits.

from the arrival of the Emperor, the Goths, to whom even their victories had been costly, and who were perhaps demoralised by the sack of Philippopolis, lost theirs. They found themselves hard pressed by Decius, and offered, we are told, to relinquish all their captives and all their spoil if they might be allowed to return in peace to their own land. Decius refused their request, and ordered Gallus and his army to obstruct the line of their homeward march, while he himself pursued them from behind. If we may trust a Roman historian¹ (which is doubtful, since a beaten army is always ready with the cry of treachery), Gallus, already coveting the Imperial crown, opened negotiations with the barbarians, and these by a concerted arrangement posted themselves near a very deep swamp, into which by a feigned flight they drew Decius and his troops. The Romans, floundering in the bog, soon became a disorderly multitude. Moreover, at this critical period, the younger Decius fell, pierced by a Gothic arrow. The troops offered their rough and hasty sympathy to the bereaved father, who answered with stoical calmness, 'Let no one be cast down: the loss of one soldier is no serious injury to the State.' He himself soon after perished². With a vast multitude of his officers and men, he was sucked in by that fatal swamp, and not even his corpse, nor those of thousands of his followers, were ever recovered.

Defeat and
death of
Decius.

¹ Zosimus, copied by Zonaras.

² The language both of Jordanes and Aurelius Victor, who are our most circumstantial witnesses as to this battle, seems to point to an interval of some time between the deaths of the son and the father. And yet it is not easy to reconcile this with the account of the battle given by Zosimus. Perhaps there were two engagements on the same day and at the same place.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

251.

The date of this disastrous battle can be fixed with considerable certainty in the last days of the month of November, 251¹. The place was (says Jordanes) 'Abrittus, a city of Moesia²,' the site of which has yet to be discovered, but which was probably somewhere in the marshy ground near the mouth of the Danube. It is interesting to note that the Gothic historian says that 'even to his day it was still called Ara Decii, because there, before the battle, the Emperor had miserably offered sacrifice to his idols.'

Import-
ance of this
event.

The death of a Roman Emperor and the loss of his army in battle with barbarians from out of the Scythian wilderness was an event which sent a shudder through the whole Roman world, and raised new and wild hopes in all the nations that swarmed around the long circumference of the Empire. There were three great disasters in the course of four centuries which seemed to indicate that the rule of Rome over the world might not be so eternal as the legends upon her medals and the verses of her poets declared to be its destiny. The first was the defeat of Varus and his legions in the Saltus Teutoburgiensis; the second was this catastrophe of Decius in the marshes of the Dobrudscha; the third was the similar calamity which will be described in a future chapter, and which befell the Emperor Valens on the plains of Hadrianople.

A.D. 9.

A.D. 251.

A.D. 378.

Return of
the Goths
across the
Danube.

For the time however the actual danger of invasion from the Goths was at an end. These barbarians were still bent on plunder rather than on conquest, and being

¹ See the proof of this in Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, iii. 283.

² Otherwise called Forum Thembronii or Terebronii, but this is also unknown.

intent on returning to their Scythian homes with the spoil of Thrace, they condescended to fulfil the compact which they had made—if indeed they had made it—with Gallus, late duke of Moesia and now wearer of the purple and lord of the Roman world. The terms of the treaty were that they should return to their own land with all their booty, with the multitude of captives, many of them men of noble birth, whom they had taken at Philippopolis and elsewhere, and that the Emperor should pay them a certain sum of money every year. This yearly payment might be treated, according to the nationality of the speaker, as a mere renewal of the *Stipendia* of previous years (no doubt greatly increased in amount) or as an actual tribute paid by the Roman Augustus to the Gothic king.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

251.

Zosimus,
i. 24.

However, even this ignominiously purchased peace with the barbarians was of short duration. The time was one of the darkest in all that dark century; Emperors were rising and falling in rapid succession (GALLUS 251, AEMILIAN 253, VALERIAN 254); a terrible pestilence which was to last fifteen years, bred in Ethiopia, had stalked down the valley of the Nile and was wasting the Asiatic and Illyrian provinces, and on the Eastern frontier the never-long-slumbering hostility of the Persian king was arousing itself for a fresh attack on the exhausted Empire. It was apparently during these disasters that the Goths crossed the Carpathians, and finally wrested Dacia from her Roman rulers, though this important event, recorded by no historian, can only be inferred by us from the sudden cessation of Roman inscriptions and coins in Dacia about this time¹.

252-267.

Loss of
Dacia

about 255.

¹ See Mommsen (Röm. Gesch. v. 220). 'While Aemilian was con-

BOOK I.
CH. 1.Maritime
expedi-
tions.
258-262.Zosimus,
i. 31.

But the chief feature of the 'Scythian war' which soon followed, and one which brings the Goths before us in a new capacity, as the forerunners of our own Saxon and Scandinavian forefathers, was its *maritime* character. The Scythians (under which generic name we have to include, not the Goths only, but also the Carpi, Heruli, and other neighbouring tribes) seem to have pressed down to the sea-shore and compelled the Roman and Greek settlers in the Crimea, by the mouth of the Dnieper and along the shores of the Sea of Azof, to supply them with ships, sailors, and pilots, for buccaneering expeditions against the lands on the other side of the misty Euxine. The chronology of these events is difficult and obscure, and it will not be desirable to attempt to discuss it here, but the main outline of the four chief expeditions may be sketched as follows. I shall use the generic name 'Scythians,' which I find in our Greek authorities, without attempting in each case to say what was the share taken in them by the Goths, properly so called, and what that of their allies¹.

quering Gallus in Italy, and shortly afterwards succumbing to that Emperor's general, Valerian (254), Dacia, how and through whom we know not, was lost to the Empire. (Perhaps the invasion of the Marcomanni mentioned by Zosimus, i. 29, has something to do with this.) The latest coin struck in the Province, and the latest inscription found there date from the year 255: the latest coin of the neighbouring Viminacium in Upper Moesia, from the following year. Consequently in the earliest years of Valerian and Gallienus the barbarians possessed themselves of the Roman territory on the left bank of the Danube, and were pressing on to the right bank also.'

¹ Zosimus (i. 29-46), the *Historia Augusta* (Life of Gallienus) and the fragments of Dexippus, are our chief authorities for these Scythian inroads. It is remarkable how little is said about them by Jordanes, who devotes to them only one short chapter in his history (*De Reb. Get. xx*).

The first voyage of these new barbarian Argonauts was made to a city of that same Colchis from which Jason brought back Medea and the Golden Fleece. Pityus (*Soukoum Kaleh*), at the eastern end of the Euxine, once a flourishing Greek city, had been destroyed by Caucasian highlanders, and rebuilt by the Romans, and was now surrounded by a very strong wall and in the possession of a splendid harbour. The Roman governor, Successianus, made a spirited defence, and the barbarians after sustaining severe loss were compelled to retire. Upon this the Emperor Valerian promoted Successianus to the high, the almost royal dignity of Praetorian Prefect, and removed him to Antioch that he might assist him in rebuilding that city (ruined by the Persians) and in preparing for a fresh campaign against the Persian king. Apparently the loss of one man's courage and skill was fatal to the defenders of Pityus: for when the barbarians, having made a feigned attack on another part of the coast, rapidly returned, they took that stronghold without difficulty. The ships in the harbour and the sailors impressed into the Scythian service smoothed their way to further successes. The great city of Trapezuntium (*Trebizond*), on the southern shore of the Black Sea, being surrounded by a double wall and strongly garrisoned, might have been expected to prove an insuperable obstacle. But the Scythians, who had discovered that the defenders of the city kept a lax watch, and passed their time in feasting and drunkenness, quietly collected a quantity of wood which they heaped up one night against the lowest part of the walls, and so mounted to an easy conquest. The demoralised Roman soldiers poured out of the city by the gate opposite to that by

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

Siege of
Pityus
258 (?)

and Trape-
zuntium.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

258.

which the Scythians were entering. The barbarians thus came into possession of an untold quantity of gold and captives, and, after sacking the temple and wrecking the stateliest of the public buildings, returned by sea to their own land.

Bithynia
invaded.
259.

Their success stimulated a large neighbouring tribe of Scythians to undertake a similar enterprise. These, however, dreading the uncertainties of the navigation of the Euxine, marched by land from the mouths of the Danube to the little lake of Philea, about thirty miles north-west of Byzantium. There they found a large population of fishermen, whom they compelled to render them the same service with their boats which the men by the Sea of Azof had rendered to their countrymen. Guided by a certain Chrysogonus, whose Grecian name suggests that he was a deserter from the cause of civilisation, they sailed boldly through the Bosphorus, wrested the strong position of Chalcedon at its mouth from a cowardly Roman army far superior to them in numbers, and then proceeded to lay waste at their leisure Nicomedeia, Nicaea, and other rich cities of Bithynia. The men who had overcome so many difficulties were, after all, stopped by the Rhyndacus, an apparently inconsiderable stream which falls into the Sea of Marmora. Retracing their steps, therefore, they tranquilly burned all the Bithynian cities which they had hitherto only plundered, and piling their vast heaps of spoil on waggons and on ships, they returned to their own land.

The Baths
of Anchia-
lus.

The foregoing account of this inroad of the barbarians is given to us by Zosimus the Greek historian. The Goth Jordanes, whose historical perspective is not extremely accurate, informs us that

during the expedition 'they also sacked Troy and Ilium, which were just beginning to breathe again for a little space after that sad war with Agamemnon¹.' But neither Chalcedon nor Troy seems to have imprinted itself so deeply in the barbarian memory as a certain town in Thrace named Anchialus (*Bourghaz*), built just where the range of the Balkans slopes down into the Euxine Sea. For at or near to Anchialus 'there were certain warm springs renowned above all others in the world for their healing virtues, and greatly did the Goths delight to wash therein.' One can imagine the children of the North, after the fatigue of sacking so many towns, beneath the hot sun of Asia Minor, rejoicing in the refreshment of these nature-heated baths. 'And having tarried there many days they thence returned home.'

BOOK I.
CH. I.
259.

The tidings of these ravages reached the Emperor Valerian at Antioch, where he was still engaged in deliberating whether he should arrest the onward movement of the Persians by war or diplomacy. Sending a trusted counsellor, Felix, to repair the fortifications of Byzantium, in the hope of thus making a repetition of the Scythian raids impossible, Valerian at length marched eastwards against the king of Persia. He marched to his own destruction, to the treachery of Macrianus, to the fatal interview with Sapor, to his long and ignominious captivity at Persepolis. The story which was current fifty years later, that the haughty Persian used the captive Emperor as a horse-block, putting his foot on Valerian's neck when-

Calamitous
Persian
campaign
of Vale-
rian.

260.

260-265.

¹ 'Vastantes in itinere suo Trojam Iliumque, quae, vix a bello illo Agamemnoniaco aliquantulum respirantes, rursus hostili mucrone deletae sunt' (De Rebus Geticis, xx).

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

ever he mounted his steed, and remarking with a sneer that this was a real triumph, and not like the imaginary triumphs which the Romans painted on their walls, may have been the rhetorical invention of a later age: but it seems beyond question that the aged Emperor was treated with studied insolence and severity, and that when he died, his skin, painted in mockery the colour of Imperial purple, was preserved, a ghastly trophy, in the temple of Persepolis.

Reign of
Gallienus,
260-268.

His son GALLIENUS, who had been associated with him in the Empire, and whose right to rule was challenged by usurpers in almost every province of the Empire¹, was a man of excellent abilities, but absolutely worthless character, a *poco-curante* on the throne of the world at a time when all the strength and all the earnestness of the greatest of the Caesars would hardly have sufficed for that arduous position. Gallienus accepted both his father's captivity and the Empire's dismemberment with flippant serenity. 'Egypt,' said one of his ministers, 'has revolted.' 'What of that? Cannot we dispense with Egyptian flax?' 'Fearful earthquakes have happened in Asia Minor, and the Scythians are ravaging all the country.' 'But cannot we do without Lydian saltpetre?' When Gaul was lost, he gave a merry laugh, and said, 'Do you think the Republic will be in danger if the Consul's robes cannot be made of the Gaulish tartan?'

Expedition
to Ephesus,
262 or 263.

Two or three years after the commencement of the captivity of Valerian, a third expedition of the Scythians, which must have been partly maritime, brought the barbarians to another well-known spot, to the Ionic city of Ephesus, where they signalled their sojourn by the

¹ The so-called Thirty Tyrants.

destruction of that magnificent Temple of Diana, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, of whose hundred marble columns, wreathed round by sculptured figures in high relief, an English explorer¹ has lately discovered the pathetically defaced ruins.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.
262-3.

But a holier shrine of art than even Ephesus was to be visited by the unwelcome pilgrimage of the Teutons. Four or five years later some warriors of the Herulian tribe (accompanied possibly by some of the Goths properly so called), with a fleet which is said to have consisted of five hundred ships—if they should not rather be called mere boats—sailed again through the Bosphorus, took Byzantium, ravaged some of the islands of the Archipelago, and landing in Greece, wasted not only Corinth, Sparta, and Argos, but even Athens herself, with fire and sword. The soft and cultured Athenians, lately immersed in the friendly rivalries of their professors of rhetoric, and who had not for centuries seen a spear thrown in anger, were terrified by the apparition of these tall, gaunt, skin-clothed barbarians under their walls². They abandoned their beautiful city without a struggle, and as many as could do so escaped to the *demes*, the little villages scattered along the heights of Hymettus and Cithaeron. It was

The barbarians at Athens.
267.

Georgius Syncellus, p. 282 (ed. Paris).

¹ Mr. J. T. Wood (Discoveries at Ephesus; London, 1877).

² Herzberg gives us an admirable, if imaginary, picture of the condition of Athens at this time:—

‘The streets and squares which at other times were enlivened only by the noisy crowds of the ever-restless citizens, and of the students who flocked thither from all parts of the Graeco-Roman world, now resounded with the dull roar of the German bull-horns and the war-cry of the Goths. Instead of the red cloak of the Sophists, and the dark hoods of the Philosophers, the skin-coats of the barbarians fluttered in the breeze. Wodan and Donar had gotten the victory over Zeus and Athene’ (Geschichte Griechenlands, iii. 170).

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

267.

Zonaras,
xii. 26.

probably during the occupation of Athens by the barbarians which followed this surrender that a characteristic incident occurred. A troop of Teutonic warriors roaming through the city in search of something to destroy, came to one of the great libraries which were the glory of Athens. They began to carry out the parchment rolls, full of unintelligible learning, and to pile them up in a great heap, intending to behold a magnificent bonfire. 'Not so, my sons,' said a gray-bearded Gothic veteran; 'leave these scrolls untouched, that the Greeks may in time to come, as they have in time past, waste their manhood in poring over their wearisome contents. So will they ever fall, as now, an easy prey to the strong unlearned sons of the North.'

Valour of
Dexippus.

That the Gothic veteran spoke only a half-truth when he uttered these words was soon shown by the valiant and wisely planned onset, which was made upon the barbarians by Dexippus, rhetorician, philosopher, and historian, who at the head of only 2000 men, co-operating apparently with an Imperial fleet, succeeded in expelling the barbarians from Athens, and to some extent effaced the stigma which their recent cowardice had brought upon the name of the Greeks. Details as to the siege and counter-siege are alike wanting, but we still have the speech, truly said to be not altogether unworthy of a place in the pages of Thucydides, in which the soldier-sophist, while cautioning his followers against rash and unsupported skirmishes, breathes a high heroic spirit into their hearts, and appeals to them to show themselves fit inheritors of the great traditions of their forefathers. 'Thus shall we win from men now living, and from those who are yet to be, the meed of ever-to-be-remembered glory,

Excerpta
e Dexippo,
5 & 6 (pp.
22-28, ed.
Bonn).

proving in very deed that even in the midst of our calamities the old spirit of the Athenians is not abated. Let us therefore set our children and all our dearest ones upon the hazard of this battle for which we now array ourselves, calling upon the all-seeing gods to be our helpers.'

BOOK I.
CH. 1.
—
267.

'When they heard these words, the Athenians were greatly strengthened, and begged him to lead them on to battle,' in which, as has been already said, they appear to have won a complete victory.

Gallienus himself appears to have had some share in a further discomfiture of the Heruli, which was followed by the surrender of their leader Naulobates, who entered the Imperial service and obtained the dignity of a Roman Consul. But the Emperor was soon recalled to Italy by the news that his general Aureolus had assumed the purple, apparently in the city of Milan. Gallienus hastened thither and began the siege of the city, which lasted some months. Before its close, Aureolus, who found himself hard pressed, succeeded in forming a conspiracy among the officers of Gallienus, which ended in the assassination of that prince while he was engaged in repelling a sortie of the besieged.

Civil war
and death
of Gallie-
nus, 268.
Georg.
Syncellus,
p. 382.

The Roman world again awoke to hopefulness when the reign of the Imperial voluptuary was ended, and when out of the nightmare-dream of plots, assassinations, and civil wars, the strong and brave Illyrian soldier Claudius, who had already borne a leading part in the defence of Moesia, emerged as sole ruler of the Empire¹. Aureolus was defeated and put to death; the Alamanni, who from the lands of the Main and the

Claudius
II, Em-
peror,
268-270.

¹ Virtually sole ruler. But Tetricus in Gaul and Zenobia at Palmyra remained to be conquered by Claudius.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

269.

Levy en
masse of
the bar-
barians.

Neckar had penetrated into Italy as far as the Lake of Garda and menaced Verona were vanquished, and half of their host were slain. After some months spent at Rome in restoring peace to the troubled state, Claudius turned his steps towards his own native Illyricum, in order to rescue that portion of the Empire from the avalanche of barbarism, which was thundering over it. It was indeed time for Rome to put forth her whole strength. The Goths with all their kindred tribes were pouring themselves upon Thrace and Macedonia in vaster numbers than ever. The previous movement of these nations had been probably but robber-inroads; this was a national immigration. The number of the ships (or skiffs) which they prepared on the river Dniester, is stated by Zosimus at 6000. This is probably an exaggeration or an accidental corruption of the historian's text; but 2000, which is the figure given by Ammianus, is a sufficiently formidable number, even of the small craft to which the estimate refers. And the invading host itself, including doubtless camp-followers and slaves, perhaps some women and children, is said, with a concurrence of testimony which we dare not disregard, to have reached the enormous total of 320,000.

Invasion
by land
and by sea.

In order to obtain any sense from the conflicting accounts of this campaign, we must suppose¹ that this vast Gothic horde made their attack partly by sea and partly by land². While the 2000 ships sailed over the Euxine, and, after vainly attacking Tomi, Marcianople,

¹ With Herzberg, iii. 184-5.

² The history of Zosimus deals *chiefly* with the maritime invaders, the life of Claudius in the *Historia Augusta* with those who came by land.

and Byzantium, traversed the swift Bosphorus, and again sought the pleasant islands of the Aegean, the rest of the host, with women and children, with wag-gons and camp-followers, must have crossed the Danube and pressed southwards across the devastated plains of Moesia. The sea-rovers, who had suffered from storms and from collisions in the narrow waters of the Sea of Marmora, reached at length, in diminished numbers, the promontory of Athos, and there repaired their ships. They then proceeded to besiege the cities of Cassandreia (once better known under the name of Potidaea) and of Thessalonica. Strong as were the fortifications of the latter important city, it would perhaps have yielded to the barbarians, had not tidings reached them that Claudius was in Moesia, and that their brethren of the Northern army were in danger¹. After a skirmish in the valley of the Vardar in which they lost 3000 men, they crossed the Balkans and, perhaps uniting with their Northern brethren, gathered round the army of Claudius who was ascending the valley of the Morava and had reached the city of Naissus². The battle which followed looked at first like a Roman defeat. After great slaughter on both sides the Imperial troops gave way, but coming back by unfrequented paths, they fell upon the barbarians in all the joy of their victory, and slew of them 50,000 men. After this defeat the sea-rovers seem to have returned to their ships, and abandoning the siege of Thessalonica, to have wasted their energies in desultory attacks on Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus; but partly from the ravages of the plague which was at this time desolating the

BOOK I.
CH. 1
269.

Battle of
Naissus.

Return of
the sea-
rovers.

¹ This is a conjectural amplification of the language of Zosimus.

² Nissa or Nisch, in Servia.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

269.

shores of the Levant, and partly from the energetic attack of the Alexandrian fleet under the command of the valiant officer Probus (afterwards Emperor), they suffered so severely that they were obliged to return home having done no memorable deed.

Blockade
and sur-
render of
the land-
army of the
barbarians,
270.

As to their brethren of the land army, they made a rampart of their waggons, behind which for some time they kept the Romans at bay. They then turned southwards into Macedonia, but so great was the pressure of hunger upon them that they killed and ate the cattle that drew the waggons, thus abandoning their last chance of returning to their northern homes. The Roman cavalry shut them up into the passes of the Balkans; the too eager infantry attacking them were repulsed with some loss. Claudius, or the generals whom he had left in command, resumed the waiting game, and at length after the barbarians had endured the horrors of a winter among the Balkan fastnesses, aggravated by the miseries of the pestilence, which raged there as well as in the islands of the Aegean, their stout Gothic hearts were broken and they surrendered themselves unconditionally to their conqueror.

Claudius'
bulletin.

It was in the following words, whose boastfulness seems to have been almost justified by the facts, that Claudius, who received the surname Gothicus in celebration of his victory, announced the issue of the campaign to the governor of Illyricum:—

Historia
Augusta,
Vita Clau-
dii, viii.

‘ Claudius to Brocchus.—We have destroyed 320,000 of the Goths; we have sunk 2000 of their ships. The rivers are bridged over with shields; with swords and lances all the shores are covered. The fields are hidden from sight under the superincumbent bones; no road is free from them; an immense encampment of wag-

gons is deserted. We have taken such a number of women that each soldier can have two or three concubines allotted to him.' BOOK I
CH. I.

Of the males in the diminished remnant of the Gothic army who were admitted to quarter, some probably entered the service of their vanquisher as *foederati*, and many remained as slaves to plough the fields which they had once hoped to conquer for their own.

But the terrible pestilence, which more than the Roman sword had defeated the armies of the barbarians, intensified by the unburied corpses strewn over the desolated land, entered the Roman camp and demanded the noblest of the host as a victim. In the spring of 270 Claudius Gothicus died, having reigned only two memorable years. He was succeeded¹ by another brave Illyrian, like himself of humble origin, the well-known conqueror of Zenobia, AURELIAN. This Emperor, of whose exploits when still only a tribune marvellous stories were told, who was reported to have slain in one day eight-and-forty Sarmatians, and in the course of a campaign nine hundred and fifty; this soldier who had been so fond of his weapons and so quick to use them that his surname in the army had been 'Hand-on-sword,' distinguished himself in the history of the Empire by a wise stroke of peaceful policy, the final abandonment of Dacia. Death of
Claudius,
270.

Aurelian,
270-275.

This province, which ever since the Marcomannic war at the close of the second century had been a precarious possession of the Empire, had now been for fifteen years freely traversed by the Goths and their kindred tribes. Aurelian saw that the energies of the State Final abandon-
ment of
Dacia.

¹ After an interval of a few months, during which Quintillus, brother of Claudius, wore the purple.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

Hist.
Augusta,
Vita Au-
reliani,
xxxix.

would be over-taxed in the endeavour to retain an isolated outwork such as Dacia had ever been, and that it would be wiser to make the Lower Danube once more the limit of the Empire in this quarter. Details are unfortunately not given us as to the manner in which the Romans relinquished Dacia. Had they been preserved, they would probably have furnished an interesting commentary on the yet more obscure abandonment of Britain a century and a half later. But we are told that 'the Emperor withdrew his army and left Dacia to the provincials' (a strange expression for the new comers from Scythia) 'despairing of being able to retain it, and the peoples led forth from thence he settled in Mcesia, and made there a province which he called his own Dacia, and which now divides the two Moesias' (Superior and Inferior). This new 'Dacia of Aurelian,' a curious attempt to gloss over the real loss of a province, consisted of the eastern half of Servia and the western end of Bulgaria, and was eventually divided into two smaller provinces, *Dacia Ripensis* whose capital was the strong city of Ratiaria on the Danube, and *Dacia Mediterranea* whose capital Sardica became famous in the fourth century as the seat of an Ecclesiastical Council, and under its modern name of Sofia is now again famous as the modern capital of Bulgaria.

In abandoning the old trans-Danubian Dacia to the Goths, Aurelian may probably have made some sort of stipulation with them that they should not again cross the great river, nor sail the Euxine Sea as enemies to Rome¹. The recession of the Imperial frontier, by

¹ I do not think we have authority for stating the bargain between Aurelian and the Goths so precisely as I did in the first edition

whatever conditions it was accompanied, was undoubtedly a piece of real statesmanship. Could a similar policy have been pursued, cautiously and consistently, all round the frontiers of the Roman Empire, it is allowable to conjecture that that Empire, though in somewhat less than its widest circumference, might still be standing.

After the reign of Aurelian the Goths remained for nearly a century on terms of peace, though not unbroken peace, with Rome. The skirmishes or battles which caused the Emperors TACITUS and PROBUS to put 'Victoria Gothica' on their coins¹, and in right of which DIOCLETIAN and MAXIMIAN added 'Gothici' to their other proud titles of conquest, were probably but the heaving of the waves after the great tempest of Gothic invasion had ceased to blow. In the Civil War between CONSTANTINE and LICINIUS, Gothic *foederati* fought under the banners of Constantine, and at a later period of his reign 40,000 of the same auxiliaries under their kings *Ariaric* and *Aoric* followed the Roman eagles on various expeditions². But Constantine himself, intervening in some quarrel between the Goths and their Sarmatian [Slavonic] neighbours, took part

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

A century
of compara-
tive peace,
270-367.

Tacitus,
275-276.
Probus,
276-282.
Diocletian,
284-305.

314.

(p. 62). As far as our authorities go, we can only state positively Aurelian's abandonment of Dacia, and infer the Gothic promise of tranquillity. The negotiations which Gibbon has described, on the authority of Dexippus, were evidently made with the Vandals, and must not be transferred to the Goths.

¹ Akerman's Roman Coins, ii. 101. 108.

² Jordanes tries to connect his nation in some way with the foundation of Constantinople. 'Nam et ut famosissimam et Romae aemulam in suo nomine conderet civitatem, Gothorum interfuit operatio, qui foedere inito cum imperatore quadraginta suorum millia illi in solatia contra gentes varias obtulere, quorum et numerus et militia usque ad praesens in republicâ nominatur, id est foederati, (De Reb. Get. xxi).

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

with the latter, and conducted operations against the Goths, which are said to have caused the death of near 100,000 of their number from cold and hunger. Hostages were then given by the defeated barbarians, among them the son of king Ariaric, and the usual friendly relations between the Goths and the Empire were resumed¹.

Restora-
tion of the
Empire by
the Illyrian
Emperors.

These hundred years of nearly uninterrupted peace may have been caused partly by the exhaustion resulting from the invasions in the reign of Gallienus and the remembrance of the terrible defeat which the Goths had sustained at the hands of Claudius. Some increasing softness of manners and some power of appreciating the blessings of civilisation, the result of their intercourse with Roman provincials on both sides of the Danube, may have contributed to the same result. But doubtless the main reason for this century of peace was the greatly increased strength of the Empire, precisely upon her Danubian frontier. After the wars of Gallienus a series of brave and capable Illyrian soldiers mounted the throne. Not only Claudius, but Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, Constantine, all deduced their origin from Illyricum. Some of these men had risen to eminence in the terrible Gothic struggle. All of them, with eyes quickened by affection for their own fatherland, saw the necessity of strengthening this middle section of the Empire's long line of defence. It was in order to be near the vital point which the Scythian marauders had penetrated that Diocletian took up his abode at the Bithynian city of Nicomedia. It was in continuation

¹ We get these details chiefly from the important fragment known as *Anonymus Valesii*.

of the same policy and by one of the highest inspirations of statesmanship that the world has witnessed, that Constantine planted his new Rome beside the Bosphorus. Thus the Scythian invasions, the history of which we have been labouring to recover from the discordant fragments of the chroniclers, hold a prominent position among the causes which have brought about the endless 'Eastern Question' of to-day. And, without doubt, as the terrible Gothic invasions contributed to the foundation of Constantinople, so the foundation of that city and the transference of so much of the strength of the Empire from the Tiber to the Golden Horn, had the effect of striking terror and despair into the hearts of the barbarians on the northern shore of the Euxine, and had much to do with the century of comparative peace between 'Gothia' and 'Romania.'

Of this period of Gothic sojourn in Dacia we have one interesting relic in the celebrated Buzeu Ring¹. This is a golden arm-ring, elastic and snake-shaped, and is part of a large treasure of golden ornaments found at Buzeu in Little Wallachia, in the year 1838. Upon the flat surface of the ring is carved, or rather stamped with a hammer and a sharp instrument, the following Runic inscription :

X Λ ↑ ꝛ ꝛ | X ꝛ | H ꝛ | ꝛ ꝛ X

equivalent to—

GUTÆNIOWI HÆILÆG,

which may be translated either 'Holy to the Temple of

¹ Sometimes called the Petrossa ring, Petrossa being the nearest town to the place of discovery, or the Bucharest ring, from its being now deposited in the Museum at Bucharest. See description in Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, ii. 571, iii. 265.

BOOK I. the Goths,' or 'Holy to the new Temple of the Goths'.
 CH. 1.

There is some little difficulty about the middle part of the inscription, but none as to its beginning and end, which are admitted to contain the name of the Gothic people and the Teutonic adjective for 'holy.' From the heathen character of the inscription it must be referred to a pretty early period in the Gothic occupation of Dacia, say between 250 and 350. It has been suggested² that 'the great intrinsic value of the gold, forming the Buzeu hoard, points to the dedication of the spoils of some great triumph—the plunder, it may be, of the camp of Decius, or the ransom of the wealthy city of Marcianople.' But this is of course mere conjecture.

Civilisa-
 tion of the
 Visigoths
 through
 their resi-
 dence in
 Dacia.

One result of the settlement in Dacia was probably to broaden the line of demarcation between the two nations of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths, if indeed it did not (as might be argued with some probability) for the first time divide the Gothic people into those two sections. Everything in the story of the barbarian migrations shows us how powerful was the moral, we might almost say the spiritual, influence, exercised by the stately fabric of Roman civilisation upon the barbarians who

'With straitened habits and with tastes starved small'³ came to burrow in its abandoned chambers. True,

¹ Professor Odobescu (in a monograph on Trajan's Column quoted in the *Archaeological Review*, iv. 51-56) reads GUTANI OCVI HAILAG, and translates: 'To Gutan [=Wodan] Scythia is dedicated.' He quotes Jordanes (*De Reb. Get.* iv), 'Pervenit ad Scythiae terras, quae lingua eorum Oium [al. 'Ocum' vel 'Ovim'] vocabantur.' But this seems to give an improbable rendering. We await further light on the question.

² By Isaac Taylor in his *Greeks and Goths*, p. 8.

³ Browning, *Epistle of Karshish*.

Aurelian had invited all the old inhabitants who chose to do so to leave the old Dacia and become settlers in his new Dacia south of the Danube, but many probably did not accept the invitation, and in any event there was much Roman which could not migrate. The great roads, the cities, the mines, the baths, the camps, the temples remained, to impress, to fascinate, to attract the minds of the barbarians. Legends of the mysterious people who had wrought these mighty works, tales of vast treasure-hoards, guarded by dwarfs or by serpents, would be told by Gothic mothers to their children. In some cases the ruined Roman city would be shunned as a dwelling-place by the Teutonic settlers, oppressed by a nameless fear of the spirits that might be haunting the spot. But even so, their own rude town would inevitably grow up near to the ancient *civitas*, for the sake of the roads which led to it. The experience of all other German settlements within the limits of the Empire warrants us in asserting *à priori* that the influence of their settlement in Dacia must have been a civilising one on the Gothic warriors, that it must have instilled into them a certain dissatisfaction with their own dull, unprogressive Past, and must have prepared their minds to admire, and in some measure to desire, the great intellectual heritage of Rome. And, *à posteriori*, we find precisely in the Visigothic nation a capacity for culture and for assimilation with their Roman subjects, greater and earlier than that possessed by any other of the barbarian invaders of the Empire; and we are surely entitled to assume that the century passed in Roman Dacia had something to do with this result.

But it is the Visigothic branch alone of which we

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

The Ostrogoths probably remained unchanged.

may think as thus silently transformed by Roman influences. The Ostrogoths, dwelling in the vast plains of Lithuania and Southern Russia, had no such trophies of civilisation around them as those which met the gaze of their Western brethren. Some little civilising influence may have been exerted upon the coast-dwellers and the inhabitants of the Crimea by the Greek cities that were scattered helplessly among them: but the greater part of the Ostrogothic people, having been 'Scythians' of the steppes for centuries, remained Scythians still, barbarous, illiterate, untouched by the intellectual superiority of Rome.

Kings of the Goths.

As far, however, as we can trace anything of the political system of the Goths at this period, the less cultured part of the nation maintained a sort of ascendancy over their Visigothic brethren. The kings, Ariaric and Aoric, whom we have met with as fighting for or against the Emperor Constantine, may have belonged to either section. The reign of the next king, *Geberic*, was chiefly distinguished by a successful attack on the Vandals, whom he drove out from their settlements on the western border of Dacia, and forced to take shelter under the Roman supremacy in the province of Pannonia. Geberic also may have been either Visigoth or Ostrogoth, though there is something in the way in which his name is introduced by Jordanes which seems to make the latter the more probable supposition. But

Geberic.

circa 337.

De Reb. Get. xxii.

Hermanric the Ostrogoth.

after Geberic we come to 'Hermanric, noblest of the Amals, who subdued many warlike nations of the North and forced them to obey his laws,' and here we are undoubtedly upon Ostrogothic ground. Jordanes compares him to Alexander the Great, and enumerates thirteen nations with barbarous names (scarcely one of

which corresponds to any that was ever mentioned by any historian before or since), all of whom obeyed the mighty Hermanric. There is a sort of mythical character about all the information that we receive concerning this Ostrogothic conqueror; but as it is said, with some appearance of truthfulness, that he extended his dominions even to the Aestii, who dwelt upon the amber-producing shore of the Baltic, his kingdom, which evidently included many Slavonic¹ as well as Teutonic tribes, must have occupied the greater part of Southern Russia and Lithuania, and was probably much the largest dominion then governed by any single barbarian ruler.

Did the royal power of Hermanric include any overlordship over the Visigothic branch of the nation? It is difficult to answer this question decisively; but, upon the whole, notwithstanding many traces of independent action, it seems probable that the Visigoths were, however loosely, incorporated in the great confederacy of barbarian tribes whereof Hermanric was the head². Their own immediate rulers bore some title of less commanding import than that of King, which has been

Had Hermanric the overlordship over the Visigoths?

¹ Jordanes describes the victorious wars of Hermanric first against the Heruli, whom he places in the swampy regions near the Sea of Azof, and then against the Veneti [Wends]. The latter, he says, were a vast nation, widely scattered over various regions, but chiefly conspicuous in three of their branches, the Veneti proper, the Sclaveni and the Antes. He seems to place the Sclaveni on the upper waters of the Dniester and the Vistula, that is in the neighbourhood of the modern Gallicia, and the Antes around the curve of the Euxine Sea from the Dniester to the Dnieper, that is in Kieff, Podolia, and Kherson. 'All these three tribes, though now [550] they are raging everywhere around us, then obeyed the orders of Hermanric.' De Reb. Get. xxiii.

² This is Dahn's conclusion (*Könige der Germanen*, ii. 90), strong as he considers the 'centrifugal' tendency of the Visigothic clans to have been between Cniva and Hermauric. De Reb. Get. v.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

translated by the Roman historians into the vague word *Judex*¹ (Judge). The inferiority of the title, and the fact that it was apparently borne by several persons at a time, are clear indications that a disintegrating process was at work in the Visigothic nation, and that the unity which a monarchical constitution gives was beginning to disappear under the influence of peaceful contact with the higher civilisation of the Empire.

Teutonic
kingship.

At a later period² the reader's attention will be called to some of the interesting but difficult questions connected with German kingship. Meanwhile it may be well that he should note for himself how far the authority of the king was limited by the necessity of obtaining for his decisions the approval of the armed nation, and what was the effect of warlike and of peaceful intercourse with Rome, either in consolidating or in loosening the regal power among the barbarians. These are really the two most important points in the constitutional history of the Germanic tribes; and while complete and well-rounded theories concerning them are much more easily formed than

¹ 'Athararicum eâ tempestate judicem potentissimum' (Ammianus, xxvii. 5, 6). 'Athararichus Thervingorum judex' (Ammianus, xxxi. 3, 4). Zosimus calls Athararic (as Dahn says with purposed ambiguity), τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον Σκυθῶν ἐπικράτειαν (iv. 7), and ὁ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἡγούμενος (iv. 10). Themistius (Or. x.) mentions it as a sign of the intelligence of Athararic that βασιλείῳ ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπαξιοῖ, τὴν τοῦ δικαστοῦ δὲ ἀγαπᾷ. Notwithstanding the ingenious argument in Dahn's Bausteine, vi. 112, that Judex in Ammianus simply means general, I still think that his earlier view is the correct one, and that Judge (in Gothic probably *staua*) was the title specially used by Athararic and the other Visigothic chieftains. This is strongly confirmed by the use of the word Judex in the recently discovered Paris MS. on the life of Ulfilas. (See below.)

² See vol. iii. chap. 7.

solidly established, the careful observer of a multitude of little facts which meet us in the course of the narrative, will probably arrive at some general conclusion which will not be far from the truth.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

One thing may be at once stated, that the invariable tendency of war, especially of war in critical and dangerous times, was to exalt the kingly office. The same national necessities which led the United States of America to entrust almost despotic authority, under the name of 'the War-Power,' to President Lincoln during the late war of secession, led to the disappearance of many a Gothic and Frankish kinglet, and to the concentration of supreme power in the hands of an Alaric, a Theodoric, or a Clovis during the long struggle for victory with Rome.

Tendency
of war to
increase
the royal
power.

On the other hand, when 'Romania' and 'Barbaricum' were at peace one with another, the influence of the Empire on barbarian royalty was, as has been already said, disintegrating. The majesty of the Augustus at Rome or Constantinople overshadowed the rude and barbarous splendour of the Gothic *Thiudans*¹. His pretensions to be descended from the gods were met with a quiet sneer by the Greek merchant who brought his wares to sell in the Teutonic homestead. Touching at so many points the great and civilised world-Empire, from which they were often separated only by a ford or a ferry, and touching it in friendly and profitable intercourse, the barbarians were ever in danger of losing that feeling of national unity which both lent strength to the institution of kingship, and received strength therefrom. The Governor of the province on the opposite side of the river became more

Peace with
Rome
lessened
the royal
authority.

¹ The Gothic word for King.

BOOK I. to the Teuton as his own distant and seldom-seen King
CH. 1. became less. The barbarian began to forget that he
 was a Goth or a Vandal or an Alaman, and to think
 of himself as a Moesian, a Pannonian, or a Gaulish
 provincial. Thus did Rome during the long intervals
 of peace win many a bloodless victory over her bar-
 barian neighbours.

Introduc-
 tion of
 Christi-
 anity and
 of the art
 of writing.

This process, which was probably going on during
 all the first half of the fourth century, and which
 seemed to foretell a very different result from that
 which actually came to pass, was powerfully aided, as
 far as the Visigoths were concerned, by two momentous
 changes which were being introduced among them.
 The worship of Wodan and Thunor was being displaced
 by the religion of Christ, and the Gothic language was
 giving birth to a literature. The chief agent in these
 two events, full of importance even to the present day,
 was a man who a hundred years ago would have been
 spoken of as an obscure ecclesiastic, but for whom in
 our own day the new science of the History of Speech
 has asserted his rightful position, as certainly 'attaining
 to the first three' in the century in which he lived. If
 the greatest name of that century be admitted to be
 Constantine, and if the second place be yielded to
 Athanasius, at least the third may be claimed for the
 missionary bishop of the Goths and the first translator
 of the Bible into a barbarian tongue, the noble-hearted
 Ulfilas.

Bishop
 Ulfilas.
 311-381.
 Philostor-
 gius, H. E.
 II. 5.
 259.

Ulfilas, who was born probably in 311¹, was not of
 pure Teutonic extraction, but was descended from
 Cappadocian ancestors who had been carried captive

¹ His birth-year used to be assigned to 318, but Bessell (*Ueber das Leben des Ulfilas*, p. 53) has shown strong reasons in favour of 311.

by the Goths, probably during that raid into Asia BOOK I.
CH. 1.
Minor which ended at the baths of Anchialus¹. He
was however himself, in heart and by speech, a Goth,
and in the course of his life he became master both of
the Greek and Latin languages. In the capacity either
of an ambassador or, more probably, a hostage², he was
sent while still a young man to Constantinople. During
his stay there (which lasted apparently for about ten
years), if not at an earlier period, he embraced the
Christian religion; he was ordained *Lector* (Reader); 341.
and eventually, in the thirtieth year of his age, he
was consecrated bishop by the great Arian ecclesiastic,
Eusebius of Nicomedia³. From this time onwards for
forty years he was engaged in frequent missionary jour-
neys among his countrymen in Dacia, many of whom,
having become converts to Christianity, were persuaded 348.
by him to cross the frontier, in order to escape the
cruel persecutions of their heathen countrymen, and to
settle within the limits of the Roman Empire. These
Christianised Gothic settlers were called *Gothi Minores*,
and their dwellings were situated upon the northern
slopes of the Balkans. Our information as to these
Lesser Goths is derived exclusively from the following
passage in Jordanes (*De Rebus Geticis*, cap. 51):—

‘There were also certain other Goths, who are called The Gothi
Minores.
Minores, an immense people, with their bishop and
primate Vulfila, who is said, moreover, to have taught
them letters: and they are at this day dwelling in
Moesia, in the district called Nicopolitana⁴, at the foot

¹ Philostorgius, H. E. ii. 5.

² After the war between Constantine and Ariaric.

³ Probably at the Synod of Antioch, at which Eusebius presided.

⁴ So Mommsen reads in his edition of Jordanes, instead of the old
unintelligible ‘Encopolitana.’

BOOK I. of Mount Haemus, a numerous race, but poor and
 CH. 1. unwarlike, abounding only in cattle of divers kinds,
 --- and rich in pastures and forest timber, having little
 wheat, though the earth is fertile in producing other
 crops. They do not appear to have any vineyards:
 those who want wine buy it of their neighbours; but
 most of them drink only milk.'

The result then of this partial Christianisation of the Visigoths by the labours of Ulfilas was, that by the middle of the fourth century a peaceful invasion of Moesia had been made, and a colony of simple-hearted Gothic herdsmen was settled between the Balkans and the Danube, near the modern city of Tirnova.

Contemporary information as to the life of Ulfilas.

From a most interesting MS. recently discovered at Paris, which contains a sketch of the life of Ulfilas by a contemporary and devoted admirer, probably Auxentius, bishop of Dorostorus (the modern Silistria), we learn that it was the persecuting policy of a Visigothic *Judex* that drove Ulfilas and his emigrants across the Danube. 'And when,' says Auxentius, 'through the envy and mighty working of the enemy, there was kindled a persecution of the Christians by an irreligious and sacrilegious Judge of the Goths, who spread tyrannous affright through the barbarian land¹, it came to pass that Satan, who desired to do evil, unwillingly did good; that those whom he sought to make deserters became confessors of the faith; that the persecutor was conquered, and his victims wore the wreath of victory. Then, after the glorious martyrdom of many servants and handmaids of Christ, as

¹ 'In Varbarico.' B and V are constantly interchanged in the MSS. of this period.

the persecution still raged vehemently, after seven years of his episcopate were expired, the blessed Ulfilas being driven from "Varbaricum" with a great multitude of confessors, was honourably received on the soil of "Romania" by the Emperor Constantius of blessed memory. Thus as God by the hand of Moses delivered his people from the violence of Faraoh and the Egyptians, and made them pass through the Red Sea, and ordained that they should serve Him [on Mount Sinai], even so by means of Ulfilas did God deliver the confessors of His only-begotten Son from the "Varbarian" land, and cause them to cross over the Danube, and serve Him upon the mountains [of Haemus] like his saints of old.'

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

348.

The comparison of Ulfilas to Moses appears to have been a favourite one with his contemporaries. We are told that the Emperor Constantius, who probably had met him face to face, and who approved of his settlement of the lesser Goths in Moesia, called him 'the Moses of our day¹.' But if he was the Moses of the Gothic people he was also their Cadmus, the introducer of letters, the father and originator of all that Teutonic literature which now fills no inconsiderable space in the libraries of the world. Let us briefly summarise what he did for his people as author of their alphabet and translator of the Christian Scriptures into their dialect.

Ulfilas, the
Moses of
the Gothic
people.

As has been before stated, the Goths and their

¹ 'Ἰδρύσατο δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν αὐτόμολον τοῦτον λαὸν περὶ τὰ τῆς Μυσίας χωρία, ὡς ἐκάστῳ φίλον ἦν, καὶ τὸν Οὐρφίλαν διὰ πλείστης ἡγε τιμῆς, ὡς καὶ πολλάκις ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μωσῆς λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ. The Emperor here referred to must be Constantius, though Philostorgius does not mention his name.

Philostorgius, ii. 15.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

Before Ul-
filas the
Goths had
only the
Runic
letters.

Ulfilas' alphabet
was chiefly
founded on
the Greek.

kindred peoples already possessed an alphabet of a rude and primitive kind, the Runic *Futhorc*. But this was best adapted, and practically was only used, for short inscriptions on wood or stone, on metal or horn, such as 'Oltha owns this axe,' 'This shield belongs to Hagsi,' 'Echlew made this horn for the dread forest-king¹;' or the already-mentioned Buzeu inscription, 'Holy to the temple of the Goths.' In fact, if any one looks at the shapes of the earlier Runic letters he will see that they are just those shapes which an unskilful workman naturally adopts, when carving even the letters of our own alphabet with a knife on the trunk of a tree. All is straight lines and angles, and the circle, or any kind of curve, is as much as possible avoided. It was not in this way or on this kind of materials that a national literature could come into being. Ulfilas therefore, who was of course possessed of all the graphic appliances of a Byzantine scribe of the fourth century, determined to free himself entirely, or almost entirely, from the primaeval Runes of his forefathers, and to fashion the new alphabet of his people mainly upon that which was most extensively used upon the shores of the Euxine and the Aegean and in the holy city of Constantinople², the venerable alphabet of Hellas. While referring the reader who may be interested in this subject to a note in which it is more fully discussed, it will be sufficient to say here that, both in the order and the forms of the letters, the alphabet of Ulfilas is based upon the Greek, but that it contains three letters which are unmistakably Runic

¹ Stephens' Old Runic Monuments, i. 205, 287, 328.

² 'Constantinopolim immo vero Cristianopolim' (Auxentius apud Waitz, p. 21).

(those which represent J, U, and O), three in which a Runic influence is observable (B, R, and F), and three in which a similar influence seems to have been exerted by the Latin alphabet (Q, H, and S).

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

The grammar of the Gothic tongue, as exhibited in the translation of Ulfilas, is, it need hardly be said, of priceless value in the history of Human Speech. We here see, not indeed the original of all the Teutonic languages, but a specimen of one of them, three centuries earlier than any other that has been preserved, with many inflections which have since been lost, with words which give us the clue to relationships otherwise untraceable, and with phrases which cast a strong light on the fresh and joyous youth of the Teutonic peoples. In short, it is not too much to say, that the same place which the study of Sanscrit holds in the history of the development of the great Indo-European family of nations is occupied by the Gothic of Ulfilas (Moeso-Gothic, as it is sometimes not very happily named) in reference to the unwritten history of the Germanic races.

Philologi-
cal value
of Moeso-
Gothic.

But let us not, as enthusiastic philologists, fancy that Ulfilas lived but to preserve for posterity certain fast-perishing Gothic roots, and to lay the foundation for 'Grimm's Law' of the transmutation of consonants. To Christianise and to civilise the Gothic people was the one, chief and successfully accomplished, aim of his life. It was for this that he undertook, amidst all the perils and hardships of his missionary life, the labour, great because so utterly unprecedented, of turning the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament into the language of a barbarous and unlettered race; by the mere conception of such a work showing a mind

Transla-
tion of the
Bible.

BOOK I. centuries in advance of its contemporaries. Nor was
 CH. 1. it a portion only, the Gospels or the Psalms, as in the case of our own King Alfred 500 years later, which was thus rendered into a language 'understood of the people.' The whole of the New Testament and much the larger part of the Old were turned into Gothic by the good bishop, who, however, according to a well-known story¹, refrained from translating 'the Books of Kings' (that is, of course, the two Books of Samuel and the two of Kings), 'which contain the history of wars: because his nation was already very fond of war, and needed the bit rather than the spur, so far as fighting was concerned.' One can understand the wise 'economy' of truth, which withheld, from these fierce Dacian warriors, Sagas so exciting as the battle of Mount Gilboa, the slaughter of Baal's priests at the foot of Carmel, and the extermination of the House of Ahab by Jehu son of Nimshi.

From what sources did Ulfilas make his translation?

Ulfilas, who was of course well acquainted with the Greek language, no doubt translated the Old Testament from the Septuagint version and the New from the original Greek. His translation has been appealed to for the last two centuries as a valuable witness to the condition of the Greek text in the fourth century. It contains however some singular traces of the influence of the old Latin text where that differs from the Greek. This is generally explained as the result of corrections in his version, made by some later hand during the residence of the Ostrogoths in Italy. But considering the close connexion which existed between the Churches of Illyricum and those of Italy², it seems at least as

¹ Told by Philostorgius, ii. 5.

² As illustrated at the Councils of Sardica and Aquileia, and during the controversy on the Three Chapters.

probable that Ulfilas himself worked with the old Latin version (the *Itala*) before him, and in these passages gave it the preference over his Greek codices. This view of the matter is confirmed by the express statement of Auxentius that he was conversant with three languages, Greek, Latin, and Gothic¹.

BOOK I.
CH. I.

Of the great work thus accomplished by the Moesian bishop, fragments only, but precious fragments, are left to us. Of the Old Testament we have two or three chapters of Ezra and Nehemiah, and nothing else save scattered quotations; but of the New Testament we have the greater part of the Epistles of St. Paul in palimpsest; and above all, we have more than half of the Gospels preserved in the splendid Codex Argenteus at Upsala; a MS. probably of the fifth century, which is inscribed in silver and gold characters upon a parchment of rich purple colour, and which, both by the beauty of its execution, by the importance of its text, and of the perished language in which it is written, and by its own almost romantic history is certainly one of the greatest palaeographical treasures in the world.

Existing
remains of
Ulfilas'
translation
of the
Bible.

If it is often hard in our own day to say whether a great man more moulds his age or is moulded by it, we need not to be surprised that we find it difficult to decide with certainty how far Ulfilas originated, and how far he merely represented, the conversion of the Teutonic races to Christianity. Something had probably been already done by the Greek dwellers in the cities on the Euxine to convert the Ostrogoths of the Crimea to the orthodox faith; and hence it is that we

Import-
ance of the
work per-
formed by
Ulfilas.

¹ 'Apostolicâ gratiâ Grecam et Latinam et Goticam linguam sine intermissione in unâ et solâ ecclesiâ Christi predicavit' (Auxentius apud Waitz, p. 19).

BOOK I.
CH. I.

find a certain bishop Theophilus, who is called Bosporitanus (doubtless from the Cimmerian Bosphorus) appearing from among the Goths ('de Gothis') at the Council of Nicaea, and subscribing its decrees. But this seems to have been a feeble and exotic growth. The apostolate of Ulfilas among the Visigoths was, as far as we can see, the efficient cause of the conversion, not of that nation only, but of all the Teutonic tribes by whom they were surrounded. His was evidently a most potent personality, and his book, carried by traders and warriors from village to village, and from camp to camp of the barbarians, may have been even more powerful than his living voice. Let the operating cause have been what it may, nearly all the Teutonic nations of Eastern Europe who came in contact with the Empire during the period upon which we are about to enter, became Christian in the course of the fourth century and chiefly during the lifetime of Ulfilas.

His
Arianism.

But the form of Christianity taught by Ulfilas, and earnestly accepted by the Goth, the Vandal, the Burgundian, and the Sueve, was one of the various forms which passed under the common denomination of Arianism. Many have been the stories, dishonouring to Ulfilas and the Goths, and quite inadequate to the result that they profess to explain, which, probably without any untruthful intent, the ecclesiastical historians have put into circulation in order to explain this unacceptable triumph of heterodoxy. It has often been asserted that the Goths were seduced into heresy by the Arian Emperor Valens, that their profession of the form of Christianity which he professed was the price paid by them for that settlement within the confines of the Empire which will shortly have to be

described, and that the broker in this unholy compact was their revered bishop Ulfilas. A careful study of the whole subject¹ proves the extreme improbability, we may almost say, the absolute falsity of this account of the matter. Some influence must probably be attributed to the previous religious training of the Goths and the nations akin to them, when we seek to account for the rapid diffusion of Arian Christianity among them. Accustomed as they were to think of the All-father and his godlike sons, it was easy to accept the teaching of the priests who told them of a second God, strong as Thunor, but also gentle and beloved as Balder, who sat as it were on the steps of the throne of the Most High, a God in his relation to the human family, but yet not equal in power and majesty to the eternal Father. And it was the same kind of thought, struggling with the philosophic conception of the unity of the Supreme Being, which strove to find an utterance in the multitudinous creeds, Arian and Semi-Arian, to which the Councils of the fourth century gave birth.

But after all, though such considerations as these may account for the special fascination which Arianism had for the Teutonic neighbours of the Empire, and for the special dangers that attended a form of faith in which their old polytheism perhaps still lingered, they are not necessary to explain the Arianism of their greatest teacher and apostle. His religious career almost precisely corresponds with those fifty years of reaction from Nicene orthodoxy which present so difficult a problem in the history of the Eastern Church².

Ulfilas was an Arian because his teachers in the Eastern Church were Arians.

¹ As made especially by Bessell (*Ueber das Leben des Ulfilas und die Bekehrung der Gothen*, pp. 53-73).

² The story of this Anti-Nicene reaction, which should hardly be

BOOK I.
CH. I.

The truth is therefore that Ulfilas was an Arian because every considerable ecclesiastic with whom he came in contact at Constantinople was an Arian; because that was the form of faith (or so it seemed to him) which he had been first taught; because he was consecrated bishop by the great Arian controversialist Eusebius of Nicomedia, and received the kiss of peace from the prelates to whose ranks he had just been admitted, at the great Arian synod of Antioch (341); because, in short, during the whole time that his theological mind was being moulded, Arianism, of one kind or another, was orthodoxy at Constantinople, and Athanasius was denounced as a dangerous heretic. He himself, when lying at the point of death, prefaced his Arian confession of faith with these emphatic words: 'I, Ulfilas, bishop and confessor, *have ever thus believed*' (*semper sic credidi*): and there is no reason to doubt that, as far as any man can speak accurately of his own spiritual history, these words were true.

His Arianism was of the kind called Homoean.

The form of Arianism (for that battle-cry was uttered by many armies) which Ulfilas professed was that generally known as the *Homoion*, and agreed well with his lifelong devotion to the work of translating and disseminating the Scriptures. While Athanasius was fighting, sometimes against the world, for the mystic word *Homo-ousion*¹; while the Semi-Arian bishops were labouring to re-unite all parties and keep their own sees by means of the cunningly devised word

called Arian, since some of the leaders in it did not agree with Arius, but rather wished to get back to the state of belief before Arius denied, or Athanasius affirmed, certain propositions concerning the nature of Christ, is admirably told in Mr. H. M. Gwatkin's *Studies of Arianism* (Cambridge, 1882).

¹ ' (The Son is) *of one substance* with the Father.'

*Homoi-ousion*¹; while the controversy was passing on to niceties of speculation concerning 'being' and 'substance'² which only the Greek language could express, and which probably not a single, even Greek intellect really understood; the advocates of the Homoion tried to recall the combatants to a more simple and more scriptural standing-ground, and said: 'Neither Homo-ousios nor Homoi-ousios is to be found in the archives of our faith. Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, is *like (Homoios) to the Father who begat him according to the Scriptures.*' This was the language of the creed adopted at the Arian Synod of Constantinople, a creed which, as we are expressly told, received the signature of Bishop Ulfilas. The confession of faith already alluded to, which he composed when lying on his death-bed, contains these words: 'I, Ulfilas, bishop and confessor, have ever thus believed, and in this, the alone true faith, do I make my testament to my Lord. I believe that there is one God the Father, alone unbegotten and invisible: and in his only-begotten Son our Lord and our God, artificer and maker of every creature, having none like unto himself . . . ; and in one Holy Spirit, an illuminating and sanctifying power, neither God nor Lord, but the minister of Christ, subject and obedient in all things to the Son, as the Son is subject and obedient in all things to the Father.' In the account of the teaching of Ulfilas given by his admirer Auxentius, it is said: 'By his sermons and his tracts he showed that there is a difference between the divinity of the Father and the Son, of the God un-

BOOK I.
CH. I.

360.

Socrates,
ii. 41.

¹ 'Of like substance with the Father.'

² οὐσία and ὑπόστασις.

BOOK I.
CH. 1.

begotten and of the God only-begotten: and that the Father is the Creator of the Creator, but the Son the Creator of the whole creation; the Father, God of our Lord, but the Son the God of every creature.'

Unlike the
modern
form of
hetero-
doxy.

This, it will at once be seen, is not Trinitarian orthodoxy, but neither is it anything like the views concerning the nature of Jesus Christ which are held in our own time by the vast majority of those who would disdain for themselves the title of Orthodox Christians. In order to understand the theological conditions of the period before us, it is necessary that we should let the disputants speak their own language, and should not attribute to those who are now classed as heretics, either more or less deviation from the standard of faith which has now been established in the Christian Church for fifteen centuries, than is disclosed to us by their own creeds and anathemas, of which they have left us so copious a provision.

Historical
consequen-
ces of the
Arianism
of the
Teutonic
races.

But if the theological chasm between the barbarian converts of Ulfilas and the party which ultimately triumphed in the Church was somewhat less than our modern prepossessions would have led us to suppose, from a political and historical point of view the disastrous effect of the conversion of the Goths and their kindred to the Arian form of Christianity can hardly be stated too strongly. That conversion made the barbarians parties to the long law-suit between Arians and Trinitarians, which had dragged on its weary length through the greater part of the fourth century, and in which, up to the time that we are now speaking of, the persecuting spirit, the bitterness, the abuse of court favour, had been mainly on the side of

the Arians. The tide was now soon to turn, and the disciples of Athanasius were to be the dominant party, the favourites of court and people. Into such a world, into the midst of a clergy and a laity passionately attached to the Homo-ousian formula, the Arian Teutons were about to be poured, not only to subdue and overturn, but if possible to renew and to rebuild. In this work of reconstruction the difference of creeds proved to be a great and often a fatal difficulty. The Barbarian might be tolerated by the Roman; by the Catholic the Arian could not but be loathed. Of even the Heathen there was hope, for he might one day renounce his dumb idols and might seek admission, as did the Frank and the Saxon, into the bosom of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church. But the Schismatic would probably grow hardened in his sin, he would plant his false bishops and his rival priests side by side with the officers of the true Church in every diocese and every parish. There could be no amalgamation for the faithful with the Arians. The only course was to groan under them, to conspire against them, and as soon as possible to expel them.

Here then for the present, having reached the seventh decade of the third century, we leave that great confederacy of Teutonic peoples which went by the collective name of Goths. They have wandered from the Baltic to the Euxine; they have engaged in one terrible conflict with Rome, the result of which was all but fatal to the Empire. They have since then been for the greater part of a century at peace with their mighty neighbour; they have received her subsidies; they have served under her eagles; they are rapidly embracing her newly adopted faith. It may be that

BOOK I.
CH. I.

The situation as
viewed by
Julian.
(circa 362.)

BOOK I. they will be altogether moulded according to her im-
CH. 1.
——— press, and that Gothia will gradually become Romania.
Not so however thinks the keen analytic intellect
of the philosopher on the throne. From under his
unkempt hair the piercing eye of Julian discerns
the coming danger. 'When his war against the
Eunapius, Persians was coming to a head, either by some divine
Excerpt 15. warning or by the exercise of his reason, he perceived
from afar the coming troubles among the Goths like
the ground-swell of a storm. For he said in one of his
letters, "The Goths are now at rest, but perhaps they
will not always so continue."'

NOTE A. ON SOME OMITTED CHAPTERS OF THE DE REBUS GETICIS,
AND ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE GOTHs AND GETAE.

In common with almost all recent enquirers into Gothic history I reject, as not properly belonging thereto, certain chapters in the treatise of Jordanes. Still, in order to avoid the charge of garbling historical evidence, it is right to give the reader a hint of the contents of these rejected chapters. NOTE A.

The first part of the foregoing sketch, which contains the essence of what seem to be the traditions of the Goths themselves as to their early wanderings, is taken from the first four chapters of Jordanes' *De Rebus Geticis*. I omit all notice of the following nine chapters, and join the course of his narrative again in the fourteenth chapter, where he describes the differentiation into Ostrogoths and Visigoths. The fifteenth contains the perfectly historical account of the Emperor Maximin, who probably was of Gothic origin; the sixteenth opens with the reign of Philip the Arabian, and from this point onwards the narrative runs side by side with the authentic history of the Roman Empire. 235-238.
244-249.

What, then, is the subject-matter of the nine chapters which have been passed over in silence?

Chapter V is chiefly occupied with a description of Scythia, in which the Goths were now settled, and incidentally with some account of *Zamolxis* their great philosopher. Now *Zamolxis* is mentioned by Herodotus as the teacher who communicated to the Getae the doctrine of immortality, which, according to some, he had himself learned from Pythagoras. If he was a historical personage at all he lived probably about 500 B. C.

Chapter VI records the expedition of *Taunasis*, king of the Goths, into Egypt, which he subdues and hands over to the king of the Medes. Deserters from his army form the nation of the Parthians.

Chapter VII gives a long and tedious account of the wars of

NOTE A. the Amazons (the Gothic women who were left behind when their husbands undertook the aforesaid expedition into Egypt), relates their conquests in Asia, and contains a wildly incorrect sketch of the geographical position of Mount Caucasus.

Chapter VIII continues the history of the Amazons, and connects it with the classical stories of Theseus, Hippolyte, and Penthesilea (say 1200 B. C.).

Chapter IX, returning to the male Getae, asserts, on the authority of the 'Getica' of Dio (the Roman historian of the third century), that Telephus, son of Hercules and nephew of Priam, was their king (about 1160 B. C.).

525 B.C. Chapter X contains the old classical stories about Cyrus's war
516 B.C. with Queen Tomyris, the invasions of Scythia by Darius and
429 B.C. Xerxes, and the wars of Sitalces, king of Thrace, with Perdiccas, king of Macedon, successor (it should be ancestor) of Alexander the Great.

Chapter XI describes the arrival of a certain Diceneus among the Goths and the science of theology which he taught them. His arrival is in the reign of *Boroista*. There was a king of Dacia named *Boerebistas*, a contemporary of Augustus, who is possibly intended here. The description of the priests, who were called 'the Hatted Men' (*Pileati*), because when they sacrificed they were covered with a kind of mitre, while the rest of the people were called *Capillati*, on account of the long hair in which they gloried, has more of the ring of truth about it than the pseudo-classical legends of the chapters immediately preceding.

In Chapter XII King *Corillus* leads the Goths into Dacia, the geographical situation of which is described.

85-90 A.D. In Chapter XIII the wars of the *Getae* against Rome during the reign of Domitian (entirely historical) are described, and the credit of them claimed for the Goths.

With Chapter XIV, as before stated, we rejoin the stream of genuine Gothic history.

It is evident that our historian here professes to cover a vast period of time. From the indications furnished by the text, and from a computation at the end of the Gothic history¹, Mommsen

Cap. lx.

¹ Jordanes, speaking of the surrender of Ravenna to Belisarius (A.D. 540), says, 'Sic famosum regnum, fortissimamque gentem diu regnantem tandem pene duo millensimo et tricensimo anno . . . Justinianus . . . vicit' (2030-540 = 1490).

(following the calculation of another German scholar, Gutschmid) NOTE A. estimates that Jordanes himself placed the first migration, from Sweden, 1490 B.C., and the second, to the Euxine, 1324 B.C.¹

Now if we were bound to accept or reject in their entirety these first thirteen chapters of the history of Jordanes, there would be little doubt that we must vote for their rejection. Any tradition as to the migrations of the Gothic people, fourteen or fifteen centuries before the Christian Era, is so remote as to be almost valueless; and the allusions to classical history are all of a kind which show us that we are dealing not with true Teutonic *saga*, but with the reconstructive work of a Greek or Roman scholar in his library. They are not genuine coins, however worn, but sharp and modern imitations that we have here before us.

Moreover, if the Gothic nation had migrated from the Baltic to the Euxine thirteen centuries before Christ, Tacitus and Pliny would not have written about them as still dwelling by the Baltic shore in the first century after Christ.

Happily we are not reduced to the necessity of accepting or rejecting the first thirteen chapters as a whole. We know that Jordanes copied from Cassiodorus, and we know that the one object of Cassiodorus was to convince his countrymen that the Goths were a respectable and long-descended nation, having their roots deep in classical antiquity. In carrying their ancestors back to the Trojan war, he is rendering them exactly the same service which the professional genealogist renders to the successful tradesman in discovering for him an ancestor who came over with William the Conqueror.

This process of 'making the origin of the Goths a part of Roman history²' was assisted and almost invited by two mistaken identifications, for neither of which was Cassiodorus or his copyist Jordanes responsible. (1) The identification of the Goths with the Scythians, and (2) the identification of the Goths with the Getae.

(1) We have seen that Zosimus and Dexippus, writing concerning the great invasions of the third century made by the Goths and their kindred tribes, call the actors in them Scythians.

¹ Prooemium, p. xxi.

² See Cassiodori Variarum, ix. 25. I may refer to the Introduction to my Letters of Cassiodorus, p. 29, for a somewhat fuller statement of the above argument.

NOTE A. It appears however to be the opinion of the majority of ethnologists that the Scythians mentioned by Herodotus were a Mongolian people. Some think them to have been Slavonic; and of the few who hold them to have been Teutonic none identify them with the Goths of the fourth century, the old etymology $\Sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\alpha\iota$ = Göthi being apparently quite abandoned.

It is admitted too that most of the post-Herodotean writers used the word 'Scythians' in such a very vague sense, for the inhabitants of all the countries north of the Euxine, the Caucasus, and the Persian Empire, that the term is of little value in ethnological investigations. Like our own word 'Indians,' it proves nothing as to the origin of most of the races to which it has been applied. There cannot be a more striking proof that 'Scythian' is merely a geographical and not an ethnological term, than the fact that Priscus, a contemporary probably of Zosimus, uses it regularly to describe the Huns, the successors of the Goths in the region north of the Danube, but members of an utterly different nationality from theirs, as every Roman historian of the period knew.

2. As for the *Getae*, we can speak more positively. It is next to an historical impossibility that they and the Goths can have been the same people. The *Getae*, having lived for many centuries close to the frontiers of Greek and Roman civilisation, have a well-marked and ascertained place in history. They were a Thracian people. They fought against Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, at the time of the Peloponnesian war. They frequently sold their children as slaves to the Greeks, so that *Geta* is one of the commonest names for a slave in classical comedies. They occupied Dacia, and under the name of *Dacians* successfully resisted for some generations the power of Rome. Their hero-chief Decebalus was at length defeated by the Emperor Trajan, a defeat celebrated by the Column of that Emperor at Rome. Their country was turned into a Roman province, and notwithstanding its proposed abandonment by Hadrian, it remained for 150 years under Roman influence, and for the greater part of that time under Roman government. Can any one who knows the pulverising, assimilating character of the Roman dominion believe that these *Getae*, so long subject to the rule of the *legatus* and the centurion, were the same people as the nomad Goths following the guidance of their own long-haired Amal chiefs, who

with such fresh vigour, and apparently as a hitherto unknown foe, precipitated themselves on the eastern provinces of the Empire in the reign of Caracalla? The testimony of language is still clearer. If the Goths were Getae, how could they have spoken the pure and primitive Low-German tongue which is enshrined in the Moeso-Gothic Bible of Ulfilas? NOTE A.

It seems therefore to be now generally admitted that the coincidence between the names Gothi and Getae is accidental; that the Romans themselves first called their new invaders by the former name (witness the title of the Emperor Claudius II, *Gothicus*, which is alone almost decisive of the controversy); that afterwards when they had abandoned Dacia to the Goths they called them by the name of the former inhabitants, just as we, though sprung chiefly from Angles, Saxons, and Danes, constantly call ourselves *Britons*; and that the obvious similarity between the two names Gothus and Geta aided this confusion, till at length Claudian wrote his poem *De Bello Getico* and Jordanes his treatise *De Rebus Geticis* without a suspicion, apparently, that Getic and Gethic had not been synonymous terms from the beginning of the world.

To sum up the whole matter. Winnowing away everything in Jordanes' history which relates to the Scythians and the Dacians, I believe that we have a fairly trustworthy and valuable deposit of true Gothic tradition left. It is probable *à priori* that this should be the case. Jordanes himself wrote, let us say, in 550; Cassiodorus, (on whose work he founded himself, and who was in continual communication with the king and chiefs of the Ostrogoths,) about the year 520. Gothic had then been a written language since the time of Ulfilas, that is from about 350, to say nothing of the possibility of a few barbarous records having been preserved before that time in Runic characters. Tacitus had marked the existence of the *Gothones* at the south-east corner of the Baltic about A.D. 100, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that some remembrance of the achievements and migrations of the nation during the intervening 250 years would be preserved 'in the old songs, which being recited in public, almost served the purpose of a history' (Jordanes, cap. iv).

It should be stated, that comparative philology does not oppose, but rather supports the belief in a migration of the

NOTE A. Goths from the Baltic to the Euxine, for Gothic occupies (e. g. in that set of phenomena which together constitute 'Grimm's Law') a place much nearer to Low German and Scandinavian, the dialects spoken on the Baltic coasts, than to High German, the language of South Germany.

NOTE B. ON THE NAMES OSTROGOTHS AND VISIGOTHS.

It will be seen from the text that we have no definite information as to the time when the Gothic nation was parted into two heads. Jordanes' statement that the division existed before they left their Scandinavian home, is interesting as a national *saga*, but quite destitute of historical probability.

Equally hard or harder is it to say when the *names* Ostrogoth and Visigoth (or, as many scholars prefer to write them, East Goth and West Goth) were first affixed to these two divisions. We might have expected, as one name seems to be correlated to the other, that both would appear in history simultaneously, but in fact 'Ostrogoth' occurs in historical literature nearly 200 years before we have any clear and undoubted use of 'Visigoth.'

(1) If Jordanes, transcribing Cassiodorus, speaks correctly, there was a Gothic king Ostrogotha contemporary with the Emperor Philip (244-249). In the *Historia Augusta* (*Vita Claudii*, vi) we have mention made of 'Austrogothi' among the nations invading the Empire during the reign of Claudius (268-270). The genuineness of the insertion of this name in the text has been doubted by some, perhaps on insufficient grounds. And as Trebellius Pollio, the author of this part of the *Historia Augusta*, did not write till about 300, he cannot be regarded as strictly contemporary. Claudian (399), in his poem against Eutropius (ii. 153), mentions the name

'Ostrogothis colitur, mistisque Gruthungis
Phryx ager.'

These are the chief, if not the only appearances of the name

until the time of Cassiodorus, who no doubt in his Gothic History (written about 520) used it freely, though I cannot discover any trace of its use among the state-papers of Theodoric (the *Variae* of Cassiodorus). NOTE B.

(2) The earliest occurrence of Visigoth, and that in a defective form, is in the poems of Apollinaris Sidonius. In his Panegyric on Avitus (456) we have 'Vesorum proceres' for the chiefs of the Visigoths, and 'Vesus' for the Visigothic king, Theodoric II: and in the Panegyric on Majorian (458) 'Vesus' as well as 'Ostrogothus' are mentioned among the barbarians who flocked to the standards of the Emperor. After this the name becomes common enough. It occurs in the *Variae* (iii. 1), and frequently (under the form *Οὐσγοτθοί*) in Procopius, who appears always to designate the Ostrogothic nation by the simple word *Γότθοι*.

But under what names then were the two sections of the Gothic nation spoken of during these two centuries, when 'Ostrogoth' and 'Visigoth' were so little, if at all, used by the Roman historians? The usual answer is that the names *Greuthungi* and *Thervingi*, which we meet with in Ammianus Marcellinus and other writers, correspond respectively to the Ostrogoths and Visigoths¹. This theory, which was hinted at by Mascou² and more fully developed by Zeuss³, seems upon the whole best to correspond with the facts, though it is not without some difficulties of its own⁴.

But inasmuch as the two great nations which emerged, the one under Alaric and the other under Theodoric, into the full daylight of history and played their great part on the stage

¹ *Greuthungi* is used four times and *Thervingi* three times by Ammianus: *Trutungi* (= *Greuthungi*?) once in the *Historia Augusta*: *Thervingi* ('*pars alia Gothorum*') once by Mamertinus in his Panegyric on Maximian: *Greuthungi* six times by Claudian: *Thervingi* once by Eutropius.

² *History of the Ancient Germans*, vii. 13.

³ Pp. 406-413.

⁴ One difficulty is that in the passage of the *Historia Augusta*, already quoted (if genuine), *Trutungi* (= *Greuthungi*) and *Austrogothi* are spoken of as two separate peoples: '*Denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peucini, Trutungi, Austrogothi &c. praedae cupiditate in Romanum solum et Rempublicam venerunt*' (Trebellius Pollio in *Vita Claudii*, vi). Another is that Claudian, as we have seen, speaks of 'Ostrogoths mixed with Gruthungi.' Another, that Ammianus (xxvii. 5-6) seems to speak of Athanaric, who was certainly a Visigoth, as *judex* of the *Greuthungi*. But the passage is susceptible of another interpretation; and as Ammianus in other places speaks of Athanaric as '*judex Thervingorum*,' we must suppose that if he here calls him otherwise it is owing to a slip of the pen.

NOTE B. of the world, setting up kingdoms and helping to throw down an Empire, were undoubtedly called Visigoths and Ostrogoths, it seems best to carry back these names into the darkness of their earlier annals, and by whatever name they may have called themselves in the third and fourth centuries (a point which it is probably hopeless now to determine) to speak of them from the first dawn of their separate existence under those two well-understood historic appellations.

NOTE C. ON THE RUNIC ALPHABET OF THE GOTHs, THE ALPHABET OF ULFILAS, AND GOTHIC GRAMMAR.

I propose briefly to indicate the relation of the alphabet of Ulfilas both to the Runic Futhorc of his forefathers and to the Greek and Latin alphabets of his teachers.

As is well known, the Runic alphabets varied considerably both in the number and shapes of their letters; but we shall probably not be far wrong in supposing that the 'Futhorc' in use among the Goths, when Ulfilas was a child, was something like this:—

ƿ	F	↯	Eo
ƚ	U	Ɓ	P
ƿ	Th	ʝ	A
ƿ	O or Ae	Ɔ	S
ƿ	R	↑	T
<	C	Ɓ	B
x	G	M	E
ƿ	W	ƞ	M
H	H	↑	L
+	N	◇	NG
I	I	⌘	D
ƿ	Y	⌘	O

Twenty-four letters in all.

The alphabet of Ulfilas is as follows. There are some slight variations in the forms of the letters, but we will take those

used in the early and beautifully executed Codex Argenteus. **NOTE** For purposes of comparison the Greek alphabet used in the Codex Sinaiticus (which was probably contemporary with Ulfilas) is placed side by side. It must be observed that the Gothic alphabet, like the Greek, is a numeration-table as well as an alphabet, and we thus know absolutely the order of the letters contained in it. The Greek has three signs and the Gothic two, introduced merely for purposes of numeration and not used as letters.

Numerical value.	Gothic letter.	English equivalent.	English equivalent.	Greek letter.
1	ᐱ	A	A	Α
2	ᐸ	B	B	Β
3	ᐳ	G	G	Γ
4	ᐺ	D	D	Δ
5	ᐼ	E	E	Ε
6	ᐿ	Q	Numeral	Ϛ (stigma)
7	ᐾ	Z	Z	Ζ
8	ᐿ	H	Ē	Η (or h)
9	ᐿ	Th	Th	Θ
10	ᐿ	I	I	Ι (or i)
20	ᐿ	K	K	Κ
30	ᐿ	L	L	Λ
40	ᐿ	M	M	Μ
50	ᐿ	N	N	Ν
60	ᐿ	J	X	Ξ
70	ᐿ	U	O	Ο
80	ᐿ	P	P	Π
90	ᐿ	Numeral	Numeral	Υ
100	ᐿ	R	R	Ρ
200	ᐿ	S	S	Σ
300	ᐿ	T	T	Τ
400	ᐿ	V	U	Υ
500	ᐿ	F	Ph	Φ
600	ᐿ	Ch	Ch	Χ
700	ᐿ	W	Ps	Ψ
800	ᐿ	O	O	Ω
900	ᐿ	Numeral	Numeral	Ϟ (or in later Codices Ϛ, sampi)

NOTE C. It is at once evident that Ulfilas has founded his new alphabet mainly upon the Greek. Entirely departing from that order of letters which prevailed in the Runic 'Futhorc,' he has adopted, with very few exceptions, the order which prevails in the Greek alphabet. The very exceptions illustrate the general rule, and show the ingenuity of the Gothic apostle in making the redundancies and deficiencies of each alphabet balance one another.

1. The Greek alphabet possesses two sets of letters for the long and short forms of E and O. As Ulfilas did not require these, he has put his E and O opposite the short form of the one and the long form of the other, and then has used the place left vacant by Eta for the similar *looking* letter H, and the place of Omicron for his vowel U. There was something evidently peculiar both to Latin and Teutonic ears in the sound of the Greek U, and therefore Ulfilas sets opposite to it not his U but the kindred letter V.

2. The place occupied by the first merely numerical symbol (stigma) he appropriates for Q. Thus his alphabet has one letter more than the Greek: twenty-five instead of twenty-four.

3. The place of the Greek X, a sound not found in the Gothic language, is supplied by J.

4. He does not require the Greek Chi for native Gothic words, but he takes it over in order to enable him to reproduce Greek proper names which contain it, especially the name of Christ.

5. For the unneeded Psi he substitutes the essentially Teutonic W.

So much as to the *order* of the letters. Now as to their *shape*, upon which also the strong but not exclusive influence of the Greek alphabet will be at once apparent.

The following six letters, Γ Δ Λ Π Υ Χ (representing G D L P V Ch), are taken from the Greek alphabet, with no more modification than we can easily imagine to have existed between one codex and another in the fourth century.

These letters, nine in number, Α Ε Ζ Η Ι Κ Μ Ν Τ (representing A E Z H I K M N T), are also no doubt taken from the Greek, but are common to it and the Latin alphabet.

Perhaps **h** points to a Latin influence, as it is not often if ever found in Greek MSS. of so late a period, but is common in the Latin of the fourth century. NOTE C.

One letter, the peculiar **B** (B), with the upper circle left open, may be either Greek or Runic.

Three are clearly Runic :—

G (J)	derived from the Rune	G .
n (U)	do.	n .
ſ (O)	do.	ſ .

One letter only, **S**, seems to be unmistakably Latin ; but **Q**, which Ulfilas uses for Q, appears to point to a Latin origin ; though why he should have chosen a letter with so utterly different a power when the Latin Q was available for his purpose is a mystery of which, as it seems to me, we need further explanation.

These two letters **R** and **F** (R and F), may be either Runic or Latin, but are most probably Runic.

We have thus accounted for twenty-three out of the twenty-five letters of the Gothic alphabet. There remain two which at present we can only account for by a whim on the part of the Gothic letter-maker. These two are

$$\begin{aligned} \psi &= \text{Th,} \\ \text{and } \odot &= \text{W.} \end{aligned}$$

The first, it will be at once observed, is almost identical with the Greek Psi, the second only slightly altered from the Greek Theta, a dot in the middle of the circle being substituted for a line across it. As they occur in the corresponding places to Theta and Psi, but in inverse order, it looks at first sight as if Ulfilas had transposed the two symbols out of pure caprice. On further consideration we shall probably arrive at some such conclusion as the following. The Gothic bishop, having arranged all the other letters of his alphabet, had still two sounds unrepresented, *th* and *hw*. For neither was there an exactly corresponding letter in the Greek alphabet, for we must suppose that the *th* differed from the *theta* of the Greeks in having either a thicker or a thinner pronunciation. To avoid all possibility of

NOTE C. mistake, therefore, he took the Greek Psi (the sound of which he did not need to represent), and with some slight modifications made it stand for his Gothic *th*; and similarly he made the transformed Theta do duty for his *hw*. This, or something like this, must surely be the explanation of the matter. To us, lovers of the old Runic lore of the Teutons, it certainly seems a matter of regret that Ulfilas did not here use at least one of the two Runic symbols ready to his hand—

$$\begin{aligned} \text{þ} &= th, \\ \text{ƿ} &= w; \end{aligned}$$

though to have used both would certainly have perpetuated a defect in the Runic Futhorc, namely, the employment of two letters so like one another and so easily confused.

From a survey of the whole question we certainly rise with a higher appreciation of the ingenuity and the philological acquirements of the Moeso-Gothic bishop. His alphabet alone would suffice to convince us of the truth of the assertion of Auxentius as to his familiarity with the three great languages of the Lower Danube: '*Apostolicâ gratiâ Grecam et Latinam et Gothicam linguam sine intermissione in unâ et solâ ecclesiâ Christi predicavit.*'

An interesting evidence of the fact that Ulfilas did not wish altogether to part company from the old Runic literature, in introducing his new and more flexible alphabet, is furnished by the discovery that his letters appear to have been known by the same, or nearly the same, names as those borne by their Runic equivalents. In a MS. of the ninth or tenth century preserved at Vienna¹ there are, attached to a treatise of Alcuin's *de Orthographiâ*, two alphabets, one, the Runic 'Futhorc' in use among the Anglo-Saxons, the other, the Gothic alphabet of Ulfilas, with the *names* of the letters annexed. These names have apparently been written by some High-German scribe unacquainted with Gothic, and thus have sustained considerable corruption, but the patient labours of four German scholars² have at length restored them in all probability nearly to their original form. This being done, we find that we have a Gothic alphabet constructed like the Anglo-Saxon one, on the principle

¹ Known as Codex Salisburiensis, n. 140 (formerly lxxi).

² Munch, Kirchhoff, Müllenhoff, and Zacher (*Das Gothische Alphabet Vulfilas und das Runenalphabet*). I quote chiefly from the last.

of children's picture alphabets ('A was an Archer, B was a Bull,' and so on), and *choosing in almost all cases the same word as representative of the letter, which we know to have represented it in the old Runic 'Futhorcs.'* NOTE C.

In the following table the order observed by the Vienna Codex (which is nearly but not quite that of the Latin alphabet) is maintained. The names are given both in their original and corrected forms, and the names of the corresponding Runes as given in an Anglo-Saxon poem (quoted by Kemble, *Archæologia*, 339-345) are also appended.

Gothic letter.	English equivalent.	Name according to Vienna MS.	Corrected Name.	Corresponding Rune.	Name in Anglo-Saxon Rune-song.
ⱱ	A	Aza	Asks(ash-tree) or Ans (a god)	ᚦ	Os (mouth)
Ɱ	B	Bercna	Bairika (birch)	ᚷ	Beorch (birch)
Ɀ	G	Gewa	Giha (gift)	Ɑ	Gifu (gift)
Ɱ	D	Daaz	Dags (day)	ᚱ	Daeg (day)
Ɱ	E	Eyz	Aihvus (a horse) or Eius (ivy)	ᚦ	Eh (horse)
ᚦ	F	Fe	Faihu (cattle, wealth)	ᚦ	Feoh (money)
Ɱ	J or soft G	Gaar	Jêr (year)	ᚱ	Gear (year)
h	H	Haal	Hagls (hail)	ᚱ	Haegel (hail)
i	I	Iiz	Eis (ice)	ᚱ	Is (ice)
K	K	Chozma	Kaunsama ¹ ? (a torch or a boil)	ᚱ	Cen (torch)
ⱱ	L	Lanz	Lagus (lake)	ᚦ	Lagu (sea)
M	M	Manna	Manna (man)	ᚦ	Man
N	N	Noicz	Nauths (need)	ᚦ	Nyd (need)
n	U	Uraz	Urus (wild ox)	ᚦ	Ur (wild ox)
Π	P	Pertra ²	?	ᚦ	Peorth (chess- man)

¹ This is one of the most enigmatical names in the whole series. I would suggest the possibility that it may be imported from the Greek, and = *καύσωμα* or *καῦμα*. All interpreters are agreed in connecting it with the idea of *burning*.

² From the Anglo-Saxon Rune-song we find that Peorth, the name of the prune, is connected with an in-door game. Kemble translates it 'chessman,' and Grimm suggests with some probability that it is the name of the piece which we call the queen, and the Persians *ferz* (= 'captain of the host'), altered by the French into *vierge*, whence, through the idea of the Virgin Mary, the name of queen was introduced.

NOTE C.

Gothic letter.	English equivalent.	Name according to Vienna MS.	Corrected Name.	Corresponding Rune.	Name in Anglo-Saxon Rune-song.
U	Q	Quertra	Quairthr (bait)		
R	R	Reda	Raida (carriage)	R	Rad (saddle or chariot)
S	S	Sugil	Sauil or sôjil (sun)	S	Sigel (sail) ¹
T	T	Tyz	Tius (the god of battles) ²	↑	Tir (a god)
V	V or W	Winne	Vinja (a meadow) or Vinna (pain)	Þ	Wen (hope)
X	O	Utal	Othal (native land)	Ɀ	Ethel (native land)
X	Ch	Enguz	Ingus (a German hero)	Ɀ	Ing (a demi-god, first seen among the East Danes)
Z	Z	Ezet ³	?		
⊙	Hw	Waer	Hwair (a kettle)		
ψ	Th	Thyth ³	?	Þ	Thorn

I fear to trouble my readers (even in a note) with any details as to Gothic grammar: but some may perhaps care to see the declension of a Gothic noun and the conjugation of a Gothic verb, together with one or two well-known passages of the New Testament rendered into the language of Alaric.

Declension of *SUNUS*, a son.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	Sunus	Sunjus.
Voc.	Sunu	Sunjus.
Acc.	Sunu	Sununa.
Dat.	Sunau	Sunum.
Gen.	Sunaus	Sunive.

¹ Kemble observes (*Archaeologia*, p. 345) that this rendering of Sigel is a mistake. 'This, which in all the Teutonic tongues denotes a gem or jewel—in a secondary sense the *Sun*—is here treated as if it were *Segel*, a sail.'

² *Tius*, in Norse *Tyr*, in Old High German *Ziu*, is the Teutonic Mars, after whom Tuesday was named.

³ The names *Ezec* or *Ezet* and *Thyth* have given much trouble to philologists. Kirchhoff (*Das Gothische Alphabet*, p. vi) confirms the conjecture originally started by Grimm that these names are nothing but Gothic transformations of Zeta and Theta, the Greek names of the corresponding letters.

Conjugation of HABAN, *to have*.

NOTE C.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
1. Haba	Habos	Habam.
2. Habais	Habats	Habaith.
3. Habaith		Haband.

PRETERITE INDICATIVE.

1. Habaida	Habadedu	Habaidedum.
2. Habaides	Habaideduts	Habaideduth.
3. Habaida		Habaidedun.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

1. Habau	Habaiva	Habaima.
2. Habais	Habaits	Habaith.
3. Habai		Habaina.

PRETERITE SUBJUNCTIVE.

1. Habaidedjan	Habaidedeiva	Habaidedeima.
2. Habaidedeis	Habaidedeits	Habaidedeith.
3. Habaidedi		Habaidedeina.

IMPERATIVE.

		1. Habam.
2. Habai	Habats	2. Habaith.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE Habands.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE Habaith.

These, or similar to these, were the noble forms of speech used by our Teutonic forefathers in the pastures of Holstein. Now, by the wear and tear of centuries and by the eager haste of an unleisured people, such grand words as *habaideduth* and *habaide-deina* have been rubbed down to the insignificant *had*, alike for all moods and numbers of the past of *to have*. *Etiam periere ruinae*.

Our Lord's Prayer in the version of Ulfilas is as follows:—

Atta unsar thu in himinam veilnai namo thein. Qimai
 Father our thou in the heavens hallowed be name thine. Let come
 thiudinaesus theins: vairthai vilja theins, sve in himina jah
 kingdom thine: be done will thine, as in heaven and (also)
 ana airthai. Hlaif unsarana thana sinteinan gif uns himma daga.
 on earth. Loaf ours the enduring give us to-day.
 Jah aflet uns thatei skulans sijaima, svasve jah veis afletam
 And let-off us that of which debtors we may be so as also we let-off
 thaim skulam unsaraim. Jah ni briggais¹ uns in fraistubnjai,
 the debtors ours. And do not bring us into temptation,

¹ *gg* is always used by Ulfilas, as in Greek, with the power of *ng*.

NOTE C. ak lausei uns af thamma ubilin. unte theina ist thiudangardi.
 — but deliver us of the evil. because thine is king's-house
 jah mahts jah vulthus in aivins. Amen.
 and might and glory to ages. Amen.

The following is the parable of the Good Shepherd :—

Amen amen qitha izvis saei ni atgaggith thairh daur in
 Verily, verily I say to you whoever not goes in through the door into
 gardan lambe ak steigith aljathro. sah hliftus ist jah
 the yard of the lamb but climbs up some other way, he a robber is and
 vaidedja. Ith sa inngaggands thairh daur hairdeis ist
 an evil doer. But the enterer in through the door herdsman is
 lambe. Thammuh dauravards uslukith. jah tho lamba stibnai
 of the lambs. To him the door-ward opens and the lambs the voice
 is hausjand. jah tho svesona lamba haitith bi namin jah
 of him hear, and (the) his own lambs he calls by name and
 ustiuhith tho. Jah than tho svesona ustiuhith faura im gaggith.
 leads out them. And when (the) his own he leads out before them he goeth,
 jah tho lamba ina laistjand unte kunnun stibna is. Ith
 and the lambs him follow because they know the voice of him. But
 framathjana ni laistjand. ak thliuhand faura imma unto ni
 a stranger not they follow, but flee before him because not
 kunnun thize framathjane stibna.
 they know of the stranger the voice.

The Christian Armour (Eph. vi. 14) :—

Standaith nu ufgaurdanai hupins izvarans sunjai. jaggapaidodai
 Stand now girdled round loins yours with truth and clothed
 brunjon garaihteins. Jah guskohai fotum in manvithai
 with the breastplate of righteousness. And shod the feet with readiness
 aivaggeljons gavairthjis. Ufar all andnimandans skildu galau-
 of the gospel of peace. Over all taking up the shield of
 beinais, thammei maguth allos arwaznos this unseljins funiskos
 faith, with which you may all arrows of the Evil one fiery
 afwapjan. Jah hilm naseinais nimaith, jah meki ahmins,
 quench. And the helmet of salvation take, and the sword of the Spirit
 thatei ist vaurd Guths.
 which is the word of God.

The vocabulary of the Goths throws an interesting light on
 many details of their daily life. As a Northern people their
 years are all counted by *winters*. Their word for fruit (*akran*) is
 essentially the same as our 'acorn.' Wealth is represented by

cattle, and *faihu* (connected with the German *vieh*), which originally meant cattle, forms part of the word *Faihu-thraihns* (hoard of treasure), which is chosen by Ulfilas as the Gothic equivalent of 'Mammon.' NOTE C.

But the imported words are almost more interesting than the indigenous ones. When John the Baptist is represented as saying to the soldiers, *Valdaith annom izvaraim*, 'Be satisfied with your rations,' we have surely in *annom* a remembrance of the Latin *annona*. And when we read (Matthew vi. 2) that the hypocrites *andnemun mizdon seina*, 'receive their reward,' we have before us in *mizdon* the Gothic equivalent of the Greek *μισθός*, a word which doubtless formed the subject of many a conversation, and the pretext for many a tumult, in the tents of the Gothic *foederati* in the Imperial armies.

CHAPTER II.

JOVIAN, PROCOPIUS, ATHANARIC.

Authorities.

Sources:—

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

OUR chief authority for the reigns of Valentinian I and his brother Valens is AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, who wrote, probably, between the years 380 and 390. His history concludes thus: 'These things have I as an old soldier and a Greek set forth to the best of my ability. Beginning with the sovereignty of Nerva and concluding with the death of Valens, my work professes to be truthful, and I have never intentionally deceived either by silence or by misrepresentation. Let others younger and more learned than I am write about subsequent events [the reign of Theodosius], but I must warn them that if they do so they will have to train their tongues to a higher style of eloquence than mine.'

In calling himself *Graecus*, Ammianus no doubt means that he was born in the Greek-speaking provinces of the Empire. An interesting letter (No. 983) addressed to him in his later life by the orator Libanius seems to prove that he, like the writer of the letter, was a native of Antioch. He seems to have been born about the year 330. He was of noble birth and probably of handsome person, being one of the *protectores domestici*, who, as Procopius says (Hist. Arc. c. 24), were generally selected on account of their beauty and good family. He himself, in describing one of his narrow escapes from his Persian pursuers, tells us that he soon found himself 'overcome by the weariness of the march, as being a Noble unaccustomed to such toil' (xix. 8, 6).

As a young officer he was attached to the staff of Ursicinus, BOOK I.
CH. 2.
governor of Nisibis, a general of whose qualities he speaks in terms of high praise and whose fortunes he followed for some years. In this general's train he visited Milan in 354, Cologne in 355, and Cilicia in 359. Returning to Nisibis with his patron, he took part in the campaign of Amida (359), and had many interesting adventures therein, which are recorded in his history. In the following year Ursicinus lost his office owing to the intrigues of his enemies. Ammianus may possibly at the same time have lost the favour of the Emperor, Constantius, but under his successor, Julian, we find him again employed in an honourable position. He took part in Julian's expedition against Persia (363), and probably stood with his brother-officers of the Guard by the death-bed of the Emperor. After his return from this expedition his history gives us no indication of his movements, except that he was dwelling in Antioch at the time of the so-called 'Conspiracy of Theodorus' (371), and saw the tortures then inflicted on the accused.

It seems probable that some of the later years of his life were spent at Rome, and that it was there that he composed the greater part of his History. The letter of Libanius referred to above, which was written in 390 or 391, is addressed to him at Rome, and mentions his having recited part of his History amid general applause, which, as Libanius expected, would be bestowed not less liberally on the still unpublished portions of the work. Though the History itself ends with the death of Valens (378), it contains allusions to subsequent events which bring down the date of composition to 390. 'It is remarkable,' says Sievers (in his *Life of Libanius*, p. 272), 'that no distinct allusion of Ammianus carries us beyond the year 390.' We have however no certain information as to the date of his death.

The History of Ammianus, which was divided into thirty-one books, treated of the events of 282 years, from the accession of Nerva to the death of Valens. Unfortunately we possess only eighteen of these books, containing the history of twenty-five years, beginning soon after the overthrow of Magnentius. Though it is clear that the period from Trajan to Constantine must have been described in much more summary fashion than the reigns of Constantine and his successors, still the loss of those first thirteen books is one of the greatest which the

96-378.
353-378.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

student of history has to deplore. The great Emperors of the Aelian and Antonine dynasties have been singularly unfortunate in their lack of a fitting chronicler of their deeds. In the geographical digressions which Ammianus delights to indulge in, he doubtless gave some valuable information as to the infancy of the Teutonic nations, from whom so many of the inhabitants of modern Europe are descended; and few writers could have given us so valuable an insight as he would have done into the terrible convulsions of the third century, the principles of Diocletian's reorganisation of the State, and the manner in which the change of the national religion was brought about by Constantine. Though he was apparently a Pagan he speaks generally without bitterness, and sometimes almost with respect, of Christianity.

The style of Ammianus has been much, and justly, blamed. It is laboured, pompous, often obscure; and it contains some of the longest and strangest words which can be found in any Latin author. But in fairness it ought to be remembered that Latin was not his native tongue, that he had spent more than half of his life in Greek-speaking countries, and that his training had probably been that of a soldier rather than of a rhetorician. And even the rhetoricians of the fourth century spoke a very different language from that of Livy and Cicero.

The student, however, who goes to Ammianus not for style but for thought, will certainly not be disappointed. He has great power of describing character and a quick eye for social peculiarities: in fact, some of his pictures of Roman manners are worthy to have been painted by Juvenal himself. He speaks of natural phenomena and of the marvels of foreign lands with something of the childlike wonder of Herodotus. Above all, he shows everywhere a hearty admiration of honest men and a genuine hatred for oppression. None can travel far under the guidance of Ammianus without feeling that he may be safely trusted to tell the whole truth so far as he knows it.

Another important authority for the history of this period is ZOSIMUS (fifth century?), whose History will be described hereafter.

The orator THEMISTIUS gives us some valuable information as to the events of this period. Themistius, surnamed *Εὐφραδής*,

‘the Eloquent,’ was probably born in 317, the birth-year of the Emperor Constantius, with whom he seems to describe himself as co-eval. He was a native of Paphlagonia, and was sprung from honourable, if not noble, ancestors. His father Eugenius was a philosopher of some eminence. He studied rhetoric and philosophy in the neighbourhood of Trebizond, or perhaps in that city itself. He early acquired a high reputation as a commentator on Aristotle, and coming to Constantinople (probably between 344 and 347) he gathered round him an enthusiastic band of disciples, to whom he taught his favourite science, philosophy, and his favourite art, rhetoric. He asserts that he never took fees from his pupils, but rather out of his modest fortune assisted them in their necessities, and he therefore considered that he had a right to disclaim the title of Sophist.

The works of Themistius, which are of historical value, are his ‘Political Speeches,’ the first of which was delivered before Constantius in 347, and the last before Theodosius about 385. These harangues attracted the favourable notice of the Emperors and brought him high honours. In 355 he was enrolled in the Senate of Constantinople. In 357 a bronze statue was erected in his honour: and in 361 he appears to have been appointed Praetor, though the language of the ordinance which seems to confer this dignity upon him is somewhat obscure. In one of his orations he declares that on account of his oratorical (perhaps also his linguistic) skill, he might, if he had chosen, have had permanent diplomatic employment as the representative of the Empire at the Persian Court. In 376 he was sent by Valens on business of state to his nephew Gratian in Gaul, and returning by way of Rome he was received with marked honour by the nobles of that city, and strongly pressed to remain among them, but he preferred to return to Constantinople. In 384 he was appointed to the high honour of Praetorian Prefect of Constantinople, which however he held for only a short time, owing to his enfeebled health. He died probably soon after 385.

It is remarkable that though Themistius was an out-spoken votary of the old religion of Hellas¹, he enjoyed the favour of the

¹ It is curious to find Themistius twice quoting a passage from the Old Testament as to the king’s heart being in the hand of God, and ascribing it to ‘the Assyrian writings’ (Orations vii and xi, pp. 89 and 147). ‘But I formerly ob-

BOOK I. Christian Emperors, Constantius, Valens, and Theodosius, in a
 CH. 2. scarcely less degree than that of the heathen Julian. Probably this was owing to the fact that he consistently pressed the doctrine of toleration both on heathen and Arian Emperors: and this circumstance was not forgotten when the orthodox party came into the possession of supreme power. There was even some talk of his being entrusted with the education of Arcadius, the young son of Theodosius, but it does not appear that this was actually done.

In the opinion of Photius (who was no contemptible judge of Greek literature), the style of Themistius is 'clear, free from redundancies, and [yet] flowery: and he uses state-paper-like words which have a somewhat solemn sound.' A modern critic may venture the opinion that his style is less turgid than might have been expected from the age in which he wrote¹. Though he is profuse and audacious in his flattery of reigning Emperors, he is honourably distinguished from many of the vapid tribe of panegyrists by the amount of real historical information which it is possible to extract from the stream of his rhetoric, and he often contrives to blend with his flattery some maxim of eternal righteousness or some useful hint as to the dangers which threatened the Empire.

Guides:—

Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Smith's edition; London, 1854.

Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*. (Vol. 5, Paris, 1701: Vol. 6, Paris, 1738.)

Clinton, *Fasti Romani*. (Oxford, 1845.)

A reference to these three authors may be presumed for every chapter, and almost every page, of the present volumes. An occasional query as to the correctness of some minor detail in

served that even the Assyrian writings elegantly remark that in sooth the mind of the king is guarded in the hand of God. . . . I indeed, oh dear companions (do not let any one denounce me to the over-wise for saying so), have often admired many other things in the Assyrian writings, but this maxim I pre-eminently admire and praise. For those writings say somewhere that the king's heart is guarded in the hand of God.' Was this genuine or affected ignorance, or is it possible that Themistius had access to some sources of Oriental literature now closed to us? The passage quoted is to be found in Proverbs xxi. 1.

¹ He is exceedingly fond of introducing quotations from Homer.

Gibbon's History will not be misconstrued into dissent from the general verdict of admiration for his work. The accuracy in outline and, for the most part, in detail of so vast a panorama of human history is the more extraordinary, in view of the generally uncritical character of English scholarship in the latter part of the eighteenth century. One of the points for which later writers have reason to be most grateful to Gibbon is the clear and full statement of the authorities upon which each paragraph is based. This having been done once for all, in a book which is easily accessible to every student, absolves those who come after from quoting with the same fulness of detail, except when some point seems to require special illustration.

BOOK 1.
CH. 2.

For a perfect digest of all the authorities bearing on every fact in Roman Imperial history we naturally turn to Tillemont, who devoted the patient industry of a life to his two great works, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, and *Histoire des Empereurs*. Form, the great beauty of Gibbon's work, is utterly absent from Tillemont's mass of useful materials, annalistically arranged. But often when gratefully appreciating the helpfulness of this book—helpfulness all the greater, as it seems, on account of its complete absence of style—I have thought how great would be the advantage if the facts of some much-discussed period of English history—say the Reformation, the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, or the Great Rebellion—could be, with perfect accuracy, chronicled Tillemont-fashion for eloquent writers on both sides to work up afterwards as they pleased into the proper literary form.

Fynes Clinton, in his well-known book, the *Fasti Romani*, has analysed with extreme industry and care all the important dates in the earlier history of the Empire. The book—superior in this respect to that of Tillemont—is printed with an accuracy which approaches very nearly to perfection. A student who carefully follows Clinton's method, and verifies his quotations, soon feels that he may rely with almost absolute certainty on the correctness of his conclusions.

Of these three absolutely indispensable guides to the history of a world-important crisis, an English reader may reflect with permissible pride that two are his own fellow-countrymen.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

Death of
Julian.
26 June,
363.

Its results.

Discord
between
Eastern
and
Western
soldiers.

THE death of Julian at the very crisis of his campaign against Sapor, King of Persia, was followed by events which illustrated in a striking manner the weakness of such an elective monarchy as the Roman Commonwealth had now become. The dead Emperor left no son, and the race of Constantine died with him.

In these circumstances the right of the soldiers to choose the Emperor on the field of battle, a right which always existed in theory and which was only kept in practical abeyance by such expedients as the 'association' of a son with his Imperial sire, now revived in full force. The position of the invading army on the eastern bank of the Tigris, cut off from its base of operations and deprived of the great leader whose courage had breathed confidence into every soul, was difficult but not desperate. It might have been thought that, from the mere instinct of self-preservation, soldiers in such a position would have selected the fittest soldier to lead them home victorious: yet never was a leader chosen more absurdly unfit to grapple with the responsibilities of his new position than he who actually assumed the diadem. There was jealousy between the two main divisions of the army, the Eastern and the Western; between the comrades who after Julian's victory over the Alamanni had proclaimed him Augustus at Paris, and the opponents who, but for the timely death of his colleague Constantius, would have found themselves actually fighting against the brilliant Apostate. During his lifetime, the genius and the popularity of Julian had smothered these discords; but now upon his death they were on the point of breaking out into a flame. Here, at the head of the Gaulish legions, stood Nevitta

and Dagalaiphus—their very names told their barbarian origin; there, leading the debate on behalf of the legions of Constantius, were Victor and Arintheus. The discussion was so fierce between them that it might seem as if the horrors of civil war would soon be added to scarcity of provisions and all the other dangers of the Romans' position in the heart of the enemy's country.

This peril was averted when both parties agreed to offer the diadem to Sallust, the Praetorian Prefect of the East, deservedly the most trusted of the military counsellors of the deceased Emperor. In an evil hour for the State, if wisely for his own tranquillity, Sallust refused the honour, pleading sickness and old age as sufficient reasons against taking the weight of empire on his shoulders. It was important that a choice should be speedily made, before the flame of dissension between East and West could flash up again; though one soldier of distinction¹ proposed, with some show of reason, that the generals should consider themselves as lieutenants of the dead Julian till they had brought the troops safely back within the limits of the Empire, and then outside one of the cities of Mesopotamia 'by the united suffrages of both armies elect a legitimate Emperor.' This proposal did not find favour, but some one suggested the name of Jovian, which was eagerly echoed by a few noisy partisans; and without reflection, almost without enquiry whom they meant by that name, JOVIAN was elected.

There were two men in the host, each of some little note in his way, bearing the name of Jovian. One,

¹ 'Honoratior aliquis miles.' Very likely Ammianus himself, as Gibbon suggests.

BOOK I. who held the rank of *notarius*, had been some months
 ЧН. 2.
 363. before a leader of the brave band of men who burrowed through the secret recesses of a mine under the walls of Maiozamalcha¹, and emerging suddenly in the middle of the city had slain all its defenders who came in their way, and opened the gates to the besiegers.

The wrong
 Jovian pro-
 claimed.

Somewhat higher in rank, but less known for any deed of valour, was Jovian, the colonel of a regiment of the guards². He was son of Varronianus, a Count who had served the State with some credit and had recently retired into private life. He was tall, blue-eyed, of a cheerful countenance, fond of exchanging good-natured pleasantries with his comrades of the camp; but, except his handsome presence and his father's respectable career, there seems to have been no reason whatever why he should have been chosen to rule. However, when the name of Jovian was mentioned,—perhaps with a view to the elevation of the hero of Maiozamalcha³,—his messmates, interpreting it of their well-born and genial fellow-officer, hailed it with acclamations. He was soon robed in the purple,—the only difficulty being that it was hard to find a robe of the Imperial colour large enough for his giant limbs,—and was hurried along the four miles' line upon which the soldiers were drawn up, with shouts from his new subjects of 'Jovianus Augustus.' How little the mass of the

¹ So the correct text renders the name of this city, which was formerly written Masyomalcha. Ma'oz-Melech (מְעוֹז-מֶלֶךְ), the Hebrew equivalent of 'king's fortress,' is very similar to this, the correctly written form of the name.

² 'Domesticorum ordinis primus.'

³ This is the impression left on our minds by the language of Ammianus, xxv. 8. 18.

army understood what they were doing was proved by the fact that, misled by the similarity of name, many supposed that Julian was still alive and had recovered from his wound, and that it was he, their old commander, who was being hailed by these shouts of welcome. Only when, instead of the pale face and upright figure of the somewhat undersized Julian, they saw the tall stooping form and ruddy good-humoured countenance of his guardsman, did they fully comprehend the change which a few hours had wrought in the hand that was to guide the destinies of the Empire.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
363.

The whole story of Jovian's election reminds us of one of those sudden changes of fortune and unexpected compromises which have often marked the proceedings of a Conclave assembled for the choice of a Pope. But the interests at stake were probably greater than have ever been involved in the discussions in the Vatican—the hastening or the delay of the downfall of the Roman Empire, a point to be gained or lost in the contest of thirty centuries between Europe and Asia.

As soon as Jovian was robed in the purple, there began that unavowed competition between the interests of the State and the interests of the Dynasty which our own generation, having witnessed the capitulation of Sedan and the surrender of Metz, can so easily understand. The Imperial army was still formidable to the Persians, and whenever it met them in the field it inflicted severe losses upon them. The friendly province of Corduene was—so we are assured—only 100 miles distant to the North, and from that district there was reason to hope that another large division under Sebastian and Procopius was advancing to join the Roman host. Notwithstanding the great

The interests of the new Emperor clash with those of the Empire.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

363.

Jovian's
jealousy of
Procopius.

and undeniable difficulties of the commissariat, all these considerations pointed to a rapid northward march up the eastern bank of the Tigris. The river would at least supply them with water, and if the ranks of the soldiers were to be thinned, it was surely better that they should die fighting than starving.

But at every suggestion of this kind the flatterers of Jovian whispered in his ear the terrible name of *Procopius*¹, who was not only one of the generals of the advancing army, but a kinsman of the just deceased Emperor and a most likely person to be selected by a mutinous soldiery as a rival claimant to the throne. Thus that very junction of forces which, from a military point of view, was the one thing supremely to be desired for the Roman army, was the one thing to be supremely dreaded by the Roman Emperor.

Sapor
informed of
the death
of Julian.

In this state of affairs any proposals for peace coming from the Persian camp were sure of a favourable reception. Sapor, who had been profoundly impressed and dispirited by the rapid and successful march of Julian, recovered his confidence on the receipt of joyful tidings from a Roman deserter. This deserter, a standard-bearer of the legion called Joviani, had carried on a kind of hereditary feud with Varronianus and his son, and now preferred exile in Persia to the perils which must impend over the enemy of the Emperor. He informed the King that the foe whom he so greatly feared had breathed his last, and that 'a crowd of horse-boys had raised to the shadow of Imperial authority a guardsman named Jovian, a man of soft and indolent disposition.' Such was the aspect

¹ Ammianus, xxv. 7. 10: 'Adulatorum globus instabat timido principi, Procopii metuendum subserens nomen.'

which the tumultuary election of a Roman Emperor might easily be made to wear. At the same time, other deserters from the Imperial host conveyed the terrible suspicion—one which could not be positively refuted though it entirely lacks confirmation—that Julian had fallen not by a Persian but a Roman javelin, hurled perhaps (but the historian does not himself suggest this) by a Christian hand.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
363.

Though elated by this welcome news, Sapor had seen enough of the fighting capacities of the Imperial army, even within the last few days, to make him desirous to build 'a bridge of gold for a retreating foe.' Yet from the soft and inert Jovian he saw that it would be possible to wring terms of lasting advantage for Persia. He therefore sent to the Roman camp the general who bore the title of Surena and another noble of high rank to announce, that from motives of humanity he was willing to spare the remains of the invading army, and permit them to return in safety to their own land if the following conditions were accepted by them. Five provinces on the upper waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, which had been won from Persia by Galerius, were now to be restored. The great city of Nisibis, which had with scarcely any interruption belonged to the Roman Empire since the time of Trajan and which had been the great *entrepôt* of the commerce of East and West, was to be surrendered to Sapor : and the cities of Singara and Castra Maurorum with fifteen fortresses were to share the same fate. Last and most ignominious condition of all, Arsaces, king of Armenia, who had dared to ally himself with Rome against Persia, was to be abandoned to the vengeance of 'the King of Kings.'

He offers terms of peace.

Surrender of five provinces.

Of Nisibis and other fortresses.

Abandonment of the King of Armenia.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

363.

The terms
accepted.

Jovian
begins his
homeward
march.

Against such terms as these even Jovian struggled for four days, precious days, during which the provisions of his army were being rapidly consumed. Then he yielded, having obtained only one concession from the Persian, that the inhabitants of Nisibis and Singara might be allowed to depart from those cities, and the Roman garrisons to leave the fortresses before their surrender. The treaty was then signed, a treaty of peace for thirty years ; hostages were given on both sides, and Jovian, being permitted to cross the Tigris without molestation, commenced his march across the wasted and waterless plains of Mesopotamia. After a journey of seventy miles, occupying six days, a time of terrible hardship both for the soldiers and their horses, the army received, at a city called Ur, a supply of provisions sent for their use by the generals Sebastian and Procopius. The facts that the two armies were within such comparatively short distance of one another, and that after all, famine, the great enemy of the retreating host, had to be encountered, just as if no treaty had been signed, seem to form the strongest possible condemnation of an arrangement, the real object of which was to secure the diadem for Jovian, at whatever cost to the Empire.

Jovian at
Nisibis.

Before long the new Emperor and his army stood under the walls of Nisibis. Fame, swifter than the couriers whom Jovian had sent into all parts of the Empire to announce his accession, had divulged the humiliating terms of the treaty by which he had purchased an unmolested return. The citizens of Nisibis still cherished a faint hope that their prayers might prevail upon him to forego the execution of that article of the treaty in which they were concerned. But this

hope grew fainter when they observed that Jovian remained in his camp, pitched outside the walls of their city, and although pressed, steadfastly refused to enter the palace which had been visited by a long line of his predecessors, from Trajan to Constantius. Men said then that he blushed to enter the gates of the impregnable city which he was about to surrender to the enemies of Rome.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
363.

It was probably because the new Emperor perceived the murmurs of discontent which were excited in the army by the complaints of the people of Nisibis, that on the first night of his sojourn before the city he ordered a deed of cruelty to be committed which was little in accordance with his usual easy good-nature. The other Jovian, the hero of Maiozamalcha, was said to have invited some of the officers repeatedly to his table, and at these repasts to have made indiscreet allusions to the fact that he too had been spoken of as a candidate for the purple. He was hurried away at nightfall to a lonely place, hurled down a dry well, and his body covered with stones.

The other
Jovian put
to death.

Next day Bineses, Sapor's Commissioner, entered the city and displayed the banner of Persia from the citadel, a signal to all who wished to remain Roman citizens that the time had come when they must abandon their homes. With chaplets in their hands the inhabitants poured forth to the Imperial tent and besought the Emperor not to surrender them against their will to the power of Persia. They did not ask for assistance: with their own soldiers and their own resources they would fight for their ancestral homes as they had often done before. To this petition, which was urged in the name of the municipal Senate and

The
citizens of
Nisibis
implore
Jovian to
break
the treaty.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

363.
Brave
words of
Sabinus.

people of Nisibis¹, the Emperor would only reply that he had sworn to the treaty and could not, to gratify them, incur the guilt of perjury. Then Sabinus, president of the Senate of Nisibis, took up the discourse and spoke in somewhat bolder tone. 'It is not right,' said he, 'oh Emperor, to abandon us, nor compel us to make trial of barbarian customs after we have been for so many centuries fostered by the Roman laws. In three wars with the Persians, Constantius was saved from ruin by the valour of our city, which resisted to the last extremity of peril on behalf of the Empire. He recognised the obligations which this constancy laid upon him. When the fortune of war went desperately against him, when he had to flee with a few followers to the insecure shelter of Hibita, when he had to live on a crust of bread offered to him by an old peasant woman, still he surrendered not a foot of Roman territory: while you, oh Emperor! signalise the very commencement of your reign by the surrender of a city whose defences from of old have been inviolate by the enemy².' Still the Emperor refused to listen to the impossible petition, and pleaded, as he was bound to plead, the necessity of observing his plighted faith. He refused the crown which the citizens had brought him, but at length, overcome by their importunity, allowed it to be placed on his head, whereupon an advocate named Silvanus with a bitter taunt exclaimed, 'So, oh Imperator, may you be crowned by all the other cities of your realm.' Jovian understood

¹ 'Haec quidem suppliciter *ordo* et *populus* precabatur' (Amm. Mar. xxv. 9. 2).

² I have tried to combine in one the narratives, substantially very similar, of Zosimus (iii. 33-34) and Ammianus (xxv. 9).

the sneer, and exasperated by the unwelcome fidelity of the citizens, would concede only the short space of three days within which those who refused to accept the condition of Persian subjects must leave the precincts of Nisibis.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

363.

Three days of grace, only, allowed to the citizens.

Then one universal cry of misery went up from the despairing city. Matrons with dishevelled hair bewailed their hard fate in being compelled to abandon the ancestral hearths by which their infancy had been spent. Some, more unhappy, had to contemplate lifelong separation from the husband or the children whom necessity forced to remain behind. Everywhere a weeping crowd filled the streets, touching with loving hands the very doorposts and thresholds of the houses which they had known so long and were never to revisit. Soon the roads were filled with the throng of fugitives carrying with them such part of their household furniture as their strength enabled them to remove, and sometimes leaving articles of great price behind, in order to transport some commoner possession which its associations had endeared to them¹. Most of the emigrants betook themselves to Amida, the nearest town on the Roman side of the new frontier: but she and all her sister-cities were filled with lamentation, all men fearing that they would be exposed, defenceless, to the raids of the Persians, now that the great barrier-city of Nisibis had fallen.

Lamentations of the citizens of Nisibis.

They migrate to Amida.

I have dwelt at some length on the circumstances attending the abandonment of this city of Nisibis,

Story of Nisibis shows the

¹ This is probably the meaning of Ammianus' words, 'properando enim multi furabantur opes proprias, quas vehi posse credebant, contemptâ reliquâ suppellectili pretiosâ et multâ:' but it must be admitted that they need some amplification.

BOOK 1.
CH. 2.

363.
attaching
power of
Rome.

because they illustrate the nature of the connexion which existed between the one great civilised World-Empire and its members. Here was a city erected upon the highlands of Mesopotamia ; whose river, after a devious course, flowed into the Euphrates. From its walls Tigris could perhaps be descried gleaming upon the eastern horizon. It was doubtless essentially Asiatic in its character : its citizens spoke the Aramaic tongue of Hazael and Benhadad ; those who were most closely connected with Europe and had the most successfully assimilated the Western civilisation, might at the utmost be familiar with the Greek language which had been learned by the subjects of Seleucus and Antiochus. Yet these Orientals clung with passionate devotion to the name of Romans, and asked for nothing better from their rulers than to be allowed to fight for their connexion with the far-off City by the Tiber. In the course of this history we shall often come across cruel cases of oppression by Roman governors ; we shall often have to trace the desolating presence of the Roman tax-gatherer ; we shall sometimes hear the suggestion that even subjection to the barbarian is better than the exhausting tyranny of Roman prefects. But this is not the abiding, the universal conviction of the subjects of the Empire. Their own old feelings of nationality have long ago been laid aside, and to them the Empire, or as they call it 'the Commonwealth of Rome,' is home ; loved, notwithstanding all its faults, and not to be abandoned without passionate lamentation.

General acquiescence
in Jovian's
election.

As for Jovian, his action as Emperor scarcely extended beyond the cession of the five Mesopotamian provinces. With nervous haste he sent his messengers all over the Empire announcing his own accession and the salutary

peace which he had concluded with Persia ; and notwithstanding a mutiny at Rheims, in which his father-in-law and newly-appointed commander-in-chief, Lucillianus, was slain, his election was upon the whole tranquilly accepted by all the legions and provinces of the Empire. Procopius, who met him at the last stage before Nisibis, was charged to escort the dead body of Julian to Tarsus¹, and there to pay the last rites to the memory of his deceased kinsman. This done, he who well knew the suspicion with which he was regarded, discreetly vanished for a time from the eyes of men. Jovian entered Antioch, but stayed not long there, being terrified by omens and annoyed at the lampoons of the citizens. At Tarsus he visited and adorned the tomb of his predecessor. At Angora, which he had reached by the commencement of the new year, he exhibited himself to his subjects dressed in the robe of a Consul. By his side, as his colleague, sat his son Varronianus, a little child, whose screams as he was carried in the curule chair were deemed an evil augury for the new dynasty of Jovian. And in fact before seven weeks of the new year had passed, that short-lived dynasty perished. At the obscure town of Dadastana, in Bithynia, Jovian died suddenly in the night. Some said that the newly-plastered walls of his chamber in the road-side *mansio* caused his death ; some, an over-heated stove ; some, a too-hearty meal eaten on the previous evening. It is only certain that the inglorious life of the new Emperor was ended, in

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
363.

364.

Death of
Jovian,
Feb. 16,
364.

¹ Julian's reason for selecting Tarsus as his destined burial-place was probably that his mother's family resided there. We are told that his kinsman Procopius was 'in Ciliciâ natus et educatus' (Ammianus, xxvi. 6).

BOOK I. his thirty-third year, and that not even in that age of
 CH. 2. suspicion was any hint uttered that his death was
 364. due to the contrivance of an enemy.

Assembly
 at Nicaea
 for election
 of new
 Emperor.

Aequitius
 proposed,

and
 Januarius.

Valen-
 tinian
 elected,

Thus then the throne of the world was again vacant, and the act of election performed eight months before on the plain of Dura had now to be repeated in Bithynia, but this time in a more leisurely manner and with less danger of a mistaken choice. At Nicaea, the capital of Bithynia, the city at which, thirty-nine years before, the great Parliament of Christianity had assembled¹, there were now gathered together the chiefs of the civil and military administration in order to discuss the all-important question of a successor to the vacant throne. All men felt that the crisis was a grave one for the Empire: but where there was so little to indicate upon whom the choice would fall, many went with high hopes which were doomed to disappointment. Sallust probably took the first place in the deliberating council. First was proposed the name of Aequitius, a man who held a somewhat similar position in the household troops to that of Jovian²: but his rough temper and clownish manners caused him to be rejected. Then Januarius, a relative of Julian, who was Marshal of the Camps³ in Illyricum, was suggested as a fit wearer of the purple: but to communicate with him in distant Illyricum seemed to involve too dangerous a delay. When the name of another guardsman, VALENTINIAN, was proposed, it was hailed with unanimous approval, and the suggestion was greeted as the result of heaven-sent inspiration. It is true that even he was absent, at

¹ The Council of Nicaea: 19 June—25 Aug. 325.

² 'Scholae primae Scutariorum tribunus.'

³ 'Comes rei castrensis.'

Angora, in Galatia: but ten days sufficed to take thither the news of his elevation and to bring him back to the camp. The day on which he returned being that on which the intercalation for Leap Year was made¹, was deemed unlucky by the superstitious Romans, and consequently no proclamation was then issued: but, on the following day, the army was drawn up on the plain of Nicaea, and beheld upon a lofty tribunal the stately form of the new Emperor.

BOOK 1.
CH. 2.
364.

and pro-
claimed
Emperor,
Feb. 27,
364.

Valentinian, like so many of the best and strongest rulers of Rome in the third and fourth centuries, like Claudius, Aurelian, Diocletian, and Constantine, came from the central (Illyrian) portion of the Empire, between the Danube and the Adriatic. He had no long line of noble ancestors to boast of. His father Gratian, born of obscure parentage at Cibalæ on the Save, appeared when a lad in the army of some Roman general and offered a rope for sale. Five soldiers set upon him with the rough horse-play of the camp and tried to wrest his precious rope from him, but to their amazement he resisted them all. From that day Gratianus Funarius² was a well-known name in the camp, and his extraordinary personal strength, combined with skill in wrestling, secured his rapid advancement in the military career. He became guardsman³, tribune, and Marshal of the Camps, which latter high position he held in the province of Africa. Here however a suspicion of embezzlement led to his dismissal: but either the suspicion was unjust or his repentance procured his pardon,

Valen-
tinian's
parentage.

His father,
Gratian.

¹ 26th February. Bissextile appears to have been a second 26th of February, not the 29th.

² Gratian the rope-seller.

³ Protector.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

364.

Previous
career of
Valen-
tinian.

for at a later period he again held the same office in the province of Britain. At the end of a long and generally honourable career he retired to his native town of Cibalae, where, however, he again fell into some degree of disfavour with the reigning Emperor (Constantius), owing to the hospitality which he afforded to the usurper Magnentius.

The son of Count Gratian possessed his father's strength and heroic stature, and of course started in life with greater advantages than had fallen to that father's share. In 357 Valentinian was a cavalry officer, holding an important command in Gaul, where the misunderstandings arising from Constantius' jealousy of his cousin Julian for a short time, and most undeservedly, clouded his military reputation and caused him to receive an unwelcome furlough. With the triumph of Julian, if not before, his time of inactivity ended: but he again lost for a little while the favour of the Emperor, owing to the roughness with which he exhibited his Christian contempt for the somewhat fussy religiousness of his heathen master. At some ceremony in the temple of Antioch, at which military duty required his attendance in the train of the Emperor, a heathen priest sprinkled Valentinian the life-guardsman with the lustral water of the gods. He made a disdainful gesture, and cut off with his sword the part of his military cloak which had received the undesired aspersion. The philosopher Maximus (apparently) played the ignoble part of an informer, and Valentinian, for this contempt of the Emperor's religion, was for a few months deprived of his commission. Before long, however, he was again following the Imperial standards, the temporary

hindrance to his fortunes being abundantly compensated by the lustre which now attached to his name in the eyes of all believers, as, if not a martyr, at least a confessor of the Christian faith.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
364.

Such was the past history of the fortunate 'Tribune of the second Schola of Scutarii,' or as we should say Colonel of the Second Regiment of Guards, who now, in the forty-fourth year of his age, was presented to the assembled troops on the plain outside Nicaea to receive the acclamations which would make him Emperor. His tall and sinewy frame, the light colour of his hair, the blue-gray tint of his sternly-glancing eyes, spoke probably of an admixture of Teutonic blood in the veins of the Pannonian peasant, his father: but there was also somewhat of classical beauty in his features. With all the many and grievous faults in his character which history reveals to us, Valentinian was a born king of men, and one who, when presented to an assembly of soldiers as their leader, was certain to win without difficulty their enthusiastic applause¹. The acclamations were duly uttered, the purple was hung around his shoulders, the diadem was placed upon his head, and the new Augustus prepared to harangue his soldiers. But even while he was in act to speak, a deep sound, an almost menacing murmur, rose from the centuries and maniples of the army, 'Name at once another Emperor.' Some thought that the hint was given in the interest of one or other of the disappointed candi-

The acclamation.

He is called upon to name a colleague.

¹ Ammianus' description of the personal appearance of Valentinian (who is almost one of his heroes) is very striking: 'Corpus ejus lacertosum et validum, capilli fulgor colorisque nitor, cum oculis caesiis semper obliquum intuentis et torvum, atque pulchritudo staturae liniamentorumque recta compago majestatis regiae decus implebat' (xxx. 9. 6).

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

364.

His
harangue
to the
army.

dates; but it is more probable that the military parliament really aimed, in its own rough way, at promoting the good of the state, and wished to prevent the recurrence of such another disaster as that which, by the impact of one Persian javelin, had transferred the whole power of the Roman commonwealth from a Julian to a Jovian. At once, however, the high spirit of the new Emperor revealed itself, and the soldiers learned that they had given themselves a master. In few but well-chosen words Valentinian thanked the brave defenders of the provinces for the supreme honour which, without his expectation or desire, they had conferred upon him. 'The power which but an hour ago was in their hands was now in his; and it behoved them to listen while he set forth what he deemed to be for the welfare of the state. The need of a colleague he felt, perhaps more strongly than any of them, but the absolute necessity of harmony between the rulers of the world weighed even more strongly upon his mind. It was by concord that even small states had grown to great strength, and without it the mightiest empires must fall in ruin. Such a colleague as would work in full harmony with himself he trusted that he might find, but he must not be hurried in the search, nor compelled at a moment's notice to utter the irrevocable word that would bind him to a partner whose disposition he would only begin to study when it was too late to turn the knowledge of his character to account.'

The harangue produced its desired effect in the minds of the soldiers. Those who had been most eager in demanding the immediate association of a colleague admitted the reasonableness of the plea for delay.

The eagles and the banners of the different legions clustered emulously round the new Emperor, and escorted him, already with the awful aspect of dominion in his countenance, to the Imperial palace ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
364.

The deliberations of the new Emperor with himself concerning his future colleague did not occupy many days. Already, it is probable those who were best acquainted with his temper saw to what conclusion his words about the necessity of harmony pointed. On the morrow after his elevation he called a council of the chief officers, and asked if they had any advice to give him as to the association of a partner in his throne. All the rest were silent, but Dagalaiphus, the brave Teuton from the Gaulish provinces, said: 'If you love your own family, most excellent Emperor, you have a brother. If you love the State, seek for the worthiest and clothe him with the purple.' The Emperor showed that he was offended, but dismissed the assembly without disclosing his purpose. On the first of March, when the legions entered Nicomedia, he promoted his brother Valens to the dignity of Tribune of the Imperial Stables. Before the end of the month, at the building known as the Hebdomon ², he presented

Associa-
tion of
Valens
in the
Empire.

March 28,
365.

¹ 'Circumsaepum aquilis et vexillis agminibusque diversorum ordinum ambitiose stipatum *jamque terribilem* duxerunt in regiam' (Amm. xxvi. 11).

² Gibbon, following Tillemont and Ducange, makes the Hebdomon 'the field of Mars, distant from Constantinople either seven stadia or seven miles.' It is now however generally identified with the building known as the *Tekfour Serai*, or Palace of Belisarius, situated in Blachernae, a northern suburb of the city, and at a later period included within its walls. The name Hebdomon (Seventh) is said to be derived from the fact that the seventh division of the garrison was stationed there. After a careful consideration of the passages quoted in Ducange's *Constantinopolis Christiana*, I feel some doubt whether

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

364

Valens to the troops, arrayed in purple and diadem, and declared him Augustus. The needful, the apparently unanimous, applause was given, for none dared face the stern glance of the elder Augustus, and the two brothers rode back to Constantinople in the same car of state.

Appear-
ance and
character
of Valens.

Of VALENS, the new occupant of the Imperial throne, there is but little to be said, except that he was one of those commonplace men whom a hard fate has singled out for a great position, as if on purpose to show the essential littleness of their souls. He possessed neither the manly beauty nor the soldierly qualities of his brother. Of moderate stature and swarthy skin, bandy-legged, somewhat pot-bellied, and with a slight cast in his eye, he could boast of nothing in his outward appearance which might compel the beholder to forget the meanness of his extraction. In action he was tardy and procrastinating, and yet, as we shall see, on one memorable occasion his ignorance of the elements of the problem before him led him to commit an act of almost inconceivable rashness. He was excessively tenacious of the dignity which he had so undeservedly acquired, and his suspicion of all whom he supposed to be plotting to deprive him of it, led him into a course of most cruel tyranny. Yet in the ordinary detail of

this is the whole explanation of the matter. There may have been such a Hebdomon situated at Blachernae, but so many of the authorities, some of them contemporary, speak of 'the seventh milestone,' that I think there must also have been a Hebdomon seven miles from the city. It is to be wished that the archaeologists of Stamboul would carefully examine the site to see whether there are any remains of an important building at that distance from the city. Mr. Bury (*History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. 556) also places the Hebdomon not at Blachernae but by the Sea of Marmora.

government he displayed some praiseworthy qualities. He was a lover of justice towards all except the supposed pretenders to his throne. Though avaricious, and by no means scrupulous as to the means of replenishing his treasury, he was also, by an unwonted combination of qualities, very careful of his subjects' financial prosperity, never imposing a new tax, but relieving, whenever he could, the weight of the old imposts; so that Ammianus, who writes with no friendly feeling towards him, declares that 'never in matters of this sort was the East more leniently dealt with than under his reign¹.' It should be added here, for it had an important bearing on the whole course of his reign, that he was a bigoted and sometimes a persecuting Arian, while his brother Valentinian held the Nicene faith, but refused to persecute either heretics or heathens.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
364

The one chief merit of the public life of Valens was his unswerving loyalty to the brother who had raised him to the throne. 'He attended to his wishes as if he had been his orderly²,' says Ammianus, with a little contempt. Yet surely, in the circumstances of the Roman Empire, complete harmony between its rulers was a boon of the highest value, and the feebler, poorer, nature of Valens was right in leaning on the strong arm of Valentinian. The events which actually occurred caused the fraternal partiality of the elder

Fraternal
harmony of
the new
Emperors.

¹ 'Nec sub alio principe in hujusmodi negotiis melius secum actum esse meminit Oriens' (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 14. 3). Several points of this historian's elaborate description of the character of Valens remind me of our Henry VII.

² 'In modum apparitoris morigerum' (Amm. xxvi. 4. 3). We ought surely to read thus, not apparitoris as in Gardthausen's text.

BOOK I. brother to be in the highest degree disastrous to Rome.

CH. 2.

364.

Yet it was a great matter to avert such terrible and exhausting wars as had been waged between Constantine and Licinius, as had been all but waged between Constantius and Julian. Had it not been for the accident of the premature death of Valentinian, the world might have had no cause to regret his association of Valens with himself.

Partition
of the
Empire.

Thus then was the whole Roman world subject to the two sons of the rope-seller of Cibalae, and they now proceeded to divide its wide expanse between them. Very soon after the ceremony of association they had both fallen sick of a dangerous fever, but having recovered from this illness (which was falsely attributed by some to the machinations of the friends of Julian) they left Constantinople near the end of April, and travelling slowly, reached, at the beginning of June; Naissus, now the Servian city of Nisch. Here, or rather at the villa of Mediana, three miles out of the city, the brothers remained for a little over a fortnight, arranging the details of the great partition. The Gauls, Italy, and Illyricum were taken by Valentinian, the city of Milan being chosen as his residence in time of peace. The Gaulish army of Julian with its officers, among whom was the brave and outspoken Dagalaiphus, fell naturally to his share. On the other hand, the Prefecture of the East, which included not only Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, but the eastern half of Thrace and Moesia, was marked out as the portion of Valens, who ruled it from his capital of Constantinople, but who also often resided at Antioch, especially when there was danger of war on the Persian horizon. The highest military officers

of Valens were Victor and Arintheus ; his Prefect and chief adviser in civil matters the veteran Sallust, who, as we have seen, might easily have worn the diadem himself. There seems to have been much marching and counter-marching of the legions between East and West before all these arrangements were finally completed and before each Emperor had his own army satisfactorily quartered in his own dominions.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
364.

Soon after the accession of Valentinian a deed of wickedness was wrought by his orders. The eyes of the hapless child Varronianus, his predecessor's son, were put out, as we are told, 'from fear of what might happen in the future, though he had done no wrong¹.' A grievous illustration truly of the cruelty of which the new Byzantine state-craft could be guilty, notwithstanding its external profession of Christianity; and no less striking an evidence of the conflict in men's minds between the elective theory and the increasingly hereditary practice of the Imperial succession—a conflict which might cause even the infant son of a ten-months' Emperor to be hereafter a source of danger to the state.

The eyes
of the son
of Jovian
put out.

This conflict of theories, and the miserable position into which it often brought the relatives of a deceased sovereign, were the causes of an event which greatly occupied the minds of men in the early years of the new Emperors, and had an important bearing on the attitude of the Goths to Rome ; namely, the rebellion of Procopius. This man, the descendant of a noble family in Cilicia, of unblemished character, who had attained to respectable if not pre-eminent rank both in

Adven-
tures of
Julian's
kinsman,
Procopius.

¹ Chrysostom, 15th Homily.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

364

the civil and military service of the state¹, had now to live the life of a fugitive, like David when proscribed by Saul, hunted 'as a partridge on the mountains,' simply because there were rumours, doubtful and obscure, that his cousin Julian had secretly presented him with a purple robe, or had named him, on his death-bed, as a suitable successor. After the death of Jovian of Maiozamalcha had shown to all men the jealous character of his Imperial namesake, Procopius, as has been already said, thought it safer to disappear for a time from the common haunts of men. He retired at first to his estates near the Cappadocian Caesarea, and when an order was sent to that place for his arrest² he feigned submission to his fate, but obtained leave to see his wife and children before his departure. A sumptuous banquet was prepared for his captors, and in the night-time, while they were sleeping the sleep of drunkenness, Procopius contrived to escape with some of his followers and to reach the shore of the Euxine. Taking ship he sailed to the Crimea, and there lived for some months in poverty and wretchedness, probably on the uplands in the interior. Weary at length of this squalid mode of life, doubtful if the barbarians would keep his secret faithfully, and longing to hear again the civilised speech of Greece or Rome, he ventured forth from his hiding-place and came by devious roads to Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, where two faithful

¹ 'Notarius diu perspicaciter militans et tribunus, jamque summatibus proximus' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 6. 1).

² By Valentinian and Valens says Zosimus (iv. 5). But Ammianus, the better authority, seems to refer these events to the reign of Jovian.

friends alternately permitted him to take shelter in their houses¹. From hence occasionally venturing to creep forth, effectually disguised by the changes which hunger and hardship had wrought in his face, he listened to the talk of the citizens, and learned their growing discontent. It was by this time the summer of 365. Valentinian and Valens had been for more than a year upon the throne, and in the Oriental Prefecture, at least, there was deep dissatisfaction with their rule. The faithful Sallust had been thrust aside, and Valens had appointed his father-in-law, Petronius Probus, Prefect in his room. This man, suddenly advanced from an obscure to a lofty position, crooked in body and mind, and apparently delighting in the sorrows of his fellow-men, was, by his administration, spreading dismay through all classes of the community. The innocent and the guilty were alike subjected to judicial torture, and so remorseless was his vindication of the claims of the Exchequer that, as men said, he seemed as if he would go back a century to the days of Aurelian, to hunt for arrears of unpaid taxes².

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
365.

Discontent
at Constantinople.

270.

To internal discontent was added the menace of external invasion. All round the frontiers of the Empire, the tidings of the death of the mighty Julian and of the disgraceful peace concluded by his successor had profoundly stirred the hearts of the barbarians. The Alamanni, a great and strong

Troubles
from the
barbarians.

¹ Strategius, Senator and ex-guardsman (Amm. xxvi. 6. 5), and Eunomius the heretic (Philostorgius, ix. 5. 8).

² Ammianus' words, 'debita jam inde a temporibus principis Aureliani perscrutans,' can hardly, it seems to me, be taken as literally exact. How could the liability to arrears be thus enforced over a whole century?

BOOK I. confederacy who were dominant on the upper Rhine,
 ЧА. 2.
 365. had resumed their ravages in Raetia and Gaul: in Pannonia, the Sarmatians (a generic term for the Slavonic peoples) and the Quadi were roaming at their will: four barbarous nations, the Picts, the Scots, the Atacotti and the Saxons, were vexing the romanised Britons with continual miseries: the incursions of the Moors into the province of Africa were more than usually destructive: lastly, and most important for our present purpose, the Goths, strong and prosperous after their long peace with Rome, and apparently disposed to consider that their *foedus* with the Emperor Constantine bound them no longer, now that strangers to his blood ruled at Milan and Constantinople, were overrunning the nearer parts of Thrace with their predatory bands¹. There was probably also some rumour of impending difficulty with Persia, and we find that Valens was marching in haste to Antioch, when the news of the Gothic inroad caused him to send back a sufficient force of cavalry and infantry to the places threatened by their attack.

Owing to these various causes there was great disorganisation in the Eastern Prefecture, and the capital was bare of the regular troops upon whose

¹ I have here translated almost verbatim an important passage of Ammianus (xxvi. 4. 5), combining with it two others. The sentences specially relating to the Goths are these: 'Thracias et diripiebant praedatorii globi Gothorum' (l. c.); 'Valens . . . docetur relationibus ducum gentem Gothorum eâ tempestate intactam ideoque saevissimam, conspirantem in unum ad pervadenda parari conlimitia Thraciarum' (xxvi. 6. 11); 'Quod et Gothorum tria milia regibus jam lenitis ad auxilium erant missa Procopio, *Constantianam praetendenti necessitudinem*' (xxvi. 10. 3).

fidelity Valens might safely have relied, when at last Procopius, weary of his outcast life, and thinking that death itself would be better than the hardships which he had recently endured, determined to make a throw of the dice for empire.

BOOK 1.
CH. 2.
365.

Two Gaulish legions, the Divitenses and the Junior Tungrians, were on their way to their quarters in Thrace, and had to spend two days at Constantinople. Probably there was already some dissatisfaction among these troops at being removed from their homes in the West in order to serve in a dangerous and profitless campaign on the banks of the Danube. However this may have been, the daring spirits among them were accessible to the lavish offers made by the desperate Procopius, and promised for themselves and their comrades to aid him in his designs upon the throne. The necessary and hurried interviews took place under cover of the night, a night so dark and still that the ministers of Valens had not the slightest hint of what was going forward, and that, in the daring language of a heathen orator², even Jove himself must be deemed to have slumbered. When morning dawned there was a general concourse of the rebel officers and soldiers at the baths of Anastasia³, and there the troops beheld the person whom they were to hail as the new Augustus. They saw a man of about forty years of age, tall of stature, but stooping (probably from his long-continued sedentary occupa-

Two
Gaulish
legions
gained over
by Pro-
copius.
Sept. 28,
365¹.

Proclama-
tion of
Procopius.

¹ We get this date for the commencement of the insurrection of Procopius from the 'Descriptio Consulium' which bears the name of Idatius.

² Themistius, Oration vii. (p. 91, ed. Paris).

³ So named from the sister of Constantine.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

365.

tion), looking like a clerk rather than a general, and with the shy downcast glance of one who had been for years a hunted fugitive. There he stood, the pale and ghost-like pretender, with one thought uppermost in his mind: 'Since my death is decreed, let me choose the steepest and shortest road into the abyss¹.' The Imperial wardrobe was yet unransacked, and the only garments that could be procured were singularly unfitted to the majesty of an Augustus. In a gold-embroidered tunic which reached only to his knees, with purple buskins on his feet, and a spear in his hand from which fluttered a purple ribbon, he looked like a tragedy-king on the orchestra of a theatre². However, he forced a smile to his pallid and anxious face: with honeyed words he fawned upon the authors of his greatness; and donative, promotion, high office were promised lavishly to the various ranks of his supporters. He then marched through the streets of Constantinople, the soldiers around him forming a *testudo* of shields over his head to guard him from darts or stones that might be hurled from the house-tops. However, no attack was made; no sign of favour or opposition was given by the multitude, and through the strange silence of the streets Procopius and his satellites marched to the *tribunal* before the palace³, from which the Eastern Emperors were wont to address their subjects. Here he long stood silent, chilled and awed

¹ 'Procliviorē viam ad mortem, ut sperabat, existimans advenisse (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 6. 18).

² There is a considerable general resemblance between the descriptions of Ammianus (xxvi. 9. 11) and Themistius (l. c. p. 90).

³ *Εἰς τὰ βασιλεία προήει λαμπρὸς, ἀνελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς βῆμα* (Zosimus, iv. 6). 'Cum itaque tribunal escendisset Procopius' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 6. 18).

by the silence of the populace. At length words came to his parched tongue, and he spoke of his relationship to the great Emperor who had fallen. Probably also he now began to ply the populace with the same kind of promises of material advantage which had proved effectual with the soldiers. Debts were to be abolished; lands were to be redistributed; all the demagogue's easy generosity at others' expense was freely exercised¹. The bait took; the thin applause of the hired partisans was echoed at length by the hearty acclamations of the crowd, and Procopius could now truly assert that he had been hailed as Imperator by the people, or at least by the mob of Byzantium. After a somewhat discouraging visit to the Senate-house, from which all the noblest Senators were purposely absent, he entered the palace which had once been the abode of his cousin Julian, and which was to be his official residence for eight months from this time.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

365.
Oration of
Procopius.

For in truth the elevation of Procopius, though viewed with disapprobation by the official classes and attended by some circumstances which moved the laughter of contemporary historians, was by no means a contemptible movement, but one which was very near attaining a signal success. The two great Praetorian Prefects, of Constantinople and of the East, appointed by Valens, were at once thrown into prison, and the Urban Prefecture and the important dignity of Master

The move-
ment at
first suc-
cessful.

¹ Themistius is very clear as to the Socialistic policy affected by Procopius: "Αντικρυς τὰ Πλάτωνος τοῦ θεσπεσίου, καὶ ἃ φησιν ἐκεῖνος προδεικνύναι τοὺς τυράννους ἐν τοῖς προσιμίῳις, χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, γῆς ἀναδασμούς, τὴν ἐπὶ Κρόνου καὶ 'Ρέας εὐδαιμονίαν, πικρὰ δελεάσματα τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλισκομένοις (l. c. p. 91). Zosimus also gives the same impression: Καὶ πληρώσας ἐλπίδων καὶ ἀδρῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἀπαντας (iv. 6, p. 179, ed. Bonn).

BOOK I. of the Offices were bestowed on two Gaulish officers ¹,
 CH. 2. doubtless belonging to the mutinous legions which had
 365. placed Procopius on the throne. Troops were raised;
 the legions on their way to the Gothic war were
 stopped and easily persuaded to enlist under the new
 Emperor; and, more important, 3000 of the Goths
 themselves were found willing to serve under the
 banners of one who held himself forth as the kinsman
 of their great ally the Emperor Constantine ².

Procopius'
 relation-
 ship to the
 family of
 Constantine.

This tie of relationship to the great Flavian house, a tie of a very slender kind and which probably in truth connected him with none but Julian himself, was insisted upon by Procopius and his adherents on every possible opportunity. Constantius had left a widow named Fausta and an infant daughter named Constantia. Whenever he addressed the troops the new Emperor was accustomed to carry Constantia 'his infant kinswoman' in his arms, and Fausta wearing the purple robes of an Augusta appeared by his side.

Receipt of
 the tidings
 by Valens.

Meanwhile the tidings of these strange and unexpected events reached the two brothers who were the rightful possessors of the sovereign power; and characteristically different was the manner of their reception. While all the hucksters and costermongers ³ of Constantinople were rejoicing over the accession of the people's friend, a few of the more influential citizens

¹ Phronemius and Euphrasius.

² Zosimus raises the Gothic contingent to 10,000, and speaks as if they actually served under Procopius, ἤδη δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινὰς ἵσταλλε πρὸς τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον Σκυθῶν ἐπικράτειαν· ὁ δὲ μυρίους ἀκμάζοντας ἔπεμπε συμμάχους αὐτῷ (p. 180).

³ 'Cupediarum vilium mercatores' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 7. 1).

who deemed that any turn of Fortune's wheel would be safer than the present strange condition of affairs, slipped out of the capital, and by hurried journeys sought the absent Emperor of the East. First of the fugitives to arrive was Sophronius, then only a notary, in after years Prefect of Constantinople. He found Valens at the Cappadocian Caesarea, about to depart thence to Antioch in leisurely ignorance of the danger to his crown. When he heard what had happened at Constantinople, stupefied with terror and bewilderment he turned aside into Galatia to await further tidings. For some weeks each post brought worse and worse reports from the capital; and Valens was reduced to such a depth of despondency that only the urgent entreaties of his nearest friends prevented him from resigning the purple and taking up that load of exile with its attendant dangers and hardships which Procopius had only just laid down. At length, however, braver counsels prevailed; and with two legions, the Jovian and the Victorious, he marched to Bithynia to meet his rival.

BOOK 1.
CH. 2.
365.

Valentinian was in Gaul, drawing near to the city of Lutetia Parisiorum¹, when, on a certain day near the end of October, two messengers from different quarters bearing evil tidings reached him at once. One informed him that the Alamanni had refused with indignation the gifts offered to their ambassadors, 'gifts smaller and cheaper than had ever been given them before,' had cast them on the ground, and were in full career for the Gaulish frontier, breathing destruction and revenge². The

Receipt of
the tidings
by Valen-
tinian.

¹ Paris.

² 'Alamanni cum legatis eorum missis ad comitatum certa et praestituta ex more munera praeberi deberent, minora et vilia sunt

BOOK I. other had to communicate a vague and uncertain
 CH. 2. rumour of the revolution effected a month before by
 365. Procopius at Constantinople. The tidings came from the brave and faithful Aequitius, Governor of Illyricum, the same who had been himself proposed as a candidate for the purple, whose staunch loyalty probably now saved the dynasty of Valentinian, since the Illyrian provinces, firmly held by him for his master, and with the three chief passes leading into the Oriental Diocese¹ strongly garrisoned, interposed an impenetrable barrier against the designs of the Procopians. But even this faithful servant had heard so dim and inaccurate a history of what had passed at Constantinople that his messenger could not say whether Valens were still alive or dead.

The first impulse of Valentinian was to march at once to the East to deliver or to avenge his brother. His nearest counsellors, however, ventured to represent to him the miseries which the barbarians during his absence on this expedition would inevitably inflict on the defenceless provinces of Gaul. The choice was a difficult one, and the matter was set in various lights by different advisers ; but the strong, if stern and rigid,

adtributa, quae illi suscepta furentes agentes ut indignissima projecere ' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 5. 7). The descendants of the Alamanni in modern Switzerland sometimes go through a similar pantomime when gifts which they deem too small and cheap are tendered to them by travellers.

¹ 'Pariaque deinde metuens [Aequitius] obstruxit tres aditus angustissimos, per quos provinciae temptantur arctoe, unum per ripensem Daciam, alterum per Succos notissimum, tertium per Macedonas quem appellant Acontisma' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 7. 12). These three routes are by the Danube, by the 'Iron Gate' across the Balkan, and by the coast of the Aegean, Acontisma being eight miles from Neapolis, the port of Philippi.

mind of Valentinian was arrested by this thought, to which he several times gave utterance, 'Procopius is the enemy only of me and my brother, while the Alamanni are the enemies of the whole Roman world.' Not a single soldier—this was his conclusion—should leave the limits of Gaul. The spirit of the great days of the Republic, the spirit of Regulus and of Sulla¹, was after all not yet dead in the hearts of Romans.

BOOK 1.
CH. 2.
365.

Thus it came to pass that Valens had to conduct the struggle with Procopius, unaided by Valentinian, and through the autumn and winter of 365–6 the usurper, thus enabled to concentrate his force, was upon the whole so successful, that it seemed as if his revolutionary diadem might be transmitted to his descendants. We can with some effort discern what was the division of parties and interests between the two claimants for the Empire of the East, and what the rallying cry of each faction and the taunts which it hurled at its opponents. On the side of Valens seem to have been immovably ranged all his fellow-countrymen from the Pannonian provinces, and these probably included the best and bravest officers in the Imperial army². As before hinted, the senators and the official classes of Constantinople seem to have been for the most part ranged on

Rallying
cries of the
partisans of
Valens and
Procopius
respect-
ively.

¹ 'Triumphant Sulla! thou who didst subdue
Thy country's foes ere thou wouldest pause to feel
The weight of thine own wrongs, or reap the due
Of hoarded vengeance till thy legions flew
O'er prostrate Asia.' (Childe Harold, iv. lxxxiii.)

² 'Serenianus . . . ut Pannonius sociatusque Valenti domesticorum praefuit scholae' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 5. 3). 'Adtente providebat Aequitius et cum eo Leo . . . exercitus universi judicium . . . ut Pannonii fautoresque principis designati firmantes' (ibid. i. 6).

BOOK I. the same side, dreading a civil war between East and
 CH. 2. West, and doubting Procopius' power to consolidate
 365. his position.

The adherents of Procopius were to be found among the lower orders at Constantinople, attracted by his promises of a redistribution of property; among the sufferers from the unjust exactions of Petronius; among the officers of the two mutinous legions for whom his success was a matter of life and death; and among all those newly created Prefects, Counts, and Tribunes, whom, after the custom of revolutions¹, this sudden turn of the wheel had raised from nothingness to power².

Vadomar
and
Hormisdas.

360. We note with interest the names of two men of kingly origin who took sides in this civil strife of an Empire to which they were aliens. Vadomar, king of the Alamanni, having been deposed and made prisoner by Julian, had taken service under the Emperors of Rome, from whom he received the office—a singular one for a Teutonic chieftain—of Duke of Phoenicia: and he was now employed by Valens in an unsuccessful siege of Nicaea. On the other hand, the young Hormisdas, of the royal seed of Persia, whose father, an exile from his country, had visited Rome in the train

¹ 'Utique in certaminibus intestinis usu venire contingit, emergent ex vulgari faece nonnulli, desperatione consiliisque ductantibus caecis, contraque quidam orti splendide a culminibus summis ad usque mortes et exilia conruebant' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 7. 7). This might have been written as a description of France in 1792 and 1851.

² Possibly also the party which still cherished the traditions of heathenism rallied round Procopius, the kinsman of Julian. But Tillemont does not seem to me to have *proved* the Paganism of Procopius: and had he decidedly favoured the old religion, surely Ammianus and Themistius would have spoken more kindly of him than they do.

of Constantius, and guided through Mesopotamia the cavalry of Julian, now received from Procopius the office of pro-consul, and with his wife narrowly escaped capture by the soldiers of Valens¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
365.

The partisans of Valens were loud in their invectives against 'the moody Cilician misanthrope who might have been satisfied to pass his life in the condition of a notary and scribe, but who had left his desk and his ink-horn in order to take on himself the vast burden of the Empire of Rome²:' while the adherents of Procopius were prepared with the easy retort that their opponents were fighting for a base-born Pannonian; and when Valens appeared under the walls of Chalcedon, its defenders assailed him with loud and bitter cries of 'Sabaiarius,' a word which by a slight anachronism we might translate 'Bavarian-beer-drinker³.'

Mutual
invectives.

The war was confined to Asia Minor, and chiefly to the north-western portions of it. Nicaea, as has been said, was in vain besieged by the troops of Valens, while Cyzicus, to which the soldiers of Procopius laid siege, and whose harbour had been closed by an iron boom, was taken by the valiant Aliso, who having ordered his men, standing and kneeling in their boats, to form a *testudo*, himself with a mighty blow of his

Sieges of
Nicaea and
Cyzicus.

¹ 'Tanto vigore evasit [Ormizdas] ut escensâ navi, quam ad casus pararat ancipites, sequentem ac paene captam uxorem sagittarum nube diffusâ defensam averteret secum: matronam opulentam et nobilem, cujus verecundia et destinatio gloriosa abruptis postea discriminibus maritum exemit' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 8. 12). It would be interesting to know more of the events thus glanced at by Ammianus.

² Ἄνθρωπος ἐν ὑπογραφίῳς ἀεὶ μοῖρα διαβιὼνς ἐκ τοῦ μέλανος καὶ τῆς καλαμίδος ἐτόλμησεν εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν (Themistius, Or. vii. p. 86).

³ 'Est autem Sabaia ex hordeo vel frumento in liquorem conversis paupertinus in Illyrico potus' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 8. 2).

BOOK I. axe cut the boom in sunder. Procopius at first showed
CH. 2.

365.
The arti-
fices of
Procopius.

considerable cleverness—of no very exalted kind—in playing the game of an usurper. Sham-messengers, dusty as if from a long journey, but really coming in from the suburbs of Constantinople, announced the death of Valentinian and the defeat of Valens. Sham-embassies from Persia, Egypt, Africa, proclaimed the alliance or the subjection of nations at the ends of the earth¹. When he met the troops of his rival drawn up for battle by the river Sangarius, he suddenly remembered, or feigned to remember, an old comrade in a certain Vitalianus, who was conspicuous in their ranks, and advancing to meet him with outstretched hand, uttered a short harangue recalling the glories of his kinsman Julian and pouring scorn on the degenerate Pannonian. The result of this well-played comedy was that the soldiers lowered their standards and their eagles, clustered round Procopius, and escorted him back to his camp, swearing by Jove (as from long habit Roman soldiers still swore) that Procopius should be for ever invincible².

The tide
turns,
366.

But success made Procopius idle: the falsehood of the rumours as to Valentinian's death before long became manifest, and soon after the beginning of 366 the tide, we cannot say of battle, but of treason, turned. Supplies were running short with the usurper. The populace of Constantinople complained that the *annona*, or daily largess of bread, was not given with the

¹ Themistius, p. 91.

² 'Testati more militiae Jovem invictum Procopium fore' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 7. 17). Doubtless the 'Justiniane Imperator, tu vincas' of 160 years later was a survival from this military acclamation. Did it begin 'Obtestor Jovem?'

accustomed liberality¹—a surer evidence than all the pretended ambassadors whom Procopius could parade through the streets of the capital, that the great corn-producing province of Egypt was not on his side. The senators were loaded with grievous imposts, and advantage was taken of the turn of the year to collect two years' taxes in one month. And the usurper himself, instead of pushing forward to complete the victory achieved at Cyzicus, lingered in the cities of Asia, and held vague consultations with persons skilled in gold-mining as to the possibility of extracting from the bowels of the earth the gold which he needed for the war.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
366.

Military discipline and the reverence for tried and veteran officers began to assert itself more and more even in the ranks of the mutineers. When the great commander Arintheus arrived at the Phrygian town of Dadastana² he found the troops of the enemy at that place commanded by a certain Hyperethius, who had previously held no higher office than that of butler to the Marshal of the Camp³. Disdaining to fight with such an adversary he strode forth between the two armies and in a loud voice commanded his former soldiers to bind the menial who dared to call himself their captain; and such was the old instinct of obedience to the voice of Arintheus that they obeyed. To this instinct Valens now determined to make a powerful appeal against the continually urged argument of Procopius' relationship to Julian. To the childish graces of the

Old
generals
on the
side of
Valens.
Arintheus.

¹ Themistius, p. 92.

² The place where Jovian had died.

³ 'Antehac rectoris Castrensis adparitorem id est ventris ministrum et gutturis' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 8. 5).

BOOK I. little Constantia, borne in the arms of her self-styled
 CH. 2.
 366.
 Arbeto. cousin, he determined to oppose the white hairs of the veteran Arbeto. This man, who had risen from the condition of a common soldier to the highest commands in the army, had served with credit in the campaigns of Constantius and Julian. His military fame was eminent, though he was little better than a shifty intriguer in civil affairs. He had worn the robes of a consul in 355 and had even been accused under Constantius of aspiring to the Imperial purple. He had now retired from active service, but, in so great a crisis of the fortunes of the state, each party hoped that the sly old veteran would intervene on its side. Elated by his apparent prosperity Procopius foolishly showed his impatience at the delays and vacillation of Arbeto, and ordered his house at Constantinople, which was full of furniture of priceless value, to be burned¹. From that moment, as might have been expected, Valens had no more devoted adherent than Arbeto, who was the very man that was required to win back to military obedience the mutinous legions, disgusted with the promotion of butlers and copying-clerks to high commands in the army.

Battle of
 Thyatira.

In the spring of 366 Valens, who had been reinforced by a large body of soldiers under the command of Lupicinus, his Master of the Horse, led his army from their quarters on the confines of Phrygia and Galatia, westwards through the defiles of Olympus into the province of Lydia². Here Arbeto joined him, and here

¹ See Ammianus, xxvi. 8. 13. The story, as he tells it, suggests a parallel with Absalom's similar outrage on Joab (2 Samuel xiv. 29-33).

² 'Praeter radices Olympi mentis excelsi tramitesque fragosos ire

before long on the plains of Thyatira, the two armies met in battle. The impetuous valour of Hormisdas threw the line of the army of Valens into confusion, and had all but won the day for Procopius. But the general on that side was Gumoarius or Gumohar, long ago seen through by Julian as a hoary old traitor¹, but whom Procopius had unwisely entrusted with one of the chief commands in his army. Gumohar had undoubtedly been gained over by Arbetio, though there is a slight divergence of testimony as to the precise means by which he carried into effect his treacherous designs. According to one account² he suddenly raised the cry, 'Augustus! Augustus!' The password was re-echoed by all the officers who were in the conspiracy, and all who thus shouted passed over, with shields reversed and spears shaken to and fro in sign of surrender³, into the camp of Valens. The other story makes Arbetio the chief actor in the scene⁴. Suddenly appearing before the rebel troops and claiming the hearing to which his high military rank and white hairs entitled him, he assailed Procopius with loud reproaches as an insolent intruder on the Imperial dignity, and besought the soldiers who had been led away by his artifices, the men who had been partners with himself in many toils and dangers, and who were dear to him as his own

BOOK I.

CH. 2.

366.

Treachery
of Gumo-
har.

tendebat ad Lyciam' (Amm. Mar. xxvi. 9. 2). It is clear that Lycia is wrong; and it seems to me simpler to suppose a mere clerical error by which it has been substituted for Lydia than to adopt the ingenious conjecture of Gibbon who refers to the Lycus, the river of Thyatira.

¹ 'Gumoarium proditorem antiquum timens [Julianus]' (ibid. xxi. 8. 1).

² Zosimus, iv. 8.

³ This detail from Amm. Mar. xxvi. 9. 7.

⁴ Amm. Mar. xxvi. 9. 5.

BOOK I. sons, to follow him, their parent, rather than that
 CH. 2. abandoned scoundrel who was already on the brink of
 366. ruin. The appeal was successful: the soldiers followed
 their old leader: Gumohar conveniently contrived to
 be taken prisoner, and the general, with the best part
 of the troops of Procopius, were soon quartered as
 friends in the camp of Valens.

Procopius
 deserted by
 his troops
 at Nacolia.

Flight of
 Procopius.

His death.
 27 May¹,
 366.

Procopius fled, not to Constantinople but into Phrygia where there were still some legions following his standard. Agilo who commanded this portion of the army was an old comrade of Arbetio, and was easily persuaded to follow the example of Gumohar. The armies met near the city of Nacolia: the comedy of an appeal to old memories of common service was probably again enacted, and the remnant of the troops of Procopius entered the service of his rival. The revolution had begun with a military pronunciamiento, and was ended by a movement of the same kind but in the opposite direction. Procopius fled from the field, not of battle but of surrender, to the mountains, and was accompanied by two officers, Florentius and Barchalba. The too early rising moon favoured the pursuers rather than the pursued, the hope of escape became desperate, and suddenly his two companions hoping to purchase their safety at his expense, sprang upon him and bound him with cords. At daybreak they brought him to the Emperor's camp, silent and with the old gloom upon his face deeper than ever. His head was at once severed from his body², and it is with some

¹ This is the date according to Idatius. The Alexandrian Chronicle gives 20th of June.

² The statement of Socrates (repeated by Zonaras and some other writers) that Procopius was put to death by being bound to two bent

satisfaction that we read that for want of adequate de-
 liberation Florentius and Barchalba shared the same
 fate.

BOOK I.
 CH. 2.
 366.

The rebellion of Procopius was thus at an end, but his
 kinsman Marcellus, an officer of the household troops, ^{After-}
 who appears to have been one of his most capable ^{rebellion of}
 helpers and who commanded the garrison of Nicaea, ^{Marcellus.}
 assumed the purple and endeavoured to prolong an
 ineffectual resistance. He put to death Serenianus, one
 of the chief advisers of Valens, who had been taken
 prisoner and lodged within the walls of Nicaea. He
 also occupied Chalcedon, and began to negotiate with the
 Gothic leaders for the support of the 3000¹ men whom
 they had sent to the aid of Procopius. But before he
 could consolidate his forces, Aequitius, who had led an
 army out of Illyricum through the pass of Succi and
 who was busied with the siege of Philippopolis, sent a
 small but daring band of soldiers, who caught him,
 we are told, 'like a fugitive slave,' and brought him
 into the presence of Aequitius. He was cruelly flogged
 and tortured and then put to death². The garrison of
 Philippopolis still continued stubbornly to defend that
 city, not believing the report of the death of Procopius,

trees and torn asunder by their recoil is justly rejected by Tillemont
 (v. 693).

¹ Ammianus (xxvi. 10. 3) gives the number of Gothic auxiliaries to
 Procopius at 3000. Zosimus says they were '10,000 men in the
 prime of their vigour.' I think we must consider Ammianus the
 better authority, but there is nothing in itself improbable in the
 statement of Zosimus.

² Ammianus makes no mention of Marcellus till after the death of
 Procopius, but in the pages of Zosimus he figures as one of the greatest
 generals of the usurper. As both historians are good authorities for
 the history of this period, this is a good illustration of the danger of
 founding any argument on the mere omission of a name.

BOOK I. and it was only upon the actual sight of the head of the
 CH. 2. usurper, which was being borne in ghastly triumph to
 366. Valentinian in Gaul, that they most unwillingly consented to its surrender.

Thus then had fallen Procopius, 'the Emperor of a winter¹' as he was now called in derision by the flatterers of success. Valens apparently soon returned to Constantinople, and here perhaps in the early months of 367, sitting in the Senate-house, he listened to the flattering harangue of the orator Themistius, to which we are indebted for much of our knowledge of the baffled revolution.

Oration of
 Themis-
 tius.

Though we know with what sycophancy in all ages power is worshipped, whether it reside in an autocrat or a mob, we could hardly have expected that Themistius would have ventured on some of the topics of praise which he has chosen, and which must have seemed like ridicule to those who knew the facts of the late campaign. He enlarges on the courage of Valens, who apparently never met the foe in open fight; on his constancy and unshaken firmness, when but for the entreaties of his counsellors he would have resigned the purple; on the magic of his name, which at thirty furlongs distance caused the soldiers of his rival to desert to his standards, when that act of treachery was really due to the white hairs of Arbetio, and the machinations of Gumohar. Looking however beneath the surface we can discern some grains of perhaps unintended candour. He admits and seeks to excuse the long delay of Valens², he slightly alludes to his

¹ Themistius, vii. (p. 92).

² Τοῦτο ἐκέλευεν τῆς μελλήσεως (p. 93). Compare Ammianus' character of Valens (xxxi. 14. 7), 'Cessator et piger.'

ignorance of philosophy¹, and he hints as gently as possible that the Emperor is not sufficiently prompt in the issue of an amnesty. Indeed, when we see how large a part of the oration is taken up with the praises of the Imperial virtue of clemency, we begin to understand the reason of its being uttered, and can almost forgive the baseness of its adulation. As far as we can form a judgment from the very contradictory materials² before us, we should conclude that Valens showed at first great and unexpected moderation in the punishment of the Procopian faction³. Having dealt thus leniently with the great offenders, Valens should have issued promptly a wide and general amnesty for the humbled crowd of his rival's followers. But this amnesty came not, and as the Eastern Augustus grew more secure in his seat, fear, the most cruel of passions, asserted itself more savagely in his deeds. A trifling circumstance, the discovery of a purple robe in the possession of Marcellus, which Procopius had given to him as Julian was said to have given a similar robe to Procopius, set the weak brain of Valens on fire⁴. The base trade of the informer began again to flourish. The maxim, so unwise and so impossible to enforce after a time of successful revolt, that whosoever has

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

366.

Treatment
of the
adherents
of Pro-
copius.

¹ Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἀποστοματίζεις μηδὲ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους μεταχειρίζῃ, ἀλλὰ τάγε ἐκείνοις δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἔργοις βεβαιοῖς (p. 93).

² Ammianus and Zosimus both loudly denounce the cruelty of Valens; Themistius and Libanius praise his clemency. As Tillemont points out (v. 84) it is the testimony of Libanius which is really weighty on the Emperor's side.

³ The three highest officers in the service of Procopius, his two Praetorian Prefects and his Master of the Offices, escaped with comparatively slight punishments.

⁴ Zosimus, iv. 8.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

366.

heard of treasonable designs and failed to denounce them is guilty of treason was rigorously acted upon. Torture was freely applied, and men free from all crime, who would rather have died ten times over on the battle-field, were stretched upon the rack or felt the cruel stroke of the executioner's leaded scourge. The relations of Valens and the vile herd of informers were enriched with the estates of men thus forced by torture to confess uncommitted crimes. From all ranks and conditions of men went up a sorrowful cry that a just victory had been foully abused, and that civil war itself had been more tolerable than the daily horrors thus perpetrated under the forms of law.

The Goths
entangled
in the Pro-
copian in-
surrection.

The insurrection of Procopius had the effect—and this is its especial interest for us—of bringing the Empire into collision with the imperfectly organised Gothic communities north of the Danube. As soon as the civil war was ended, and when Valens was hoping that his troubles from foreign and domestic foes were over, his Ministers brought before him the perplexing question what was to be done with the Gothic auxiliaries of the late usurper. They had arrived apparently too late to assist Procopius in the field, but they were not disposed to return empty-handed to their own country. A fragment of the contemporary historian Eunapius¹ furnishes us with an interesting picture of the outward appearance of these unwelcome visitors, as beheld by the officials of Byzantium. 'These men were insufferably haughty and contemptuous of all that they beheld, insolent even to lawlessness, and treating all conditions of men with the same lordly arrogance. The Emperor at once ordered

¹ Pp. 46-48, ed. Bonn.

that their return to Scythia should be intercepted and that the barbarians, caught as it were in a net, should be commanded to give up their arms. They did so, but even in doing it, showed by the very toss of their long locks their disdain for the Roman officials. They were then dispersed through the various cities and kept under guard, but without bonds. When the inhabitants of these cities were thus enabled to observe them more closely, they saw that their bodies though tall were not of a serviceable make, that their feet were slow and heavy, and that their waists were pinched in, as Aristotle says is the case with the bodies of insects. Thus making proof of their weakness they could not help laughing at the mistaken fear which they had formerly entertained of them.'

Possibly we may find that the Thracian citizens were laughing too soon at the discovered weakness of these wasp-waisted barbarians. But in the mean time, in the summer of 366, their presence and their detention in the Empire led to the mutual despatch of embassies between Scythia and Romania. On the one hand Athanaric¹,

¹ Athanaric had probably become Judex only a short time before this Embassy was sent, or possibly he was raised to that position on account of the imminence of war with the Empire. Isidore in his 'Chronicon' under the year 369 says, 'Anno quinto imperii Valentis, primus Gothorum gentis administrationem suscepit Athanaricus, regnans annos tredecim' [369-381]. But it is certain from the narrative of Ammianus that the accession of Athanaric to power cannot be brought down so low as 369: and Isidore is notoriously loose and inaccurate in his chronology. Still his statement may perhaps be accepted as evidence of a tradition that Athanaric's reign was a short one, and that his accession did not take place long before 366. In the Acts of St. Sabas, the persecuting ruler of the Goths is called 'Atharidus, the son of the king Rhotesteus.' This is probably, though not certainly, the same person as Athanaric.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

366.

the chief of the Visigothic Judges¹, demanded to know by what right the warriors of his nation, sent at the request of Procopius, Emperor of Rome, were now detained in captivity, having been distributed by Valens among the cities on the southern shore of the Danube. On the other hand, Victor, the most eminent general of the Eastern Empire, was sent to enquire wherefore the Goths, a nation friendly to the Romans and bound to them by the obligations of an honourable alliance, had given assistance to an usurper who waged war against the legitimate sovereigns of the Empire². The Gothic reply to Victor was the same as the ground-work of the Gothic complaint to Valens. They showed him the letters of Procopius, asserting that he had regularly succeeded to the Imperial dignity as the nearest representative of the family of Constantine, and they pleaded that if they had done wrong, they had, at the worst, only committed an error of judgment, for which no further punishment should be exacted from them.

Valens determines to avenge himself on the Goths.

Not thus, however, thought Valens and his counsellors. All the machinery of the law had been already set in motion against the domestic abettors of the Procopian revolution. Now the Roman legions should march in order to take vengeance upon its foreign supporters. In the spring of 367 an army was assembled

¹ We may, I think, thus combine the *ὁ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἡγούμενος* of Zosimus (iv. 10) and 'Athanarichum eâ tempestate judicem potentissimum' of Ammianus (xxvii. 5. 6).

² 'Cogniturus apertè, quam ob causam gens amica Romanis, foederibusque ingenuae pacis obstricta, armorum dederat adminicula bellum principibus legitimis inferenti' (Amm. Mar. xxvii. 5. 1). Every word is here of importance as illustrating the relation of the *foederati* to the Empire.

at Daphne¹ under the command of Victor, Master of the Cavalry, and Arintheus, Master of the Infantry. They crossed the Danube by a bridge of boats, such as may yet be seen depicted on Trajan's Column at Rome; and marched hither and thither without resistance over the Wallachian plains, the Goths having retired to the fastnesses of the Transylvanian Alps². Some of the families of the barbarians, slowly moving in their waggons towards the mountains, were overtaken and carried into captivity by the skirmishers of Arintheus. This trifling affair was the only event that marked the campaign of 367.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
367.

In the next year the scene of the war seems to have been shifted eastwards to the country near the mouths of the Danube, which is now known as the Dobrudscha. Marcianople³ was made the base of the Imperial operations, and here the active and honest Praetorian Prefect Auxonius contrived to collect a large magazine of provisions and to make arrangements for distributing them by capacious merchant-ships to the various bodies of troops stationed near to the mouths of the Danube. We have a valuable convergence of testimony⁴ to the point that all these measures were taken in a prudent and efficacious manner, and that, owing to the absence of corruption in the Prefect, the great expenses of the war were defrayed without adding to the financial burdens of the state, nay that on the very

Second
year of
war.
368.

¹ 'Prope Daphnen nomine munimentum est castra metatus' (Amm. Mar. xxvii. 5. 2). I cannot find a trace of this Daphne, as the Syrian Daphne is of course out of the question.

² Montes Serrorum.

³ Now Shumla.

⁴ Zosimus, iv. 10; Themistius, Orr. viii. and x.

BOOK I. eve of the war the provincials found to their joy a considerable diminution made in the taxes¹.
 CH. 2.

368.
 Difficulties
 arising
 from the
 marshy
 nature of
 the ground.

Notwithstanding all these preparations however, the campaign of 368 was not marked by any signal success against the barbarians. The reason of the failure of the Roman troops was to be found in the peculiar character of the theatre of war, intersected as it is by all the countless channels through which the Danube pours itself into the sea. Almost all of these channels were too shallow to be navigated by the war-ships of the Romans, though the little piratical barks of the Goths impelled by only one tier of oars could traverse them with ease. The intervening land was covered with a fine and fertilising mud, through which the legions could not march. The innumerable islands afforded invaluable lurking places to the barbarians, while the Romans were continually losing their communication with one another in the flat, dyke-intersected country².

Valens
 rebuilds a
 fortress.

In order to remedy these evils and provide a safe base of operations and a secure watch-tower from which to observe the movements of the barbarians, Valens determined to re-erect a fortress³ in the very heart of the Dobrudscha which had been raised by one of the earlier Emperors (perhaps Trajan or Hadrian), but which had long since fallen into utter ruin, its very

¹ Tillemont (v. 87) says, 'En cette année il diminua les impôts mesme d'un quart,' but I hardly see how to extract this statement from the vague generalities of Themistius (Or. viii. p. 113).

² The slight hint of Ammianus (xxvii. 5. 5) Valens 'fusius Danubii gurgitibus vagatis inpeditus' is very well explained by the graphic account of Themistius (Or. x. pp. 136-7).

³ Themistius, Or. x. p. 137. Is this the 'castra stativa prope Carporum vicum' mentioned by Ammianus (xxvii. 5. 5)?

lines of fortification being barely discernible. It stood on a narrow promontory of hill overlooking the surrounding marshes. Stones, bricks, lime, were none of them to be found on the spot, but all had to be brought a distance of many miles on the backs of numberless beasts of burden. The work however was well planned, the division of labour carefully arranged, and the common soldier saw with pleasure even the messmates of the Emperor bringing in their quotas of pounded tile as a contribution to the much-needed cement of the building¹. Thus, in a few months probably, or (as the Emperor's flatterers said) swiftly and harmoniously as the walls of Thebes to the music of Amphion, arose the fortress which was intended to curb the lawlessness of the Goths of the Dobrudscha.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
368.

In the campaign of 369 all these elaborate preparations were crowned with success. The Emperor crossed the Danube by a bridge of boats at Novidunum², and marching north-eastward through the country of the disheartened and dispersed Visigoths, reached and fought with their powerful kinsmen the Ostrogoths³,

Third year
of war.
369.

¹ Ἄρα πιστεύσητε ἂν μοι ὅτι μὴδὲ τῶν κατευναστῶν ἀπέσχετο, μὴδὲ προκοίτων· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνοι συνεσήνεγκαν μέτρον ὠρισμένον κεράμου συντετριμμένου (Them. Or. x. p. 138).

² Now Isaktcha in the Dobrudscha (between Galatz and Ismail).

³ I will here quote the full text of Ammianus, as the passage is an important one. 'Sìmili pertinaciâ tertio quoque anno per Novidunum navibus ad transmittendum annem connexis, perrupto barbarico, continuatis itineribus longius agentes Greuthungos bellicosam gentem adgressus est, postque leviora certamina Athanaricum eâ tempestate judicem potentissimum ausum resistere cum manu, quam sibi crediderit abundare, extremorum metu coegit in fugam' (xxvii. 5. 6). This passage does not (as I stated in my first edition) distinctly assert that Athanaric 'was the most powerful man of the tribe of the Gruthungi,' though this is the impression left by the first perusal. I

BOOK I. though we do not hear of his having faced in battle the
CH. 2. mighty Hermanric himself.

369.
Guerilla
war with
the Goths
of the
marshes.

Along with the movements of the regular army there seems to have been practised an irregular and somewhat discreditable warfare against those Goths who, lurking in their swamp-surrounded ambuscades, would not venture forth into open fight, but still continued their predatory excursions. Valens (according to Zosimus¹), while ordering his soldiers to remain in quarters, collected the sutlers and camp-followers and those who had charge of the baggage, and promised them a certain sum for every head of a barbarian that they might bring in. Stimulated by the hope of such gains they all plunged into the forests and morasses, fell upon any barbarians whom they might meet, exhibited their heads, and received the promised reward.

The Goths
sue for
peace.

369.

The result of this guerilla war, of the march of the legions across the Wallachian and Moldavian plains, and above all, of the entire cessation of that commercial intercourse upon which the Goths, as a nation emerging from barbarism, had begun to depend even for some of the necessaries of life², was that towards the close of 369 the Goths sent ambassadors humbly beg-

formerly thought that 'Greuthungos' was here a clerical error for 'Thervingos,' but I now think that it is probably correctly used, and indicates other foes than those led by Athanaric. The 'continuatis itineribus,' the 'longius agentes,' and the epithet 'bellicosam gentem' indicating that a new enemy is introduced, all seem to point to the Ostrogoths; and after the elaborate preparations of Auxonius described by Zosimus (iv. 10) a campaign in the neighbourhood of Cherson and Odessa supported by ships in the Black Sea is quite conceivable.

¹ iv. 11.

² 'Quod commerciis vetitis ultimâ necessariorum inopiâ barbari stringebantur' (Amm. Mar. xxvii. 5. 7).

ging for the Emperor's pardon and for the renewal of the treaty with Rome. At first Valens, perhaps with feigned severity, refused to listen to these overtures, which however he appears to have communicated to the Senate at Constantinople. A deputation from that body, including the orator Themistius, advised that the petition of the barbarians should be listened to, and the Emperor acted on the advice which he may have himself suggested¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
369.

Victor and Arintheus, the successful generals in war, were successively sent to arrange the terms of peace, terms glorious for the Empire and decidedly humiliating for the barbarians. The gifts of gold, silver and raiment, which had been till now the almost invariable accompaniments of a treaty with barbarians, were withheld. Withheld too were the grain-largesses which had hitherto been granted in abundance to the chief men of Gothia and their followers. One exception only was made in this respect. The chief interpreter still received his rations, his services being rendered no less to the Romans than the Goths². The barbarians were forbidden to cross the great river, and two places only along the whole course of the Danube were

The peace granted.

¹ The words of Ammianus 'Imperator rudis quidem, verum spectator adhuc aequissimus rerum . . . *in commune consultans* pacem dare oportere decrevit' agree very closely with the account of Themistius (Or. x. p. 133) which implies, though it does not directly assert, a deputation from the Senate.

² This seems to be the meaning of a somewhat obscure passage of Themistius (Or. x. p. 135), Καὶ τὸ σύννηθες αὐτῶν σιτηρίσιον παρηρέϊτο καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τοσῶνδε τῶν πρότερον κομιζομένων, μόλις ἐνὶ συνεχώρει, τῷ πρὸς τὴν γλῶτταν διακονοῦντι· ὥς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ ἔργου Σκύθαις ἢ Ῥωμαίοις προσήκοντος. Can this person who was 'attending to the language' have been Ulfilas?

BOOK I. though we do not hear of his having faced in battle the
CH. 2. mighty Hermanric himself.

369.
Guerilla
war with
the Goths
of the
marshes.

Along with the movements of the regular army there seems to have been practised an irregular and somewhat discreditable warfare against those Goths who, lurking in their swamp-surrounded ambuscades, would not venture forth into open fight, but still continued their predatory excursions. Valens (according to Zosimus¹), while ordering his soldiers to remain in quarters, collected the sutlers and camp-followers and those who had charge of the baggage, and promised them a certain sum for every head of a barbarian that they might bring in. Stimulated by the hope of such gains they all plunged into the forests and morasses, fell upon any barbarians whom they might meet, exhibited their heads, and received the promised reward.

The Goths
sue for
peace.

369.

The result of this guerilla war, of the march of the legions across the Wallachian and Moldavian plains, and above all, of the entire cessation of that commercial intercourse upon which the Goths, as a nation emerging from barbarism, had begun to depend even for some of the necessaries of life², was that towards the close of 369 the Goths sent ambassadors humbly beg-

formerly thought that 'Greuthungos' was here a clerical error for 'Thervingos,' but I now think that it is probably correctly used, and indicates other foes than those led by Athanaric. The 'continuatis itineribus,' the 'longius agentes,' and the epithet 'bellicosam gentem' indicating that a new enemy is introduced, all seem to point to the Ostrogoths; and after the elaborate preparations of Auxonius described by Zosimus (iv. 10) a campaign in the neighbourhood of Cherson and Odessa supported by ships in the Black Sea is quite conceivable.

¹ iv. 11.

² 'Quod commerciis vetitis ultimâ necessariorum inopiâ barbari stringebantur' (Amm. Mar. xxvii. 5. 7).

ging for the Emperor's pardon and for the renewal of the treaty with Rome. At first Valens, perhaps with feigned severity, refused to listen to these overtures, which however he appears to have communicated to the Senate at Constantinople. A deputation from that body, including the orator Themistius, advised that the petition of the barbarians should be listened to, and the Emperor acted on the advice which he may have himself suggested ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
369.

Victor and Arintheus, the successful generals in war, were successively sent to arrange the terms of peace, terms glorious for the Empire and decidedly humiliating for the barbarians. The gifts of gold, silver and raiment, which had been till now the almost invariable accompaniments of a treaty with barbarians, were withheld. Withheld too were the grain-largesses which had hitherto been granted in abundance to the chief men of Gothia and their followers. One exception only was made in this respect. The chief interpreter still received his rations, his services being rendered no less to the Romans than the Goths ². The barbarians were forbidden to cross the great river, and two places only along the whole course of the Danube were

The peace granted.

¹ The words of Ammianus 'Imperator rudis quidem, verum spectator adhuc aequissimus rerum . . . in commune consultans pacem dare oportere decrevit' agree very closely with the account of Themistius (Or. x. p. 133) which implies, though it does not directly assert, a deputation from the Senate.

² This seems to be the meaning of a somewhat obscure passage of Themistius (Or. x. p. 135), Καὶ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῶν σιτηρίσιον παρηρέϊτο καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τοσῶνδε τῶν πρότερον κομιζομένων, μόλις ἐν συνεχώρῃ, τῇ πρὸς τὴν γλῶτταν διακονοῦντι· ὥς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ ἔργου Σκύθαις ἢ Ῥωμαίοις προσήκοτος. Can this person who was 'attending to the language' have been Ulfilas?

BOOK I. barians. I heard not the Gothic war-cry, but I did
 CH. 2.
 369-370. hear their cries for peace, which would have pierced a heart of adamant. There on the further shore were they collected, a humbled and tractable multitude, casting themselves on the ground in the attitude of suppliants and raising their voices in unanimous entreaty ; so many thousands of Goths on whom for the first time the Romans could look without fear of their violence. Here upon the nearer shore stood the Roman army, drawn up in shining ranks, calm in the consciousness of irresistible strength.

‘Unlike the Eastern potentate who reclined in his tent, overshadowed by a golden roof, to watch the battle with the Greeks, our Emperor showed himself able to endure hardship even in the act of concluding peace. For, standing there on the ship’s deck, in the full blaze of the sun at that time of the year when the sun burns most fiercely¹, he remained in the same attitude from dawn till late twilight. In the discussions of that day the Emperor, unaided by general, centurion, or soldier, was sole victor. His prudence, his subtlety, his flow of words, dignified yet gentle, and greater than I have ever observed even in an orator by profession, won for him an intellectual victory. Yet was his antagonist no contemptible foe. Athanaric is no barbarian in mind, though he is in speech, but is even more remarkable for his intelligence and prudence than for his skill in war. This is indicated by his refusing the title of king, and claiming that of judge, since the chief attribute of the former is power, of the

¹ ‘Εφ’ ἡλίου στὰς ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς, ἡνίκα μάλιστα ἑαυτοῦ φλογωδέστερος ἦν (p. 134). We may perhaps infer from this that the final *ratification* of the treaty did not take place till the summer of 370.

latter wisdom¹. Yet this man, so renowned as a judge, failed ridiculously as an advocate for his nation. So great was his awe of the Emperor's presence that words altogether failed him, and he found the labour of speech harder than the toil of battle. Then looking upon him in his prostration and despair, the Emperor kindly proffered him his hand, raised him from the ground, made him by that act his friend, and sent him away with a storm of contending emotions in his soul, confident yet full of fear, despising his own subjects yet suspecting them of enjoying his humiliation, crest-fallen when he remembered his failure, yet elated by the thought that he had obtained the renewal of the treaty with Rome.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
369-370.

‘By this war and this peace a complete change has been wrought in the relative position of the Empire and the barbarians. Heretofore, on account of the neglected state of our defences, the barbarians used to consider that peace and war depended on their pleasure. They saw our soldiers not only without arms, but even in many cases without decent clothing, and not less squalid and poverty-stricken in mind than in body. They saw that our prefects and centurions were hucksterers and slave-dealers rather than generals: their one business to buy and sell as much as possible, and claim a profit on each transaction: the number of garrison-soldiers dwindling, while these impostors drew the pay for soldiers who did not exist, and put it into their own pockets. They saw our fortresses themselves

¹ Οὕτω γοῦν τὴν μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπαξιοῖ, τὴν τοῦ δικαστοῦ δὲ ἀγαπᾷ· ὥς ἐκεῖνο μὲν δυνάμεως πρόσρημα, τὸ δὲ σοφίας (p. 134). An important passage, however absurd may be the explanation offered by Themistius.

BOOK I. falling into ruin, and equally destitute of arms and
CH. 2. men. Seeing all this, they naturally resorted with-
369-370. out fear to those predatory inroads which they glorified
with the name of war.

‘But now, along almost all the frontiers of the Empire, peace reigns, and all the preparation for war is perfect ; for the Emperor knows that they most truly work for peace who thoroughly prepare for war. The Danube-shore teems with fortresses, the fortresses with soldiers, the soldiers with arms, the arms both beautiful and terrible. Luxury is banished from the legions, but there is an abundance of all necessary stores, so that there is now no need for the soldier to eke out his deficient rations by raids on the peaceful villagers. There was a time when the legions were terrible to the provincials, and afraid of the barbarians. Now all that is changed : they despise the barbarians and fear the complaint of one plundered husbandman more than an innumerable multitude of Goths.

‘To conclude, then, as I began. We celebrate this victory by numbering not our slaughtered foes but our living and tamed antagonists. If we regret to hear of the entire destruction even of any kind of animal, if we mourn that elephants should be disappearing from the province of Africa, lions from Thessaly, and hippopotami from the marshes of the Nile, how much rather, when a whole nation of men, barbarians it is true, but still men, lies prostrate at our feet, confessing that it is entirely at our mercy, ought we not instead of extirpating, to preserve it, and make it our own by showing it compassion ?

‘The generals of old Rome used to be called Achaicus, Macedonicus, Africanus, to commemorate their victories

over devastated lands and ruined nations. With far more right shall our Emperor be called Gothicus, since he has permitted so many Goths to live, and compelled them to become the friends of Rome.'

BOOK I.
CH. 2.
369.

Notwithstanding the grossness of its flattery, some wise and statesmanlike thoughts were expressed in this oration, and the occasion of its delivery was one which might cause the heart of a loyal subject of the Empire to thrill with justifiable pride. The Goths under their 'most powerful Judge' had tried conclusions with the Romans under one of their least warlike Emperors, and had been ignominiously defeated. True, the victory was chiefly due to two great captains, Victor and Arintheus, formed in the school of Julian ; but Valens had also shown respectable qualities as a strategist and a director of the efficiency of other men. Yet we, looking below the surface, and using the knowledge which subsequent events have given us, can see that there were two reasons why the war of 367-369 should not represent the final issue of the contest between 'Romania' and 'Gothia.'

The peace of 369 was a genuine triumph for Rome.

1. The Goths, relaxed in their energies by a long peace and by close commercial intercourse with Rome, had lost, to a great degree, their feeling of national unity, and had lost altogether their institution of kingship which gave expression to that unity, and made them terrible to their foes¹. A loose tie of vassalage to the distant King of the Ostrogoths, Judges with ill-defined powers and ill-marked frontiers, full doubtless of mutual jealousies and suspicions, and ever on

Special causes of the weakness of the Goths.

¹ Köpke (*Die Anfänge des Königthums*, p. 112) considers that the want of one acknowledged head of the Visigothic nation was the chief cause of the successes of Valens.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

369.

the brink of civil war :—this was no sufficient organisation wherewith to face the mighty Empire of Rome ; this was a miserable substitute for the compacted might of the irresistible Cniva. Yet should adversity once more harden the nation into a single mass, and should a king arise capable of directing their concentrated energies against the Empire, the result might prove to be something very different from the peace dictated by Valens to the crouching and moaning suppliants on the Danubian shore.

Roman
corruption
stayed but
not rooted
out.

2. The hints let fall by Themistius as to the corruption of prefects and tribunes, the pay drawn for non-existent soldiers, the fortresses unarmed and crumbling into ruins, reveal the existence of a canker eating deeply into the life of the Roman state. By spasmodic efforts a Julian, or even a Valens, might do something towards combating the disease and repairing the ruin which it had caused. But could any Emperor, however wise, strong, and patriotic, permanently avert the consequences of widespread corruption, and the general absence of what we call 'public spirit' in the official classes of a bureaucratically governed Empire ? That question has presented itself for answer on many subsequent occasions in the history of the world. It was an all-important question for the Roman Empire towards the close of the fourth century of our era.

Gothic dis-
organisa-
tion in-
creased by
defeat.

The effect on the Gothic people of the unsuccessful war with the Empire was to deepen their divisions, and to intensify the bitterness of the religious discord which had already begun to reveal itself in their midst. We can imagine Athanaric on his return from that humiliating interview with Valens, growling over the growing degeneracy of his people, and swearing by

all the dwellers in Walhalla that the worshippers of the crucified God of the Romans should be rooted out of his dominions¹. Scarcely had the peace with Rome been concluded² when Athanaric began to persecute—as his predecessors twenty-two years before had persecuted—the Christians of Gothia, and continued that persecution certainly for two years, probably for six, until he himself became an exile and a fugitive.

Many have been the discussions and the controversies as to the exact theological position held by the Gothic martyrs in this persecution. The Catholic Church has naturally been anxious to claim them as her own sons; but the orthodox Church-historian Socrates candidly confesses that ‘many of the Arianising barbarians at this time became martyrs³.’ Probably the Christians upon whom fell the wrath of the moody Athanaric belonged both to orthodox and to heretical communions, and were chiefly recruited from three theological parties.

Athana-
ric's per-
secution
of the
Christians.

¹ Dahn (*Urgeschichte*, i. 426) draws a vivid picture of the injury done to the State, in the view of an old Gothic warrior, by the Christian propagandists. They would withhold the sacrifices which ought to be offered at the great festivals—festivals that were also the parliaments of the nation: they would burn down the sacred groves and call the images worshipped there ‘lying gods’ (*galiuga-guda*): and for all these insults the gods, as he would think, would be sure to take vengeance by famine, by pestilence, and by causing the armies of the Goths to flee before their enemies.

² The most important passage as to the date of this persecution is in Jerome's *Chronicon*, under the sixth year of Valentinian (369–370): ‘Athanaricus rex Gothorum, in Christianos persecutione commotus plurimos interfecit et de propriis sedibus in Romanum solum expellit.’ Sozomen brings confusion into the whole history by representing the persecution of the Christians and the civil war between Athanaric and Fritigern as later than the great Gothic migration of 376.

³ H. E. iv. 33.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.Arians.

(1) In the first place, we are distinctly told¹ that Ulfilas laboured at this time among the Gothic subjects of Athanaric as well as among those of a rival chief named Fritigern, on the barbarian side of the Danube. The great personal influence of the Apostle of the Goths, the perusal of his translation of the Scriptures, the persuasions of his loyal and devoted *Gothi Minores*, would certainly cause many of the barbarians to adopt his—the Arian—form of Christianity.

Catholics.

(2) There seems reason to think that the Church which had been formed in the Crimea, and which consisted of Goths professing the Nicene faith, exercised some influence on their countrymen north of the Danube, and contributed some soldiers to the ‘noble army of martyrs’ under Athanaric.

Audians.

(3) But besides these two elements, the Arian and the Orthodox, in the growing Christianity of ‘Gothia,’ a third was contributed by one of those strange heretical sects which every now and then spring up, live their short life of contest and contradiction, and then wither away. This was the sect of the Audians, who first appear in Syria about the middle of the fourth century, and whom we might call the Covenanters-Mormons of their time. Like the Mormons, they held the marvellous opinion that the Almighty has possessed from all eternity a body, in shape like the body of a man, and fills only a certain definite portion of space. Like the Manicheans, they averred that He created neither darkness nor fire. Like the Quatrecimans, they celebrated Easter on the day on which the Jews kept the Passover. Like the Scotch Covenanters and the African Donatists, they utterly

¹ Socrates, ubi supra.

refused all religious association with those outside their own sect, alleging as the reason for their exclusiveness the corruption of faith and morals which had crept into the Catholic Church. Audius their founder, a man of admitted zeal and piety, was banished in his old age by an emperor (possibly Constantius) to 'the regions of Scythia.' He remained some years among the barbarians, penetrated to the innermost recesses of Gothia, and instructed many Goths in the Christian faith. The monasteries which he founded in that land were, by the confession of their orthodox adversaries, places of pure and holy living, except for the depraved custom of keeping Easter on the 14th of Nisan. But at length, in a persecution, which, as we are told, was commenced 'by a Gentile king who hated the Romans because their emperors were Christians¹, the great majority of the Audians, along with their fellow believers of other denominations, were driven forth from Gothia, so that there remained on the Gothic soil no root of wisdom nor plant of faith.' Evidently the fantastic heresy of the Audians played an important part in the early development of Christianity among the Goths².

As to the manner of Athanaric's persecution it was as fierce, stern, and brutal as we might have expected from that sullen votary of Wodan. Some

Brutality
of Athana-
ric's per-
secution.

¹ No doubt this is an inversion of the true facts of the case. Athanaric really hated the Christians because the Roman Emperors were Christian, and sought to root them out as traitors to the Gothic nation rather than to his gods.

² This description of the Audians is chiefly taken from Epiphanius (*Haeretici*, 70: I take the quotation from Baronius); but Theodoret (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 10) supplies some details. The whole subject is very well treated by Scott (*Ulfilas*, 70–89).

BOOK I. Christians were dragged before the rude tribunals of
 CH. 2. the country, and, after making a noble confession of their faith, were put to death : while others were slain without even this pretence of a judicial investigation. The Pagan inquisitors are reported to have carried round to the tents of the Christians a statue, doubtless of one of the old Teutonic gods, to which the suspected converts were commanded to offer sacrifice, and on their refusal to do this they were burned alive in their tents. Men, women, and children fleeing from these inquisitors sought refuge in a church, which, however, proved to be no asylum from the fury of the oppressor, for the Pagans set fire to it, and all who were therein, from the old man to the babe at the breast, perished in the flames¹. This deed of horror made a deep impression on the suffering Church. In an old Gothic Calendar, of which one or two fragments have been preserved, we find this entry :—

‘October (?) 29th. Remembrance of the Martyrs among the Gothic people who were burnt with priest (‘papa’) Vereka and Batvin in a Catholic church².’

Martyr-
dom of
St. Sabas.

A letter, apparently a genuine contemporary letter³, from the Church which was in Gothia to the Church of Cappadocia, gives some interesting details concerning the martyrdom of St. Sabas, which took place on the 12th of April, 372. This Gothic saint, born in the year 334, had been, we are told, a Christian from his

¹ Sozomen, vi. 37.

² ‘—— k th (= 29). Gaminthi martyre thize bi Vêrêkan papan jah Batvin bilaif, aikklêsjôns fullaizôs ana Gutthiudai gabrannidai (zê ? or zôs).’ The name of the month has perished. It seems to immediately precede November, but it has only thirty days. The translation of bilaif and fullaizos is doubtful.

³ Acta Sanctorum, April 12.

childhood. A sweet singer in the choir and an eloquent opponent of idolatry in the market-place, he led an austere and ascetic life and laboured to convert all men to righteousness. When the persecution first broke out, the battle-ground between idolaters and Christians was, as it had been in the days of St. Paul, the question as to the eating of meats offered in sacrifice to idols. Some of the Goths who remained Pagans sought to save the lives of their Christian relatives by bringing them meat which had ostensibly been so offered, but which was really free from idolatrous pollution. This meat was eaten in the presence of the king's officers, and the apparent compliance saved the lives of the pusillanimous converts. St. Sabas, however, boldly protested against this dishonest artifice, and was accordingly hunted out of the village by the Pagans who had invented it.

After a little lull the persecution broke forth again: and again the friendly Pagans interposed with their proffered oath, 'There is no Christian in our village.' St. Sabas burst in with a loud voice, 'Let no one swear on my behalf. I am a Christian.' Then the Pagan mediators were forced to modify their oath: 'No Christian in our village save one, this Sabas.' He was brought before the prince, who asked the bystanders what property he possessed, and being told 'Nothing save the robe which he wears,' drove Sabas scornfully from his presence. 'Such a man,' said he, 'can do neither good nor harm.' A third time the persecution was set on foot, and now Sabas was keeping his Easter Feast with a presbyter named Sansala, just returned to Gothland, to whom he had been directed by a heavenly vision. While he was thus engaged

BOOK I. 'Atharidus son of King Rhotesteus'¹ broke in upon
CH. 2.
37^a. the village with a band of wicked robbers, dragged
Sansala and Sabas from their beds, bound them, and
carried them off to punishment. Sansala was allowed
to ride in a chariot, but Sabas, all naked as he was,
was dragged over the lately burned heather, his
captors urging him onward with cruel blows. When
day dawned the saint said to his persecutors, 'Have
ye not been dragging me all night through thorns and
briars, yet where are the wounds upon my feet? Have
ye not been striking me with whips and cudgels, yet
where are the wales upon my back?' No trace could
be found of either.

When the next night came he was laid prostrate on
the ground with his outstretched hands tied to one
shaft of the waggon, and his feet similarly fastened to
the other. Near morning a woman, touched with pity,
came and unbound him, but he refused to escape and
assisted her in preparing breakfast for his captors.
In the morning Atharid ordered him to be hung by his
bound hands from a rafter in the room of a cottage.
The servants brought some meat offered to idols, saying,
'See what the great Atharid has sent you that ye may
eat and not die.' Sansala refused to eat and said that
he would rather suffer death upon the cross. Sabas
said, 'Who has sent these meats?' When the servant
answered, 'The lord Atharid,' he replied, 'There is
only one lord, the lord of heaven and earth. These
meats are tainted and unholy, like Atharid who has
sent them.' At this, one of the servants, enraged at
the insult offered to his master, struck him on the

¹ Who may be, as Dahn and many other scholars suppose, the same
as Athanaric; but to me this seems extremely doubtful.

breast with the point of a dart. The by-standers thought he must be killed, but he said, 'You think you have dealt me a grievous blow, but I felt it no more than a snow-flake.' Nor was there in fact any mark found on his body.

BOOK I.

CH. 2.

372.

When Atharid heard of these things he ordered that Sabas should be put to death by drowning. As he was being hurried off alone to his execution he said, 'What evil has Sansala done that he is not also to be put to death?' 'That is not your business,' said the officers of Atharid. 'It is not for you to give us orders.' Then the saint gave himself up to prayer and to praising God, until they reached the banks of the river Musaeus¹. And now some relentings began to stir in the hearts of his persecutors. 'Why should we not let this man go,' said they, one to another. 'He is innocent, and Atharid will never know.' 'Why are you loitering?' said the saint, 'instead of doing that which is commanded you? I see that which you cannot see, those waiting on the other side who shall receive me to glory.' Still praising God he was thrown into the river, with his neck tightly bound to a beam, so that he seems to have been strangled rather than drowned. His body, untouched by beast or bird, was brought to Julius Soranus, the Roman 'Duke of Scythia,' and by him sent as a precious gift to his native country of Cappadocia. It is from the letter accompanying the relics that these details—almost our only indication of the manner of life led by the Goths in Dacia—have been taken.

A somewhat later and less interesting document²

¹ Perhaps the Wallachian river Buzeo.

² Acta Sanctorum, Sept. 15.

BOOK I. contains the history of the martyrdom of Nicetas,
 CH. 2.
 — a young Gothic nobleman, who 'on account of his shapely body and his generous soul had obtained one of the foremost places in the nation.' He is represented as having been a disciple of Theophilus, the Bishop of the Crimean Goths who subscribed the Acts of the Council of Nicaea¹; and he was therefore doubtless one of the Catholic, not one of the Arian converts to the new faith. 'At length,' says the record, 'the blood-thirsty Athanaric broke out into cruel persecution of the Christians and urged those who were about him to do the same. Threatened by these enemies of God, Nicetas heeded them not, but continued to preach the true religion. At length, breaking forth into open violence they attacked him in the act of preaching, forcibly haled him away and ordered him to abjure his faith. He persistently confessed Christ, and honoured him as God, mocking at and scorning all their outrages. Having hacked his body with knives—ah what madness!—they then flung him into the fire. Still through all these sufferings the saint ceased not to sing the praises of God and to confess his faith in him. Thus witnessing a good confession to the end, he, with many of his countrymen, received the crown of martyrdom, and gave up his spirit into the hands of God.' This execution took place according to the martyrologist 'when the pious and gentle Gratian was exercising hereditary rule over Rome.'

¹ It is plainly an error to speak of Nicetas as having himself subscribed those acts, since an interval of forty-four years intervened between the Council and Athanaric's persecution, and the whole drift of the story implies that Nicetas was at any rate not an old man at the latter date.

As we shall see in the next chapter, Gratian son of Valentinian was associated in the Empire in 369, and came into full possession of power on his father's death in 375. As far as this indication of time goes—we cannot attach to it any great authority—it would seem to show, what is not in itself improbable, that the persecution of the Christians, commenced by Athanaric in 369 or 370, was still raging in 375.

This outburst of zeal on behalf of the old idolatries by no means restored unity or peace to the Gothic Commonwealth. There was another Judge of the nation, named Fritigern, younger apparently than Athanaric, of noble, and what in a later age would have been called chivalrous, temper, probably imbued with some degree of Roman culture, and inclined to look favourably on the arts and the religion of the Empire. Whether the civil war which broke out between him and Athanaric was cause or effect of the persecutions we cannot now determine ; probably the political and the religious motives acted and reacted upon one another. Fritigern, however, was defeated, and as his territory bordered on the Danube, he crossed that river and sought succour from his Roman friends. We are told¹ that the troops of Valens defeated those of Athanaric and compelled him to seek safety in ignominious flight. The silence of Ammianus, who is our best authority, inclines us to doubt whether any such signal victory was gained by the Romans over the Goths ; but the subsequent course of events shows that by the year 376 Fritigern was again ruling over Visigoths on the northern shore of the Danube, and apparently at peace with Athanaric.

Civil war
between
Athanaric
and Friti-
gern.

BOOK I.
CH. 2.

¹ In the Acts of Nicetas before quoted.

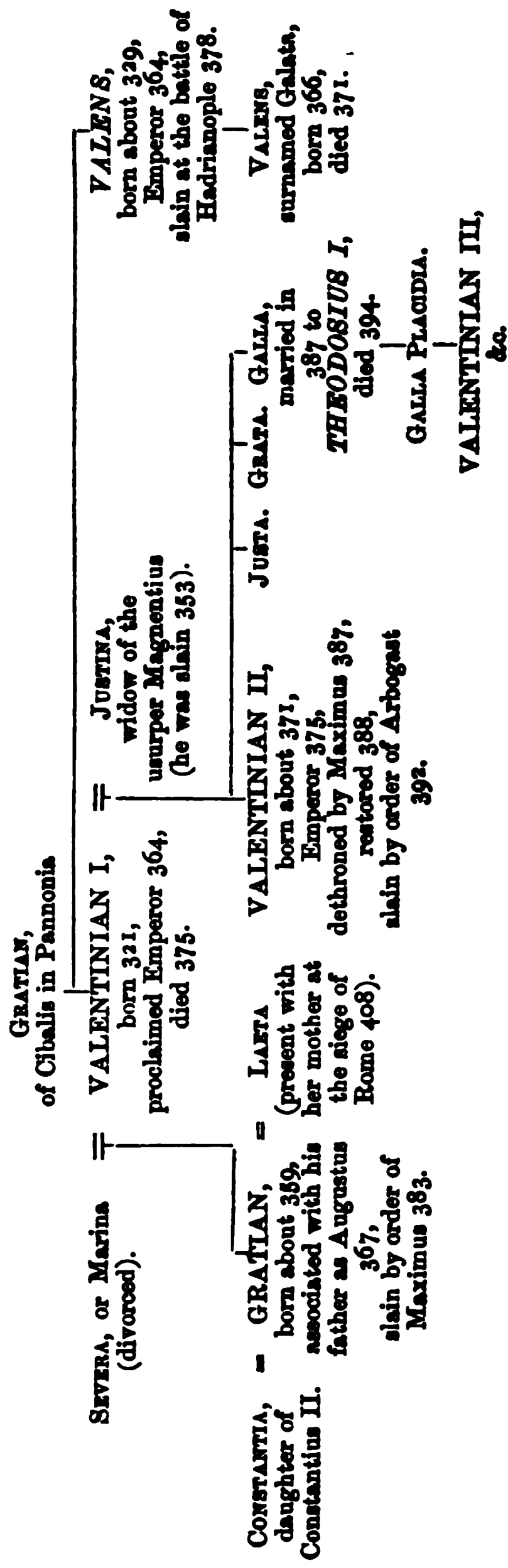
BOOK I.
CH. 2.

Depressed
state of the
Gothic
fortunes.

But the condition of 'Gothia' at the opening of that year certainly seemed to forebode but little danger to the peace of South-Eastern Europe. The Goths had made that movement which the prophetic soul of Julian foresaw, and had failed. Even civil war in the Empire had not enabled them to gain any firm footing within its borders. After three years' fighting they had been fain to consent to an ignominious peace. Since that time, civil war among themselves, the contest of opposing faiths and civilisations, cruel persecutions inflicted and endured, had grievously weakened the Visigothic state. Even the far-away Ostrogoths had witnessed, and had apparently not avenged, the presence of the Roman eagles on their plains. To an accurate and impartial observer it must have been clear that at any rate from the Gothic race no danger need be feared by the mighty Empire of Rome. But the iron nature of that race had not yet been passed through the fire.

FAMILY OF VALENTINIAN.

[Emperors of the East are printed in *Italic capitals*.]



BOOK I.
CH. 8.Character
of Valen-
tinian.

outline, since it has little direct connexion with our main subject, the invasion of the Empire by the Goths.

The character of this Emperor is one which perplexed contemporary historians, and which at this distance of time it is perhaps impossible to paint correctly; so strangely were great virtues and odious vices blended in its composition. He was strong, he was chaste, he was diligent: not sparing himself in his labours for the Empire: desirous to rule his subjects justly: terrible to the enemies of Rome. But, on the other hand, he was cruel, with that delight in watching the infliction of suffering which reminds us of the Emperor Nero or a bullying schoolboy. He carefully husbanded the resources of the State, and did his best to lighten the burdens of the provincials: yet he often showed himself quite unscrupulous in the confiscations which he ordered or permitted. He seems to have honestly desired to be a terror to evil-doers, yet some of his prefects displayed a wild license of injustice such as must have recalled the worst days of Commodus or Caracalla; and the deep terror which Valentinian had struck into the hearts of his subjects caused them to lie down and die in silence. Yet, for all this, so great a merit was *strength* in the supreme ruler that, more than a century after his death, when the Romans wished to praise their just sovereign, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, they likened him to two men, *Trajan and Valentinian*, and said that he had brought back to Italy their days of happiness¹.

Associa-
tion of his
son Gratian

In the year 367, when the Gothic war was just beginning in the East, Valentinian, who had recently

¹ 'Ut etiam a Romanis Trajanus *vel* Valentinianus, quorum tempora sectatus est appellaretur' (Anon. Valesii, 60).

recovered from a severe illness, determined to strengthen his dynasty by associating his son Gratian with him in the Empire. As the new Augustus was still but a boy¹, this so-called association could evidently, for the present, bring the elder partner no relief from the cares of government. The account of the ceremony brings before us in an interesting way the process by which a theoretically elective was being converted into a hereditary monarchy. The scene was laid at Amiens. There by the banks of the Somme the legions were assembled, after they had been privately sounded as to the proposition which was about to be made to them. A high tribunal had been erected, upon which stood Valentinian and his son, surrounded by the heads of the military and civil administration of Gaul, in all the splendour of their official equipments. Taking the

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

367.
in the
Empire.

¹ According to the *Descriptio Consulum Idatio adscripta*, Gratian was born on the 18th April, 359, and was therefore only eight years old when he was 'elevated as Augustus on the tribunal at Amiens by his father on the 24th August, 367.' These dates are so precisely given by the *Descriptio* that one fears to question them, but I cannot resist a suspicion that Gratian was really older than he is here represented. Ammianus calls him 'adulto jam proximum.' Would he so speak of a child eight years old? Zosimus' words are *ὄντα νέον ἔτι καὶ οὐπω πρὸς ἡβήν ἐλθόντα τελείαν*. 'Ἡβή, according to the common acceptation of the word, began at fourteen. If Gratian were really thirteen instead of eight at the time of his association, his subsequent history would be somewhat easier to understand. According to the date of Idatius he was only sixteen at his father's death and twenty-four at the time of his own murder, having then been twice married. This doubt of mine is however a mere suggestion, as I do not feel that we have a right to unsettle on a conjecture like this the received chronology, resting as it does not only on the authority of the *Descriptio Idatio adscripta*, but also on that of the *Chronicon Paschale*. The entry in the last chronicle is very similarly worded to that in the *Descriptio*, but as the date does not precisely correspond (23rd May instead of 18th April) it cannot be directly copied from that source.

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

boy by his hand and leading him forth into the midst of the tribunal, the Emperor spoke to the soldiers in that vein of manly and simple eloquence which had served him so well in the assembly at Nicaea. 'Gratian,' he said, 'has played as a child with your children. He has not led from the very cradle that hard life which was my lot in infancy, nor is he yet able to endure the dust of Mars. But he comes of a stock which has won for itself some renown in feats of arms: in your companionship he will learn to bear the summer's sun, the winter's frost and snow, the toilsome watches of the night; he will aid in the defence of the camp should foes attack it; he will expose his own life to save the lives of his comrades; and he will regard it as the first of duties to cherish the Republic as his sire's and his grandsire's home.' At these words and even before the Emperor's speech was finished, the soldiers, each eager to be beforehand with the other in complying with the wishes of their chief, shouted 'Gratiane Auguste! Gratiane Auguste!' They clashed their arms together, and the trumpets sounded a long, full, harmonious strain. Rejoicing in the success of his appeal, Valentinian invested his son with the diadem and the purple robe, kissed the Imperial boy, and thus addressed him: 'Thou hast now, my Gratian, by my decision and that of my comrades, received in an auspicious hour those Imperial robes which we have all hoped to see thee wear. Now therefore begin to fortify thy soul to receive a share of the burden which weighs upon thy father and thine uncle. Prepare to cross with dauntless soul the Danube and the Rhine, made pervious by frost, to stand firm in the battle with thine armed friends, to shed thy blood and yield

up thy breath for the defence of thy subjects, to think nothing an intrusion on thy cares which tends to the safety of the Roman Empire. So much I say to thee for the present: the rest as thou shalt be able to bear it. To your care, my gallant defenders, I commit the growing Emperor, and beseech you to keep him ever guarded by your faithful love.'

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

At these words Eupraxius, the Imperial Remembrancer¹ (a Moor from Caesarea on the north coast of Africa), led the cheers, crying with loyal enthusiasm, 'The family of Gratian deserves this at our hands.' Then the officers and soldiers broke up into little groups which began to celebrate the praises of the two Emperors, old and young, but especially of the princely boy, whose bright eyes, comely face and figure, and sweet disposition had already endeared him to their rough hearts, and seemed to promise a fairer future than truly awaited him in the chambers of destiny. No doubt the proclamation of the new Emperor was accompanied with a donative to the legions, at any rate to those stationed in Gaul, though we are not informed of its amount.

It was observed that Valentinian was departing from the maxims of state handed down from Diocletian in naming both his brother and now his little son, not Caesar, but Augustus. This was praised by servile orators as a mark of the generosity of the senior Emperor, who would make no distinction in outward seeming between his partners and himself.

Gratian
not Caesar
but full
Augustus.

¹ *Magister Memoriae*. This officer, who was head of the '*Scrinium Memoriae*,' was subordinate to the *Magister Officiorum*. His functions are thus defined in the *Notitia* (*Oriens*, xix.): '*Magister Memoriae annotationes omnes dictat et emittit et precibus respondet.*'

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

Considering the absolute devotion with which Valens 'like an orderly' obeyed the commands of the author of his greatness, and the interval of years which separated both from the child Gratian, we may well believe that Valentinian's supremacy was quite unaffected by the titles which he chose to bestow upon the associated Emperors; and the excuse for greater pomp and a more expensive court, given by the assumption of the higher title, might, in the exhausted state of the treasury, have been wisely avoided.

Valen-
tinian's
special
work, the
defence of
Gaul.

Con-
federacy
of the
Franks,

and of the
Alamanni.

Valentinian's life as an Emperor was chiefly passed in the province of Gaul. Most of his laws are dated from Trier, some from Paris and Rheims, several from Milan, an exceedingly small number from Rome, which had practically at this time ceased to be an Imperial residence. The work to which he mainly devoted himself was the defence of the frontier of the Rhine and the Upper Danube, and this work he successfully performed. The barbarians, by whom the safety of Gaul had been chiefly threatened during the century preceding the accession of Valentinian, were the two great confederacies of the Franks and the Alamanni, the former of whom were settled along the right bank of the Rhine from Rotterdam to Maintz, while the latter, having broken down the feeble barrier, whose ruins are now called the Pfahlgraben¹, settled themselves in the fertile Agri Decumates, where for something like two centuries the Roman civilisation had been dominant. Thus the Alamanni filled up all that

¹ Extending in a course of more than 300 miles from the neighbourhood of Andernach on the Rhine to a point a little above Ratisbon on the Danube. (See the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. ix, 73-161, for a description of the Pfahlgraben by the present writer.)

south-western corner of Germany and Switzerland, which is naturally bounded by the Rhine, as it flows westwards to Bâle and then makes a sudden turn at right angles, northwards to Strasburg, Worms and Maintz. The territory of these two great confederacies is constantly spoken of by contemporary writers as *Francia* and *Alamannia*. We feel that we are standing on the verge of modern history when we recognise in these two names the *France* and the *Allemagne* of a French newspaper of to-day. Though other elements have been abundantly blended with each confederacy, it is not altogether forbidden us to recognise in these two barbarous neighbours of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, the ancestors of the two mighty nations which in our own day met in thunder on the plains of Gravelotte.

Both of these Teutonic confederacies had for many years after the death of Constantine wasted the provinces of Eastern Gaul, but both had been effectually repulsed and driven back across the Rhine by the student-Emperor Julian. The Franks had taken the lesson to heart and remained till long after this time at peace with Rome. But the Alamanni, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, having rejected with scorn the meagre subsidies of Valentinian, crossed the Rhine soon after Procopius had donned the purple in Constantinople. They spread themselves through the north-eastern districts of Gaul, robbing and murdering, penetrated as far as Châlons-sur-Marne and defeated an army that was sent against them. Dagalaiphus, the faithful counsellor of Valentinian, who was ordered to march from Paris to the seat of war, did not display his old energy against the

The Alamanni the chief enemies with whom Valentinian had to deal.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

366.

The Alaman-
ni
driven out
of Gaul.

368.

Germany
invaded by
Valen-
tinian.

barbarian invaders, but Jovinus, the Master of Horse, came up with them near the river Moselle, and hiding his own soldiers in an umbrageous valley watched the barbarians, who little suspected his approach. Some were bathing in the stream, some were anointing their hair with a pigment which was to give it a yet deeper dye than it had received from Nature, and some were quaffing from their deep horns of beer. The Romans rushed forth from their place of concealment, and before the foe could resume their arms, had wrought terrible havoc on the bewildered barbarians. In a series of engagements of this kind, some of them fiercely contested, the Alaman-
ni were forced back out of Gaul in the year 366. Jovinus took their king prisoner, and on his own authority condemned him to the gallows. The result of this campaign seems to have been to effectually deter the Alaman-
ni from appearing on the left bank of the Rhine, or at any rate from penetrating far into the interior of the Gaulish province. Rando, one of their kings, did indeed surprise the city of Maintz, while the inhabitants, thrown off their guard, were celebrating one of the great festivals of the Church, and carried off a great number of male and female captives and a vast quantity of booty. But this insult was avenged, when in the summer of that year Valentinian himself crossed the Rhine and, laying waste the territory of the barbarians with fire and sword, came up at length with their collected force at a place called Solicinium¹ in the valley of the Neckar.

¹ The position of Solicinium has been much disputed, but it is now proved to be Rottenburg on the Neckar. See *Colonia Summlocene* by v. Jaumann, pp. 128-136.

The barbarians had occupied a hill which rose abruptly on every side but one, that which faced the north, where it sloped down gently to the plain. Count Sebastian was ordered to occupy this side of the hill with a strong body of troops, in order to cut off the retreat of the Alamanni. Gratian, who was present on the field, but was still too young for actual battle, was put in a place of safety in the rear, close to the standards of the household troops called Joviani. Then Valentinian started off with a small chosen band of followers to explore the base of the mountain, thinking that he could discover some better way than that on which the scouts had already reported. His somewhat too arrogant confidence in his own powers of investigation was doomed to meet with humiliation. Instead of discovering a surer road, he was attacked by a band of barbarians in ambush, and in his flight found himself floundering in the thick oozy mud of a marsh. With difficulty, by spurring on his steed, he extricated himself from the slimy morass, and succeeded in rejoining the legions. His chamberlain, who was following him, bearing his Imperial helmet richly adorned with gold and gems, was less fortunate than his master. He and his precious charge were swallowed up in that dismal swamp, and there in all probability they yet remain, awaiting the spade of the fortunate discoverer who shall rescue from its long entombment the helmet which once gleamed on the head of an Emperor of Rome.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
Battle of
Solicinium.
368.

A short interval of rest was given to the troops, and then they were summoned to the task of charging up the height by the paths which the scouts had revealed. A desperate undertaking truly, and one

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

which reminds us of the terrible charge of the German troops up the heights of Spicheren in 1870. The fact that it was made, and that at length after a bloody struggle it was successful, shows that the soldiers of the Empire—no doubt many of them of barbarian extraction—had not lost all that stubborn courage which once animated the legions. The heights once gained, the superiority of the Roman arms over the rude weapons of the Alamanni soon asserted itself. The spear and the pilum wrought deadly havoc in their ranks. They turned to fly, and their backs and the calves of their legs were exposed to the storm of Roman missiles¹. Then Sebastian and his men came upon them from their northern ambushade and intercepted their flight. The greater number of the barbarians seem to have perished, but a few escaped to the shelter of their woods. The Roman loss also, as their own historian admits, was very considerable; but it was as undoubted conquerors that Valentinian with his boyish colleague returned to winter-quarters at Trier.

Frontier-
policy of
Valen-
tinian.

In his wars with the barbarians, however, Valentinian did not show himself eager for their extermination. He knew, probably none better, how greatly the dwindling Empire was in need of men, and one of his favourite maxims was that it was better to rule the barbarians by military discipline than to drive them

¹ 'Postremo dum anhelī currunt et fessi, pandebant sequentibus poplites et suras et dorsa' (Ammianus, xxvii. 10. 15). Compare Horace—

'Mors et fugacem persequitur virum,
Nec parcit imbellis juventae
Poplitibus timidoque tergo.'

out of his dominions¹. For the purpose, however, of exercising this military discipline it was necessary to have a strong frontier, and Valentinian's one absorbing care was to strengthen his border all round by the erection of forts. Every stronghold that he could build to guard the frontier of the Danube or the Rhine was another clasp fastened in the robe of the Empire to prevent it from being rudely torn away by barbarian hands. Yet this passion for castle-building, however praiseworthy in itself, was in the case of Valentinian sometimes carried to excess², and then it involved the Empire in the very dangers which it was meant to avert.

One of the strongest of these fortresses of Valentinian was erected on a hill overlooking the river Neckar. That rapid stream, however, threatened by its strong current to undermine the foundations of the castle, and the Emperor therefore determined to divert its course into another channel. Huge timber frames, probably filled with stones, were thrown into the river, which, time after time swept away these presumptuous obstacles to its career. But the Emperor of Rome was determined not to be beaten by a German river; and his

His fortress
on the
Neckar.

369.

¹ 'Sollertiae vero circa rem publicam usquam digredientis nemo eum [Valentinianum] vel obtrectator pervicax incusabit, illud contemplans, quod majus pretium operae forsitan regendis verius milite barbaris quam pellendis' (Ammianus, xxix. 4. 1). I think we may fairly suppose that the maxim here expressed by Ammianus came originally from Valentinian. We find the same thought in Symmachus' second oration (cap. xx.), 'Dicam quod nulla monumenta testantur; tibi incola vivit Alamanniae: quos ferro subtrahis addis imperio. Sat est quod mores gentium parcendo mutasti.'

² Ammianus says (xxix. 6. 2), 'Valentinianus . . . studio muniendorum limitum glorioso quidem sed nimio, ab ipso principatus initio flagrans.'

BOOK I. resolution, seconded by the grand and patient obedi-
 CH. 3. ————— ence of the Roman soldiers (who had often to work
 standing up to their necks in water), at length pre-
 vailed. The channel of the stream was changed, and
 the castle was still standing strong and secure some
 years afterwards when the soldier-historian to whom we
 are indebted for these facts wrote his history¹. When,
 370. in the following year, Valentinian, in his palace at
 Trier, assumed for the third time the striped robe²
 of a Roman consul, the courtly orator Symmachus in-
 troduced into the panegyric which he pronounced be-
 fore him an allusion to his having thus bridled the
 Neckar: 'The Rhine,' said he, 'swollen by the Alpine
 snows, did not attack but softly flowed over the Roman
 territory, coming gently like a suppliant to adore her
 conqueror; and with her she brought the Neckar,
 offering this neighbour stream as a hostage for the
 "Roman peace," which the great river longed for³.'

The precise position of this stronghold on the Neckar
 erected by Valentinian is not described to us; but we
 may indulge the fancy, if it be nothing more, that it

¹ 'Castra praesidiaria, inquietudine urgentis amnis exempta, nunc
 valida sunt' (Ammianus, xxviii. 2. 4). This may have been written
 about 390.

² Trabea.

³ '[Rhenus] averatus est solum barbarum, totumque Principi
 agmen exposuit, more migrantium perfugarum. Non fuit ille, si
 credis, hostilis excursus: lento per aspera processu venit similis
 supplicanti. . . . Quod Nigrum fluvium quasi quoddam pignus ac-
 cepimus, jam minus mirum est quod tibi regum liberi pro foederibus
 offeruntur. Nec Rhenus, ut ita dixerim, Romanâ pace gauderet nisi
 amnem convenam, velut obsidem, tradidisset' (Laudes in Valentini-
 anum, ii. 9). It is somewhat audacious to make the Rhine's inunda-
 tion of Gaul, however gentle, an act of homage from the river to the
 Roman Emperor.

may have stood on the hill of Heidelberg; and we may imagine the contrast between the stern square fortress of the Pannonian soldier, and that glorious monument of the Renaissance, dear to the memory of so many travellers, which witnessed the pageants of the ill-fated Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia, and whose ruins tell of the ravages of Louis XIV.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

In Valentinian's dealings with the barbarian chiefs there was a singular mixture of kindness and perfidy. We have already seen that he thought it better to rule barbarians than to expel them. Symmachus praises him for not having ordered his soldiers to lay waste the humble hovels of the Alamanni with hostile fire, nor to drag the wild-looking mother from her bed before the dawn of day, but rather for having suffered them to flit away to the shelter of their forests, like timid deer across the lawns¹. So, too, we find an Alamanni king, Fraomar by name, whose district (pagus) had been wasted in a campaign, sent as tribune to command a regiment of his countrymen in the island of Britain². Bitherid and Hortar, nobles in the same clan, also received high military commands in the Roman army. All this looks like a certain degree of confidence and mutual understanding between the strong Pannonian Emperor, in whose own veins there probably ran a strain of barbarian blood, and his German

Valen-
tinian's
acts of
kindness
towards
the bar-
barians.

Coupled
with gross
perfidy.

¹ Laudes in Valentinianum, ii. 19.

² 'Regem Fraomarium . . . quem paulo postea, quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in Brittanuos translatus potestate tribuni Alamannorum praefecerat numero, multitudine viribusque eâ tempestate florenti' (Amm. Mar. xxix. 4. 7). This is an important passage in favour of Dahn's theory that the German kings were originally 'Gau-könige,' as the devastation of one *pagus* (=Gau) throws King Fraomar out of a situation.

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

Case of
Vithicab,
the Ala-
mannic
king.

368.

antagonists. But then he also ordered or sanctioned the perpetration of some acts of disgraceful treachery towards them, such as must have been long remembered in the Teutonic folk-songs, and must have made it hard for the barbarians ever again to trust the word of a Roman Emperor. Vithicab, the son of Vadomar (that Alamannic king whom we met with¹ ruling Roman provinces, and upholding the standard of the legitimate Emperor against Procopius), had not followed his father's example, but preferred the rough independence of a Teutonic chieftain to the gilded servitude of a Roman official. His weak and sickly frame² was animated by a heroic spirit, and he was ever on the watch for an opportunity to stir up his countrymen against the Empire. Many times was his life vainly sought in fair and open fight; and at length some butler or seneschal in his barbaric household was bribed with Roman gold to assassinate his master. When the crime had been perpetrated the murderer took refuge on Roman soil, and 'for a time the inroads of the enemy ceased.' The historian's unimpassioned recital shows us, on the one hand, how great a part German kingship played in successfully maintaining the struggle of the barbarians against Rome; and on the other, how utterly the Roman conscience—notwithstanding its nominal acceptance of Christianity—had become depraved since the glorious days of Aemilius and Fabricius.

Case of the
Saxon in-
vaders.

Again, in the year 370, a multitude of Saxons, 'a race,' says Ammianus, 'which had often been gorged with Roman blood,' having safely steered through the

¹ See p. 150.

² 'Specie quidem molliculus et morbosus' (Amm. Mar. xxvii. 10. 3).

waters of the German Ocean¹, fell upon one of the Gaulish provinces, probably in that part of the country which we now call Normandy and Picardy. Count Nannenus, the Roman governor, overmatched by the barbarians, and wounded in battle, applied to the Emperor for help, which was sent him under Severus, the Master of the Infantry. The approach of the Roman reinforcements, the glitter of the arriving ensigns and eagles, terrified the Saxons, who stretched out their hands and prayed for peace. Peace was granted them on condition that they should furnish a certain number of tall young recruits to the Imperial army, and should depart leaving their plunder behind them. The Saxons faithfully complied with these conditions, but the Romans with outrageous treachery fell upon them unawares as they were marching through a sequestered valley, and after meeting with a desperate resistance destroyed them to a man. The Roman historian does here condescend to remark that 'a just judge would have to condemn the disgraceful perfidy of the deed'; but adds that 'in weighing the whole transaction he would not take it amiss that so murderous a band of robbers was at length taken and destroyed when a suitable opportunity presented itself².

Perhaps even worse than either of these crimes, as a violation of those rites of hospitality which even the most savage nations have held sacred, was the murder of Gabinius³, king of the Quadi. His people

Case of
Gabinius.

374.

¹ 'Oceani difficultatibus permeatis' (Amm. Mar. xxviii. 5. 1).

² 'Ac licet justus quidam arbiter rerum factum incusabit perfidum et deforme, pensato tamen negotio non feret indigne manum latronum exitialem tandem copiâ datâ captam' (Amm. Mar. xxviii. 5. 7).

³ I do not think we can offer any explanation of this purely Roman name borne by the king of a barbarous tribe.

BOOK I. CH. 8. were known to be already stirring in uneasy discontent, because of the erection of one of Valentinian's favourite fortresses in their territory. The young Marcellian, son of the Prefect Maximin, an evil scion of an evil stock, had recently by his father's influence been appointed Duke of the Pannonian province of Valeria, and anxious to distinguish himself by some striking exploit, when Gabinius came, modestly urging the grievances of his people, he with false courtesy invited him to a banquet. After Gabinius had partaken of his hospitality, and when, not suspecting guile, he was leaving the Praetorium, the caitiff Duke of Valeria caused him to be murdered. Deeds of foul treachery like this perpetrated by the officials of a civilised state upon its ruder neighbours are even greater follies than crimes. The fame of them spreads far and wide, wherever barbarians meet to exchange thoughts concerning the men of cities and of strange arts, beyond the great river. That instinctive belief in the higher morality of the more cultivated race which is part of the spiritual capital of civilisation, is foolishly frittered away. In its place comes a settled persuasion that craft and cunning are the natural weapons of these effeminate foes ; and a spirit of contemptuous hatred is engendered which, should Fortune open a way for its gratification, will wreak a terrible revenge.

Valen-
tinian's
policy of
religious
toleration.

Turning from the relations of the Empire with its barbarian neighbours to the internal policy of Valentinian, we find its most striking and noblest characteristic to have been his determination not to interfere as civil governor in the religious disputes of his subjects. After the fussy eagerness of Constantius to force his precise shade of heterodoxy on all his subjects,

after the almost equally ridiculous anxiety of Julian to efface the worship of the Crucified One by that of Jupiter and Apollo, it must have been a relief to all reasonable inhabitants of the Empire, Christian or Pagan, to have at the head of the State a ruler who at the very outset of his reign declared that 'he gave free opportunity to every man for practising that form of worship which he had imbibed with his soul¹.' If there was some touch of hidden sarcasm in his reply to the orthodox bishops of Bithynia and the Hellespont, when they sought his permission to call an Ecclesiastical Council—'I am but a layman and have no right to interfere in such matters: let the bishops assemble where they please²'—the sarcasm was easily borne for the sake of the liberty which it gave. Yet Valentinian, who had already, as we have seen³, endured some loss of Court-favour in consequence of his Christianity, was not going to allow any of the anti-Christian edicts of Julian to remain on the statute-book. 'The opinions,' says he, 'which prevailed in the last days of the late Emperor Constantius⁴ are still to prevail; nor are those things to have the sanction of a feigned authority

Julian's
anti-
Christian
legislation
repealed.

¹ We do not apparently possess the original of this edict, but we may infer its contents from an allusion to it in Valentinian's law 'on Auguries' passed 29 May, 371, and referred to below. He therein appeals to the laws passed at the beginning of his reign, which we may, from this allusion to them, infer to have been faithfully adhered to during the seven years which had since elapsed. 'Testes sunt leges a me in Exordio imperii mei datae, quibus unicuique, quod animo imbibisset, colendi libera facultas tributa est' (Cod. Theod. ix. 16. 9; Dat. Kal. Jun. Treviris Gratiano A. ii. et Probo Cos. [=371]).

² Sozomen, vi. 7.

³ See p. 133.

⁴ Or possibly Constantine.

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

which were either done or decreed when the minds of the Pagans were stirred up against our most holy law by certain depraving influences¹. In other words, the whole of the legislation of the Imperial Apostate against the men whom he called in scorn 'Galileans,' was by this act abolished.

Sacrifices
to the
Hearth-
god per-
mitted.

But while thus abrogating all that had been done aggressively on behalf of the old religion of Rome, Valentinian could show himself tolerant towards superstitions which he did not share. He had proposed that the ancient rite of nocturnal sacrifice to the Genius of the domestic hearth should be forbidden by law and stigmatised as a loathsome superstition. But when Vettius Praetextatus, the Proconsul of Achaia, a Roman noble of virtuous life and cultivated intellect, who adhered to the old superstitions, besought him to modify the edict as far as Greece was concerned, saying that 'life would be unliveable to the Greeks, if they were not allowed to celebrate after their ancient fashion these rites which knitted mankind together in one common bond of reverence to the gods,' Valentinian repented of his purpose and allowed the law to pass silently into oblivion².

Heathen
augurs pro-
tected.

Again, when the Emperor was legislating against those magical practices, which, as we shall shortly see, inspired him with something like the fury of a perse-

¹ Cod. Theod. xvi. 2. 18, passed in the Consulship of Valentinian and Valens, i.e. apparently the Second Consulship (368), though the First (365) would have seemed to suit the purpose of the law better.

² The curious history of this abortive legislation is given (of course from the heathen point of view) by Zosimus (iv. 3). His sketch of the character of Praetextatus agrees with what we know of him from the letters of Symmachus (i. 44-55). The edict is to be found in the Theodosian Code, ix. 16. 7, and was passed in 364.

cutor, he made an especial exemption in favour of the old heathen rite of augury, saying that ‘neither this nor any other practice of the religion handed down from our forefathers is to be deemed a crime.’ Those elaborate observations, therefore, of the flight of birds which, as we learn from the Eugubine Tables¹, had been practised by the races of Italy, perhaps for centuries before Rome was founded, and which still prevailed when Horace declared that he would pray that neither the woodpecker flying from the left nor a wandering crow should hinder the departure of his beloved, might still be practised even under a Christian Emperor.

Two classes of persons seem to have been excepted from the general toleration, Manicheans and Mathematicians. In an age when Christian Theology was travelling further and further away from the facts of human consciousness, and entangling itself in a labyrinth of speculations as to the Essence and Substance of the Divine Being—speculations which could hardly be even expressed in any other language than that used by the subtle Greek—it is no wonder if many minds reverted to the older and more awful problems, old as the existence of a human soul capable of feeling the difficulties of the World in which we live. It is no wonder that such minds should have asked those questions which possess such a fascination for the brooding Eastern intellect, ‘Is the All-good indeed Almighty?’ ‘Is

Mani-
cheans ex-
empted
from the
general
toleration.

¹ One of these tables, written in the all but lost language of the ancient Umbrians, begins with these words: ‘Thus commence your prayer, having first observed the birds, when the sparrow-hawk and crow fly forwards, when the wood-pecker and magpie fly to meet you.’ The coincidence with Horace’s Ode, above referred to (iii. 27), is very striking.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

“Love creation’s final Law,” or is there not another dark Almighty warring for ever against the Lord of Love, and having had at least an equal, perchance a superior, share to His in the creation of the world?’ Such were the questions asked by the followers of Manes, and answered by them in accordance with the principles of Dualism, questions doubtless far older than the Book of Job and yet new as modern Pessimism. We know from the Confessions of St. Augustine how great an attraction such speculations as these possessed for a keen and restless intellect, biassed by outward circumstances against a belief in the final triumph of righteousness. It was probably the conviction that Manicheism, whatever might be its pretensions to superior holiness, must in the end work against morality, which induced the sternly moral Valentinian to exempt its votaries from the general religious toleration, and to decree that wherever a meeting of this sect was discovered, the teachers were to be heavily fined, the disciples to be treated as outcasts from human society, and the places of assembly to be forfeited to the State¹.

Punish-
ments de-
nounced
against the
Mathe-
maticians.

Even more severe was the sentence passed against the hapless Mathematicians. In words which would now carry terror through the pleasant places by the Cam, the Imperial brothers decreed: ‘Let the discourse of the Mathematicians cease. For if in public or in private, by night or by day any one shall be caught [instructing another] in this forbidden error, both [teacher and taught] shall be sentenced to capital punishment. For it is no less a crime to teach than to learn forbidden arts².’ By Mathematicians were

¹ Cod. Theod. xvi. 5. 3.

² ‘Cesset Mathematicorum tractatus. Nam si qui publice aut

doubtless here meant Astrologers : and the law was thus aimed at that morbid curiosity as to future events, especially future political events, of which, as we shall soon have occasion to remark, the Emperors of this dynasty had an equally morbid horror. But whatever the conventional, legal, meaning of the term Mathematicians, it is difficult not to believe that so sweeping a denunciation of their craft must, especially in the hands of ignorant and over-zealous officials, have often molested the innocent sons of Science.

The general toleration practised by Valentinian in the West was not imitated by Valens in the East. For this the elder brother, considering his powerful influence over the mind of the younger, must be held partly responsible. Valentinian was an adherent—though not apparently a very fervid adherent—to the creed of Nicaea, while Valens was a bigoted and acrid champion of that form of Arianism which was called the *Homoion*¹. The opportunity was a splendid one for passing a common act of amnesty for religious dissensions throughout the whole Empire, both East and West, for providing that the Arians should not be troubled at Rome, nor the Athanasians at Alexandria. But unfortunately the opportunity was not taken, and while Valentinian was upon the whole consistently pursuing his policy of religious toleration in the West, Valens

Persecuting zeal of Valens on behalf of Arianism.

privatim in die noctuque deprehensus fuerit in cohibito errore versari, capitali sententiâ feriat uterque. Neque enim culpa dissimilis est, prohibita discere quam docere. Prid. Id. Dec. (12 Dec.) Constantino-poli, Valentiniano et Valenti Augustis, Consulibus [365?]. Cod. Theod. ix. 16. 8. As the law is dated from Constantinople it perhaps emanated from Valens rather than from Valentinian.

¹ 'The Son is like unto the Father in such manner as the Scriptures declare.'

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

continued in the East those petty and harassing persecutions against the Homoousian Bishops and Congregations which had been begun by Constantius¹. Still, notwithstanding this great and lamentable omission, Valentinian fairly deserves the fame of having made a greater and more successful attempt than any other Roman Emperor, so to use the power of the State as not to interfere with the inherent right of his subjects to worship God in that manner which each one in his own innermost conscience believed to be acceptable to Him. With his death the great experiment came to an end. It was again tried 120 years later, with equal singleness of purpose, by the Ostrogoth Theodoric, and for one generation it was signally successful. Then came Chaos and the thick Night of the Middle Ages. The very thought of a conscience free to decide for itself as to its relations to the unseen world, faded out of the minds of men; and it was not till

¹ Yet there does not seem to be any evidence of a general and systematic persecution of the Orthodox party by Valens. The worst case recorded is that of the Church at Edessa (Socrates, iv. 18; Sozomen, vi. 18). As for the alleged murder of eighty remonstrant ecclesiastics on board of a vessel in the Sea of Marmora, this seems to me to be an unproved and unprovable calumny. 'The sailors,' says Socrates (iv. 16), 'were commanded to set the vessel on fire when out in the mid-sea, so that their victims might even be deprived of burial. So it was done: when they reached the middle of the Astacian Gulf, the crew set fire to the ship and escaped from her in a small bark which followed them. The burning ship was driven by a strong easterly wind to the harbour of Decidizus, when she was utterly consumed with all on board of her.' No one who has carefully followed a trial for alleged fraud on the underwriters of a ship will accept this off-hand settlement of the question of felonious intent on the part of the Imperial consignor. Accident, the strong wind that was blowing, and cowardice on the part of the crew, are quite enough to account for the catastrophe.

the 16th, nay not till the 17th century, that it was again to assert its imprescriptible rights against the stern ecclesiastical domination alike of Rome and of Geneva.

The character of Valentinian as an administrator, described to us by contemporary historians, is such a mingled web of good and evil that, as has been already said, it is almost impossible to describe it except by a string of contradictory epithets. Just, yet tyrannical, willing to spare the pockets of his subjects, yet allowing them to be drained dry by rapacious governors, with a strong feeling of the duties of a ruler, yet delighting in deeds of cruelty—such are some of the paradoxes of this man's nature, paradoxes which, one fears, must be partly accounted for by the fact that the good in him gradually yielded to the evil, and that the longer he wielded the uncontrolled power of a Roman Emperor the more the inhuman element in his character prevailed. From one point of view we may see in him the strong, brave, chaste Illyrian peasant's son, endowed with absolute authority over the luxurious, demoralised Roman nobility, determined to correct their vices, to bring back the vigour and the purity of older days, and firmly applying the cautery to the social and moral sores of the Empire. This view of his character explains, and in a measure justifies, even some of the harshest deeds which Ammianus chronicles as having been done under his orders by stern Panonian ministers like-minded with himself. But there are some stories told concerning Valentinian which will not fit in with this explanation, and which, unless we resort to the facile hypothesis of a strain of madness in his intellect, will force us to the conclusion that after

BOOK 1.
CH. 8.

all, the occupant of the Imperial throne was a barbarian at heart, with a barbarian's ungovernable temper and a barbarian's sensual pleasure in the sight of human suffering. The strangest of all these stories must be told in the very words of Ammianus, for it is not quite easy to understand how much he means us to infer from them.

The story
of the
bears.

'The mind shudders at the remembrance of all [his cruel deeds] and at the same time fears lest we should seem to be purposely seeking for the vices of a sovereign who was in other respects most useful to the State. But there is one thing which it would not be right to pass over in silence, that he had two fierce bears, devourers of men, named "Golden Darling"¹ and "Innocence," which he treated with such extraordinary fondness that he kept their cages near his own bed-chamber, and gave them faithful guardians whose business it was, anxiously to provide lest by any chance the ghastly vigour of those wild beasts might be destroyed. "Innocence," at last, after many entombments of lacerated carcasses, which the Emperor had himself witnessed, was sent unharmed back to the woods as having well deserved her freedom².'

These pompous and obscure sentences may mean only that the Emperor regaled his favourite beasts on the flesh of men (presumably slaves or criminals) who were already dead; but perhaps it accords better with the general tenor of the passage to suppose that he enacted in his own palace on a small scale the

¹ Mica Aurea.

² 'Innocentiam denique post multas quas ejus laniatu cadaverum viderat sepulturas, ut bene meritam in silvas abire dimisit innoxiam' (Amm. Mar. xxix. 3. 9).

bloody sports of the amphitheatre, and ordered his victims, perhaps his barbarian captives, to engage in deadly combat with Innocentia and Mica Aurea. On any interpretation of the passage, more than mere sternness, absolute inhumanity must be attributed to the sovereign of whom such tales could be told.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

Other stories were related of Valentinian's ungovernable temper. A page, stationed to watch some game, let slip too soon a Spartan hound that had sprung up and bitten him. The enraged Emperor ordered him to be beaten to death with clubs, and he was buried on the same day. A foreman in the Imperial workshops brought for the Emperor's acceptance a beautifully polished steel breastplate, which he had made to order. It wanted a little of the stipulated weight, and the too clever craftsman, instead of receiving even a diminished payment, was ordered off to instant execution. An eminent advocate, named Africanus, desired to be removed from one province, the affairs of which he had administered, to another, and Theodosius, the Master of the Horse, favoured his suit. The petition happened to be presented to the Emperor when he was in one of his surliest moods. 'Go,' said he, 'Count Theodosius, and change *his* stature by a head, who wants to change his province.' To this grim joke of the moody sovereign was sacrificed the life of an eloquent man who was believed to be on the way to high office in the state. A ruler of this savage temper, even though desirous in the main to govern justly, was sure to be often ill served by the men to whom he delegated his power, and whose oppressions his subjects would be too terrified to reveal to him. Valentinian inclined to the employment of military officers in the great civil

Instances
of Valen-
tinian's
ferocity.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

governments of the Empire, and he also showed a marked predilection for his own Pannonian countrymen as administrators. There was probably good reason for both preferences, as it is likely that the whole bureaucratic hierarchy under Constantius had become enervated and corrupt: but Valentinian seems to have been unfortunate in his choice of subordinates. Strong men they were, doubtless, those Pannonian vicegerents of his, but also atrociously severe: and the soft citizens of Rome and Carthage trembled before them, as the subjects of James II trembled at the roar of Jeffreys.

Cruelty of
Maximin
and Sim-
plicius.

One of these cruel ministers of Valentinian was *Maximin*, born at the little town of Sopianae, now Fünfkirchen in Hungary, who from a very humble station (his father was a clerk in the quarter-master's office) rose to the great positions, first of Vicarius, and afterwards of Praetorian Prefect, of the City of Rome. His assessor was *Simplicius*, who had formerly been a schoolmaster at Aemona (now Laybach on the Save): and the two upstarts, master and man, seemed to vie with one another which could lay the heaviest hand on the ancient and noble families of Rome. But even the historian who execrates their cruelty shows by his history of the poisonings, peculations, adulteries which furnished the pretext for their outburst of violence, the deep demoralisation of the Roman aristocracy.

Prevalence
of magical
arts.

The favourite topic of accusation against these Roman nobles and many of their humbler fellow-subjects, was the practice of unhallowed arts. Whether men's minds were in an unusually excited state on religious questions, owing to the recent duel between

Heathenism and Christianity¹,—whether Neo-Platonism, with its tendency to dabble in spells and incantations, had infected the minds of many of the upper classes,—whatever the reason may have been, it is clear that there was during this period an epidemic of witchcraft and poisoning on the one hand, and a yet fiercer epidemic of suspicion of these practices on the other. For instance, an advocate named Marinus was accused of having attempted ‘by wicked arts’—magic—to bring about his marriage with a lady named Hispanilla. The proof offered was of the slenderest kind, but Maximin condemned him to death. Hymetius, Proconsul of Africa, a man of specially honourable character, was charged with having induced a celebrated soothsayer named Amantius to perform some unholy sacrifice for him. The soothsayer was tortured, but denied the accusation. In some secret place, however, in his house was found a letter in the writing of Hymetius begging him to perform some strange rites, whereby the gods might be prevailed upon to soften the hearts of the Emperors towards him. The end of the letter, so it was said, stigmatised Valentinian as a bloody and rapacious tyrant. Upon the production of this letter, and the establishment of some other accusations against him, Amantius the soothsayer was condemned to death by Maximin. Hymetius the proconsul was near meeting the same fate, but escaped by a well-hazarded appeal to the Emperor. Lollianus, the son of a prefect, a youth who had the first down of manhood on his cheeks, was convicted of having copied out a book of

¹ May not the morbid condition of the public mind in England under the Stuarts with reference to witches be similarly referred to the then recent controversies of the Reformation?

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

incantations. He, too, appealed to the Emperor, but in his case the appeal only ensured his condemnation, and he died by the executioner's hand¹. Thus lawlessly did law rage in the West. In the East, Festinus, an obscure adventurer from Trient (in the Tyrol), a friend and admirer of Maximin, having attained the high position of Proconsul of Asia, imitated but too successfully the cruelty of his patron. He had called in the services of a simple old woman to cure his daughter of intermittent fever, by a soft charm-like song which she was wont to sing. The spell succeeded, and the monster put the poor old creature to death, as a witch. A philosopher, named Coeranius, writing to his wife, had added a postscript in Greek, 'Take care and crown the gate with flowers.' This expression was generally used when some great event was about to happen. Coeranius evidently, in the judgment of the proconsul, was expecting a change in the government. He too must be put to death. In one instance the horrible and the ludicrous seem to meet together. A young man in the public baths was seen to be pressing his fingers alternately on the marble of the bath and his own chest, muttering each time one of the seven vowels in the Greek alphabet. The poor youth's real motive for this performance was that he imagined it would cure a pain in his stomach. Nevertheless he was haled away to the judgment-seat of Festinus, put to the torture, and slain by the sword of the executioner².

End of
Maximin.

Maximin, notwithstanding the bitter hatred with which he was regarded by the people of Rome, succeeded in maintaining his hold on office, and on the

¹ Ammianus, xxviii. 1.

² Id., xxix. 2. 22-28.

Imperial favour so long as Valentinian lived. In 373¹ apparently, he was made Prefect of Gaul, and about the same time he succeeded in obtaining the appointment of Duke of Valeria for his son Marcellian, whose foul murder of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, has been already described². Justice, however, was not finally defrauded either in his case or in that of his base tool Simplicius. Soon after the death of Valentinian both these tyrannical governors were put to death by the sword of the executioner³.

Another instance of misgovernment, vainly protested against by its victims, was exhibited in the career of *Romanus*, Count of Africa. He was not a personal adherent of Valentinian, having been appointed to his office under the reign of one of his predecessors, but he had a friend at Court in Remigius, Master of the Offices, through whose hands all the reports prepared by the provincial governors, and all complaints against their rule, had to pass before they reached the Emperor. Remigius was connected by marriage with Romanus, and the Count of Africa, relying on his protection, plundered his subjects without mercy. At length, however, barbarian competitors in this trade of pillage appeared on the scene. The Austoriani, a people of the desert, taking advantage of the governor's indolence, broke in upon the province of Tripolis, whose long thin strip of fertile territory, lacking in its eastern portion the defence of the mountain chain which parted Numidia and the Carthaginian province from the interior, was always unusually

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

Tyrannical
career of
Romanus.

Tripolis
invaded by
barbarians
from the
desert.

¹ See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, v. 691.

² See p. 200.

³ *Amm. Mar.* xxviii. 1. 57.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

difficult to guard¹. Goaded into fury by the punishment inflicted on one of their tribe who had been burned alive as a punishment for some lawless proceedings, they poured into the Tripolitan province, laid waste the country up to the walls of the strong city of Leptis, encamped for three days in the fruitful and highly cultivated suburban district, burned all the property which they could not remove, slew those of the peasants who had not had time to flee to the shelter of the caves, and then returned to their distant oases in the desert, carrying with them an immense mass of plunder and an important captive, a Senator of Leptis named Silva, whom they had the luck to find with his family at his villa in the country.

Romanus
refuses to
help the
provincials
of Tripolis.

The citizens of Leptis naturally called on Count Romanus for help. He came with a sufficient body of troops: he calmly surveyed the ruin wrought by the barbarians: and he said, 'Prepare me so many thousand rations for my soldiers' (naming an enormous number) 'and a corps of 4000 camels, and then I will march against your enemies.' The citizens pleaded that in their distressed and devastated condition, such requisitions as these were hopelessly beyond their power to comply with. Count Romanus accordingly, having tarried for forty days in the Tripolitan territory, returned with nought accomplished for its deliverance.

The Tri-
politans
send a
deputation
to Valen-
tinian.

All this had occurred, apparently, during the short reign of Jovian, and was one of the many indications of the courage given to all the enemies of the Empire by the failure of the Parthian expedition. On receiving the news of the accession of Valentinian, the Tripolitan

¹ This is pointed out by Mommsen (*Römische Geschichte*, v. 630).

senate at its annual gathering ¹, after passing a vote for the golden wreaths of victory ² which it was usual to present to a new Emperor on his accession, determined to send their offering by the hands of two envoys who should be charged to lay before Valentinian the lamentable state of the Tripolitan province. Romanus, informed of their decision, despatched a swift messenger to warn his confederate Remigius, who took care to lay before the Emperor a report utterly different from that of the envoys. This diversity furnished an easy pretext for delay : and meanwhile the Austoriani again and again invaded the hapless province, laid waste the districts round Leptis and Oea ³ with fire and sword, and shook the very walls of Leptis with their battering-rams, while a howl of terror went up from the women within, who had never seen an armed foe before. Again many of the wealthy decurions were caught in their pleasant country homes and slain. One unfortunate and gouty citizen-noble, deeming escape impossible, threw himself headlong into a well. He was drawn up by the barbarians with a rib broken, taken to the gates of the city, ransomed at a great price by his horror-stricken wife, and hoisted up by a rope over the battlements into the city, where he died two days afterwards. After eight days the besiegers found that they could not make any permanent impression on the defences of Leptis, and returned disappointed to their homes.

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

Tripolis
again in-
vaded.

¹ 'Adlapso legitimo die concilii, quod *apud eos est annuum*' (Amm. Mar. xxviii. 6. 7). This is an important passage as showing that these 'concilia' were not held in all the provinces at the same intervals of time.

² Aurum Coronarium.

³ Lebida and Tripoli.

BOOK I.
CH. 3.Commis-
sion of
Palladius.

Meanwhile there arrived in the province a notary of the Emperor¹ named Palladius, with the double commission of distributing to the soldiers the donative to which they were entitled on the proclamation of Valentinian and his brother, and bringing back to the Emperor a report of the true state of the province of Tripolis. As soon as Romanus heard of the intended arrival of the commissioner, he gave a secret intimation to the officers in command of each legion stationed in the province, that they would do wisely for their own advancement by returning to this powerful servant of the Emperor part of the donative which he had brought for each of them. They complied with the advice; Palladius accepted the gift, and, thus unexpectedly enriched, proceeded on his way to Leptis. There could be no doubt as to what he saw there; the evidences of the misery and devastation of the province were patent to all men, and it needed not the eloquence of Erechthius and Aristomenes, two of the leading citizens of Leptis, to convince him that the Count of Africa had scandalously neglected the duty which he owed to these loyal subjects of the Empire. On his return to Carthage, Palladius told Romanus plainly what sort of report as to his sloth and incompetence he was about to make to Valentinian. 'And I too,' said Romanus in a towering passion, 'shall have my report to make to the Emperor. I shall have to tell him that his incorruptible notary has embezzled the greater part of the donative which was entrusted to him, and appropriated it to his own use.' Palladius saw that he was at the governor's mercy, and on his return to Court

¹ The *Notarii Principis* were officials of high rank entitled to the same precedence as *Consulares* (Cod. Theod. vi. 10. 3).

reported that the complaints of the provincials of BOOK I.
Ch. 8.
Tripolis were all utterly devoid of foundation, and that
Romanus was unjustly calumniated by them.

Then the wrath of Valentinian blazed forth against Anger of
Valen-
tinian
against the
Tripoli-
tani.
the men whom he honestly believed to be false accusers
of a faithful servant. A second deputation from
Tripolis had meanwhile visited his Court. One of the
two envoys died on the road; the other was sent back
in disgrace to Tripolis and forced to confess that he had
been the messenger of falsehood. The cowed and trem-
bling citizens disavowed the commission which they had
entrusted to him. He and four other eminent members
of the local senate were condemned to death: and Erech-
thius and Aristomenes, the orators who had pleaded the
cause of Tripolis before Palladius, were sentenced to
have their tongues torn out, but escaped from the
executioners who were charged with this cruel mandate.

So did the wrathful Emperor, with all his desire to Tardy
justice on
Romanus
and
Palladius.
deal justly, wreak cruel injustice on his unoffending
subjects. Many years afterwards, when Palladius had
received his dismissal, when the misgovernment of 373.
Romanus had reached its height, and when Count
Theodosius had been sent to supersede him, he found
among his papers the letter of a certain Meterius,
which ended thus: 'Palladius the castaway salutes
thee, who says that he is a castaway for no other
reason than because he told lies to the sacred (Imperial)
ears in the business of the Tripolitans.' This ex-
pression led to further enquiry; Meterius confessed the
authorship of the letter. Palladius was arrested, but
on the journey to Court escaped from his guards
who were celebrating the vigil of some Christian
festival, twisted a noose round his neck and hanged

BOOK I.
CH. 3.

himself. The same fate overtook Remigius, who was now no longer Master of the Offices, but was living in retirement at Maintz. He too terminated his life with the cord to avoid a public execution. Romanus, the arch-criminal of all, seems to have escaped with life, though deprived of office, but his later fortunes are wrapped in obscurity. The two eloquent Tripolitans, Erechthius and Aristomenes, emerged from their long hiding-place and the cruel sentence against them remained unexecuted. A full report was drawn up to the Emperor clearing the characters of all the Tripolitans, and the injustice that had been committed was, as far as possible, atoned for. But much had been done that was irreversible.

Petronius
Probus,
Prefect of
Illyricum.

We have seen how Italy groaned under the tyranny of Maximin, how Africa was pillaged by its governor Romanus. Now we turn to Illyricum. There again, in the history of the administration of Probus (which connects itself with the closing scenes of the Emperor's life), we shall observe, not only the weakness of the Roman official aristocracy, but also the extreme difficulty with which even a sovereign who wished to rule righteously—and this with all his faults was the desire of Valentinian—escaped being made a partaker in the oppression of his subjects.

Petronius Probus, allied by marriage to the great Anician *gens*, one of the very few families which combined wealth, official distinction, devotion to Christianity, and a really ancient descent from ancestors conspicuous in the great days of the Republic, was himself a man marked out, in the constitution of the state as it then existed, for the frequent enjoyment of high office. Of vast wealth, with estates in almost every

province of the Roman world, with his ancient lineage, his relationship to all the noblest families of Rome, and his reputation for orthodox faith, he had as strong a claim on Countships and Prefectures under the dynasty of Valentinian as the Spensers and Pelhams and other members of the great Revolution families had on Secretaryships and Lord Lieutenancies in the days of the early Georges. And these claims he was not slow to enforce. He had a vast tribe of dependents, his liberality to whom kept him needy, notwithstanding his enormous wealth, and whose misdeeds, though not himself a cruel or unjust ruler, he was all too ready to condone. Hence it came to pass that Petronius Probus, though neither soldier nor statesman, was almost perpetually in office, being translated from Africa to Italy, and from Italy to Illyricum; and, as Ammianus sarcastically remarks, in the short intervals when he held no prefecture he gasped and languished like one of the denizens of the deep expelled from its own element and laid upon the shore¹. This was the man who held the responsible post of Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum in the year 374, and who had to stem the torrent of barbarian invasion caused by the righteous indignation of the Quadi at the treacherous murder of Gabinius their king². The enraged barbarians crossed the Danube, appeared suddenly among the unsuspecting Pannonians, who were engaged in the labours of the harvest, slew great numbers of them and drove back vast multitudes of sheep and cattle to their homes. They were very near carrying off a more splendid prize, and one the loss of which would have more deeply

Irruption
of the
Quadi.

¹ Amm. Mar. xxvii. 11.

² See p. 200.

BOOK I. wounded the pride of Rome. The daughter of the late
 CH. 8. Emperor Constantius, the same whom as a child of four
 374 years old Procopius had so often exhibited to the
 applauding legions, was now on her way to Gaul where
 she was to be married to the young Emperor Gratian.
 She was resting at a post-house¹, about twenty-six
 miles west of Sirmium, when the wandering bands of
 the Quadi were seen in the distance. Most fortunately
 Messalla, Duke of Pannonia Secunda, was near at hand,
 and hearing of her danger hurried to the post-house,
 placed the young bride on his official chariot, and lash-
 ing his horses to a gallop soon reached with his precious
 charge the friendly shelter of the walls of Sirmium.

Cowardice
 and in-
 capacity of
 Probus.

Barbarians, however, of various origin were now
 roaming over the desolate province. The Teutonic
 Quadi were mingled with the Slavonic Sarmatians, and
 all brought terror to the subjects of Rome. Men and
 women were being driven off together with their cattle
 into the squalid servitude of barbarian homesteads.
 Many a spacious villa, the centre from which the Roman
 lord had issued his commands to the hundreds of *coloni*
 who cultivated his lands, was now laid in ashes, and its
 tessellated pavements dyed with the blood of its late
 inhabitants, while the savage invaders mocked at the
 trail of misery which they left behind them², and
 probably vaunted to one another that King Gabinius
 was now indeed avenged. All this time, in the Præ-
 torium at Sirmium, which should have been the home of
 manly counsels and the centre of brave resistance, there
 was panic and bewilderment. To the middle-aged
 Probus this was a first experience of the terrors of war.

¹ In publicâ villâ quam appellant Pistrensem.

² Amm. Mar. xxix. 6. 8.

He sat sighing in his palace, scarcely raising his eyes from the ground; and at last he made up his mind that when night fell he would escape with fleet horses from the city. Some faithful counsellor, however, informed him that, if he took flight, all the defenders of the city would inevitably follow his example, and that the disgrace of abandoning Sirmium, the first city of Illyricum, to the barbarians, would irretrievably ruin his career. Upon this he plucked up a little courage from necessity, cleared out the fosses which surrounded the city from the ruins that encumbered them, and repaired the breaches which in the long years of peace had weakened the circuit of the walls. Concentrating his whole attention on this work of rebuilding, and devoting to it a large sum of money which had been collected, but had fortunately not been expended, for the construction of a theatre, he before long was able to confront the barbarians with a circuit of lofty fortifications, perfect from base to summit. When the Quadi who had lingered too long over the congenial work of plunder at length appeared before the walls, they found them too strong to be taken by their rude appliances, and retreated, hoping to meet with and punish the general¹ to whom they attributed the slaughter of their king. In their disorderly march two Roman legions came up with them and might easily have won a signal victory, but their first success was turned into defeat by the jealousies of the two bodies of troops and their want of concerted action. However, when things seemed at their worst for the cause of the Empire in the Illyrian provinces, a victory won over the 'Free Sarmatians'²

¹ Aequitius.² So called to distinguish them from the Servile Sarmatians (or

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

374

by the brave young Duke of Moesia, Theodosius, restored the fortune of war, and together with the rumoured approach of legions from Gaul, caused the barbarians at last to sue for peace and to withdraw from the scene of their ravages.

Valen-
tinian re-
ceives the
news of
the ravages
in Pan-
nonia.

In his terror at the barbarian invasion Probus sent messengers to Valentinian to beg for assistance. The messengers found him in the neighbourhood of Bâle, where it need hardly be said that he was engaged in the construction of a fortress¹. The first impulse of the warlike Emperor was at once to march from the Rhine to the Danube in order to chastise the insolent barbarians who had dared to violate the Roman frontier. The advice of his trusty counsellors persuaded him to postpone the campaign of retaliation till next spring. They pointed out that the autumn was now far spent, that the plains, hardened by frost, would afford no pasture for the beasts of burden which accompanied the army, and that Macrianus, king of the Alamanni, an old enemy of the Empire, who had fought with Julian fifteen years before, was hovering, angry and menacing, on the frontiers of Gaul, and would certainly seize the opportunity of the Emperor's absence to make an inroad into the wealthy province, perhaps even to storm some of its cities.

Valen-
tinian
makes
peace with
Macrianus.

Having decided to postpone his eastward march till spring, Valentinian determined to employ the interval thus left him in establishing a league of friendship with Macrianus. The Alamannic king, who had an

Limigantes) who, according to tradition, were armed by their masters as auxiliaries against the Goths, and used their arms to expel their former lords.

¹ Named Robur. Its site has not yet been clearly identified.

unending quarrel with his Burgundian neighbours on the north, about the possession of the salt-springs on the Kocher¹, was not sorry to accept the proffered friendship of Rome. He came to meet the Emperor near Maintz, accompanied by a multitude of his countrymen, who clashed their shields and swords together with barbarous dissonance, while Macrianus stood by the swiftly-flowing Rhine, holding his head high, and swelling with pride, real or assumed, as if he were the arbiter of peace or war². On the side of the Romans appeared the great Augustus, moving slowly up the stream in the Imperial galley. Disembarking, he took up his station on the shore with the eagles and dragons of the legions glittering above his head, and the brilliantly accoutred officers of his camp, some of whom probably came from the plains of the Euphrates and others from beneath the shadow of the Pyrenees, all clustering around him. It was the meeting of Valens and Athanaric repeated, not on the Danube but on the other great frontier-stream of the Empire, and with a more lordly presence than that of Valens to represent the majesty of Rome. With a few well-chosen words and significant gestures Valentinian repressed the insolence of the barbarians, then discussed the mutual rights and wrongs alleged between them and the Empire, and finally exchanged the solemn oath of per-

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

374.

¹ See Amm. Mar. xviii. 2. 15 and xxviii. 5. 11. The salt-springs were probably those of Schwäbische Hall and Niedern Hall in Würtemberg. 'Hall' in German geography frequently marks the presence of salt-works.

² 'Et venit inmane quo quantoque flatu distentus ut futurus arbiter superior pacis, dieque praedicto conloquii ad ipsam marginem Rheni caput altius erigens stetit, hinc inde sonitu scutorum intonante gentilium' (Amm. Mar. xxx. 3. 4).

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

374

petual friendship with Macrianus. This treaty was not an empty form: the vanity of the Alaman had been flattered, his anger soothed, his self-interest enlisted on the side of peace with Rome. He faithfully observed the treaty to the end of his days, and finally perished, we are told, in 'Francia' (which at that time meant probably the country on the right bank of the Lower Rhine), having fallen into an ambush laid for him by the King of the Franks, the warlike Mallobaudes.

Valen-
tinian
marches
to the
Danube.

375

After the treaty with Macrianus, Valentinian entered his winter-quarters at Trier, and with the early spring set out for Illyricum to put in order the things which had been disarranged by the feebleness of Probus. He marched quickly by the well-known military roads into his native province, and, when arrived there, was met by an embassy of Sarmatians who, falling at his feet, besought his favour and protested their innocence of any share in the barbarian inroads. 'That question,' said he, 'I shall settle after an accurate investigation on the scene of the outrages,' and dismissed them from his presence. Almost immediately after this interview he reached Carnuntum, once the great city of Pannonia and a colony, now represented only by the ruins of Petronell, on the Danube, about thirty miles below Vienna. Desolated by the barbarians, probably in their latest inroad, it had lost its importance as a station of the Danubian fleet and the head-quarters of the fourteenth legion, both of which had been transferred to Vindobona, now Vienna. Thus the world-wide fame of this latter city, the city of the Habsburgs, is derived by no doubtful ancestry from these movements of obscure barbarian tribes under the prefecture of Petronius Probus. Carnuntum, when Valentinian visited it,

was still what our Saxon forefathers would have called BOOK 1.
'a waste Chester,' lying in squalid loneliness by the CH. 3.
sullen Danube; but the Emperor repaired it sufficiently
to make it a place of arms, from whence he might sally
forth to repel the incursions of the barbarians.

The arrival of Valentinian in the province of Pan- Enquiry
into the
misgovern-
ment of
Probus.
nonia struck terror into the hearts of the officials of
that misgoverned province, and gave hope to the
oppressed. Now at length, thought they, 'this stern
but upright ruler will enquire into the whole series of
tyrannical and cowardly acts by which this noble pro-
vince has been brought to the brink of ruin. Unhappily,
however, the Emperor had already begun to show signs
of that weakness which often marks the later years of
a monarch's reign — undue leniency towards great
criminals, coupled with undue severity towards the
little ones. No enquiry was instituted into the iniquitous
murder of Gabinius, the source of all these later
troubles; and it seemed as if even the mal-admini-
stration of Probus would pass unchallenged. It was
notorious that in his eager quest for money, to gratify
the greed of his dependents and to prolong his own
tenure of office, Probus had frequently driven rich
citizens into crime, had multiplied taxes, and had
increased their weight till in some cities the wealthier
inhabitants had passed years in prison at the suit of
the tax-gatherer, while others had committed suicide to
escape his extortions. All this was well known to the
whole Roman world except the Emperor; but to him
came deputation after deputation from one province of
Illyricum after another, offering hollow congratulations,
and thanking the Imperial providence for blessing them
with such a ruler as Petronius Probus. At length,

BOOK I. when the deputation from Epirus was announced, with
CH. 3.

Iphicles, rhetorician and philosopher, at its head, some fortunate chance led the Emperor to enquire 'Do you come of your own accord, on this errand of panegyric: do your fellow-citizens in their hearts think so well of the prefect?' 'No, indeed,' said the truthful philosopher, 'most reluctantly do I come from my groaning countrymen.' On this hint Valentinian acted. He enquired what had happened to the chief citizens of the Illyrian towns. He found that one wealthy burgess had fled across the sea; that another, the chief of his order, had perished under the cruel strokes of the *plumbatae* (the leaded scourge with which criminals were tortured); that another, renowned and beloved above his fellows, had hanged himself. All these discoveries kindled Valentinian's wrath against the avaricious governor, slack against the barbarian, and terrible only to his own countrymen, by whom Pannonia had been brought into such calamity. Probus had to face the anger of the terrible Emperor, and would probably have been ordered to lay down his prefecture in disgrace but for the event which soon after left the Roman world without its highest ruler.

Valen-
tinian at
Bregetio.

Valentinian spent the three summer months at Carnuntum¹. In the autumn he moved his forces to

¹ During this time a certain Faustinus, nephew of a Prefect, was put to death by order of Probus, being accused of having killed an ass. 'To be used in magical rites' said his accusers. 'No, but in order to cure my premature baldness' was his reply. Both the accusation and the defence seem equally unintelligible to us. Another article of indictment was that when a certain Nigrinus had asked him to procure for him a notary's place, he had said in joke, 'Make me Emperor if you want to get that accomplished.' Nigrinus was put to death for this conversation as well as Faustinus.

Acincum (close to the modern city of Buda), crossed the Danube on a bridge of boats, and laid waste the houses and lands of the Quadi with fire and sword. Winter came on early, and he took up his quarters at Bregetio on the Danube, close to the strong rock-fortress of Komorn, where the Hungarians in 1849 made their last gallant stand against the overwhelming and united armies of the Habsburg and the Czar. But now, in the dreary Pannonian winter days, the superstitious courtiers and officers of the camp began to whisper to one another all sorts of omens of impending calamity. Comets had trailed their portentous length along the sky; at Sirmium a flash of lightning had set the palace, the senate-house, and the forum on fire; at Sabaria¹, where the Emperor took up his residence for a time, an owl seated on the roof of the Imperial bath-house had given utterance to dismal hootings, and had remained unharmed and unterrified by all the arrows and stones which the soldiers had hurled at her. One night (the last, as it proved, of Valentinian's life) he saw in a dream his absent wife, the beautiful Justina, sitting with dishevelled hair and arrayed in mean attire as if some change in her fortunes were at hand. He rose next morning depressed and saddened by his dream, and with lowering brow ordered his horse to be brought round. The animal reared up on its hind legs; the right hand of the young groom who was helping his master to mount came somewhat roughly in contact with the Imperial person: in his rage Valentinian ordered the offending member to be cut off, but Cerealis, Tribune of the Imperial Stable and

BOOK 1.
CH. 3.Evil
omens.¹ Stein-am-Anger in Hungary.

BOOK I. brother-in-law of the Emperor, ventured to postpone for
 CH. 3. a little space the execution of the order, and thereby, as the event proved, saved the lad's limb and perhaps his life.

Death of
 Valen-
 tinian.

A little later in the day came the long-expected embassy of the Quadi, and was admitted to an audience. The contrast was a striking one between the Emperor of the Romans¹, tall, erect, with limbs of admirable symmetry, with steel cuirass, and helmet adorned with gold and gems, a stern gleam in his blue-gray eyes, and 'looking every inch an Emperor,' and over against him the squalid forms of the ambassadors of the Quadi, with their breastplates of horn sewn upon linen jackets, so that the pieces overlapped one another like the feathers of a bird, shrinking, bending, seeking by every motion of their bodies to appease the anger of the terrible Augustus. 'They had not intended to declare war against the Empire. No assembly of the chiefs had been convened. Nothing had been done by the regular council of the nation. A few robber-hordes close to the river had done deeds which they regretted, and for which they must not be held responsible. But indeed that fortress (apparently one of Valentinian's many fortresses, erected on the left bank of the Danube) should not have been built upon their territory, and it stirred the clownish hearts of their people to frenzy to behold it.' At the mention of the fortress the Emperor struck in with terrible voice, upbraiding the barbarians with ingratitude for all the benefits of Rome. They continued to endeavour to soothe him. His voice faltered, but not from softened feeling. His attendants saw that he was

¹ Ammianus, xxx. 9. 6 ; xxix. 3. 4 ; xxvii. 10. 11 ; xvii. 12. 2.

about to fall, wrapped his purple round him, and bore him to an inner room, that the barbarians might not look upon the weakness of an Emperor. In the full torrent of his rage he had been seized with some sudden malady, probably apoplexy¹, and after a terrible struggle with death the strong, tempestuous man died, apparently before nightfall. He had lived fifty-four years, and reigned nearly twelve. His body was embalmed and taken to Constantinople, and there laid in the Church of the Apostles, now the recognised burial-place of the Christian Emperors.

According to the system of partnership and succession which had been devised by Diocletian and accepted in a modified form by Valentinian, Valens and Gratian should now have peaceably taken up the sovereignty the chief share in which had fallen from the dead Emperor's hands. But there were complications, both in the Imperial family and in the camp by the Danube, which led to a strange result. Some seven or eight years before his death² Valentinian had put away his wife, Severa, and married the beautiful Sicilian, Justina, widow of the usurper Magnentius, who lost both the diadem and his life in his struggle with Constantius (353)³. Justina had borne to her husband three

Family left
by Valentinian.

¹ Ammianus' description seems to waver between apoplexy and hæmorrhage of the lungs.

² Before 369, in which year Constantian, brother of Justina and 'kinsman to Valentinian,' was slain by the robber bands in Gaul: but probably after 367, when Gratian, son of Severa, was associated in the Empire. (See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, v. 50.)

³ Accepting the positive statement of Zosimus as to Justina's widowhood I reject, as Tillemont is disposed to do, the story told by Socrates, as to her having been a maid of honour to Severa, who is represented as having incautiously praised her beauty to Valentinian and thus prepared the way for her own repudiation.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

daughters, one at least of whom when she grew up to womanhood reproduced the loveliness of her mother, and one son who, when his father gasped out his life in the tent at Bregetio, was a little child of four or five years old. The Empress and her children were not at the camp, but at a villa called Murocincta, a hundred miles distant from Bregetio, when the event occurred which made them a widow and orphans.

Uneasy
feeling in
the camp.

In the camp there was an uneasy feeling stirring that the occasion was a good one to acclaim a new Emperor. Gratian, princely and popular, but after all only a lad of some sixteen years of age, was absent at distant Trier; Valens, disliked and despised, was at the yet more distant Antioch. Why should not the army proclaim some one of its own most trusted generals Emperor, and in so doing at once save the State from misgovernment by feeble rulers and enrich itself by the handsome donative which the new Emperor was sure to bestow on the authors of his greatness?

Probable
competi-
tors for
the purple.

There were three officers in high command in the Danubian army on one of whom the choice of the tumultuary electorate, if that electorate were assembled, seemed certain to fall. These were Sebastian, Aequitius, and Merobaudes. Count Sebastian, who had formerly held the high military command of Duke of Egypt, and had been, together with Procopius, in charge of the troops which were to co-operate from the direction of Armenia in Julian's invasion of Persia¹, was now engaged in ravaging the country of the Quadi. The heathen historian, Ammianus, describes him as a man of even temperament and a lover of repose², but

¹ See p. 121.

² Amm. Mar. xxx. 10. 3.

the Church historians charge him with the Manichean heresy and with the infliction of cruel tortures during the reign of Constantius on the confessors of the Catholic Church at Alexandria¹. Aequitius, whom we have already seen during the Procopian rebellion, faithfully holding the Illyrian provinces for the house of Valentinian², and who had shared the honours of the consulship in the preceding year with Gratian, was still apparently 'Magister Militum per Illyricum,' the highest military officer between the Rhine and the Danube. Merobaudes was probably a Frankish chief who had taken service under the Empire, and owing to his skill in military matters had risen to high command³, and to the yet higher honour of an alliance by marriage with the Imperial house⁴.

But for his barbarian extraction the choice of the soldiery might very possibly have fallen on Merobaudes. Aequitius, whose surly temper had caused him to be rejected as a candidate for the purple eleven years before⁵, had probably not grown less surly with advancing age. It was generally understood that the choice of the soldiers and of the inferior officers favoured Sebastian, and that if he appeared in camp he would be acclaimed Emperor.

The elevation of Sebastian would probably have meant the depression, perhaps the ruin, of Aequitius

Sebastian's
elevation
prevented.

¹ Socrates, ii. 28 (quoting Athanasius).

² See p. 148.

³ Possibly that of Magister Militum, as Zosimus (iv. 17) seems to imply.

⁴ This is supposed to be the meaning of Victor's phrase 'Merobaude propinquo' (Epitome 45).

⁵ See p. 130.

BOOK I. and Merobaudes. Self-interest therefore co-operated
 CH. 3. with loyalty to the family of Valentinian and dread of civil war to make them conspire against his election, and their measures were taken with much dexterity. Merobaudes was absent with Sebastian in the land of the Quadi when the great Emperor closed his eyes at Bregetio. A message was sent, as if in Valentinian's name, concealing the fact of his death to Merobaudes, commanding his immediate return. The keen-witted Frank, suspecting the real state of the case, announced to his soldiers that a barbarian invasion of Gaul necessitated their return to the banks of the Rhine. Having recrossed the Danube, and broken down the bridge of boats to prevent the Quadi from following him, he sent Sebastian, his inferior in command, on some errand which removed him far from the theatre of events. Then returning in haste to the camp, he caused the child Valentinian and his mother to be sent for with all speed from Murocincta. Appealing to that half-formed instinct of loyalty to the children of a dead Emperor, upon which Procopius had traded when he ostentatiously nursed the little Constantia in his arms, Merobaudes and Aequitius presented the beautiful Empress and her child to the assembled soldiery and obtained their acclamations for Valentinian II. Some fear was felt as to the manner in which the news of this further division of the Imperial heritage might be received at Trier and at Antioch; but whatever may have been the feelings of Valens, Gratian at all events recognised the loyalty to his house which had prompted the deed, welcomed his infant brother as a partner of his throne, and showed no disfavour to the authors of his

Valen-
 tinian II
 proclaimed
 Emperor.

elevation¹. In the division of the Empire Gratian reserved for himself the three great Dioceses of Britain, Gaul, and Spain; Justina, in the name of the little Valentinian, and with perhaps some undefined subordination to Gratian, governed Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. The share of Valens remained such as it had been in the lifetime of Valentinian.

The soldiers, of course, obtained their donative, as large a one doubtless as if they had strengthened the Empire by the election of a wise statesman or a valiant soldier. But the curious mixture of elective and hereditary right which characterised this 'family partnership in Empire' was certainly not producing beneficial results for the State. The one strong and capable ruler, Valentinian, having fallen, there were left at the head of affairs an incapable and undignified rustic, lately the lackey of his brother, a bright and winning lad in his teens, and a child under five years of age, necessarily in the leading strings of his beautiful but foolish and impetuous mother. These were not the kind of pilots that the vessel of the State required in the troubled and perilous waters which she was rapidly approaching.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

Character
of the
transac-
tion.

¹ Richter discusses at considerable length (pp. 281-295) the circumstances connected with the elevation of Valentinian II, but in some points his conjectural restoration of the history does not seem to be warranted by the authorities. He says more than the text of Ammianus justifies him in saying as to the unpopularity of the family of Valentinian, and especially of Gratian, with the soldiers at Bregetio; and though Gratian condoned the elevation of his brother, Merobaudes does not appear to have acted so entirely in Gratian's interest as Richter represents. He probably intended to exert a considerable influence on the child-Emperor's government himself, and was in great measure 'fighting for his own hand' at Bregetio.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST YEARS OF VALENS.

Authorities.

Sources :—

- BOOK I.** **AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS ; JORDANES ;** previously described.
CH. 4. **ZOSIMUS** (in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. Edited by Bekker ; Bonn, 1837).
-

The period during which Zosimus flourished cannot be accurately determined. He refers to a hymn composed by the philosopher Syrianus (about 431), and is himself referred to by the Church historian, Evagrius (about 591). These two landmarks give us an interval of 160 years in any part of which he might possibly have lived. One attempt has been made to fix his career to the very beginning of that period, and another to bring it down to the time of Anastasius (491–518) ; but upon the whole, from about 450 to 480 seems the most probable time to which to assign his literary activity. In anticipating some future books of his history (never in fact written), he says (i. 58), ‘ When I shall have come to those times in which the Roman Empire, being barbarised, has been reduced to a little space, and that filled with corruption,’ and in another place (iv. 59), ‘ The Empire of the Romans having been diminished till it has become the home of the barbarians, or else being altogether bereft of its inhabitants, has been brought into such a condition that the cities would not recognise the regions in which they once stood.’ These read like the words of a man who has witnessed the destruction of Aquileia and the Fall of the Western Empire. But we must admit that they might have been written almost at any time between the sack of Rome (410) and the accession of Justinian (527). The title of the work says that Zosimus

was Count and Ex-Advocate of the Treasury. He therefore probably resided at Constantinople. BOOK I.
CH. 4.

The history of Zosimus, which was divided into six books, was intended to trace the decline of the Roman power, as another Greek historian, Polybius, had traced its culmination. It begins with the death of Commodus and ends very abruptly in the year 410, just before Alaric's third siege of Rome. It will be seen therefore that it is not strictly a contemporary authority for any portion of the ground which it covers; but we are able to assert with some confidence who are the authors from whose works it is chiefly compiled. These are DEXIPPUS, whom he has used for the greater part of his first book, EUNAPIUS, upon whom the rest of the first and the whole of the four following books down to the twenty-fifth chapter of the fifth are founded, and OLYMPIODORUS, for the scanty remainder of his work. Dexippus (*cir.* 254–278) was described in the first chapter. Eunapius (*cir.* 347–414) will be noticed in connection with the life of Theodosius, and Olympiodorus (between 400 and 450?) in a later chapter in this book. All three of the authors from whom Zosimus has thus drawn may be considered contemporary authorities of the first class, but it is important to remember that they, like himself, were heathens—Eunapius, a bitter and polemical heathen, and that Zosimus therefore always gives us that view of the history of the times which is least favourable to the Christian Emperors. One of the chief causes to which he attributed the downfall of the Empire, was the abandonment of the old religion and the withdrawal by Theodosius of the sums which had formerly been devoted to the heathen sacrifices (*iv.* 59).

It is somewhat marvellous that the work of such a man who delights in maligning Constantine, Theodosius, and all the Imperial names that were dearest to the Catholic Church should have been preserved through the Middle Ages: but it is a fortunate chance, for this work is often of the highest interest to us as preserving the thoughts and arguments of the advocates of the lost cause, Paganism. A few sentences of Zosimus are probably the best motto that could be chosen for St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, as explaining the thesis which the Christian apologist wishes to disprove.

His fondness for oracles, portents, and old mythological tradi-

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

tions is extraordinary, and often mars the artistic effect of his work. Thus, for instance, in the very crisis of Alaric's march into Italy (408), having mentioned the name of Aemona (Laybach), he interrupts himself in order to repeat a wild story about the Argonauts sailing up the Danube and the Save, and then dragging the Argo fifty miles overland to the Adriatic. His love of the heathen-marvellous is so interesting a fact in the history of human thought, that I have ventured, at some risk of wearying the reader, to transfer some of these stories to my pages.

The ignorance of geography displayed by Zosimus is almost incredible. He confuses the Dniester and the Danube, Lugdunum (*Lyons*) and Singidunum (*Belgrade*) (iv. 35), and he thinks that the Apennine mountains made the frontier of Pannonia and Noricum (v. 29).

His style is often obscure, and it is extremely difficult to discover from his writings the true historical sequence of events. This defect is perhaps partly due to his following Eunapius, who as a professor of rhetoric speaks with unconcealed contempt of chronological accuracy which he leaves to bailiffs and astronomers, deeming it unworthy of an historian (p. 60, ed. Bonn). The bitterness and peevish temper of Zosimus contrast unfavourably with the generally calm and judicial tone of Ammianus. But such as he is, he is almost our only historian deserving of the name, for a space of twenty years (389-409), and the darkness becomes dark indeed when his taper goes out.

By the premature death of Valentinian, his brother, the small-souled, unkingly-looking Valens, obtained the foremost place in the Empire of the world.

Valens at
Antioch.

Not unnaturally, considering the recent fateful encounter between the two monarchies, and the many great qualities of its ruler, Sapor, Persia was the country towards which at this time the eyes of all Romans, at least of all Eastern Romans, were turned with the most anxious apprehensions. Hence it was that, at any rate after the Gothic war was ended, Valens gave the largest share of his time and attention to the affairs of



Armenia and Mesopotamia, and resided generally at Syrian Antioch rather than at Thracian Constantinople. BOOK I.
CH. 4.

As has been already hinted, the zeal shown by Valens in the persecution of those who practised unlawful arts was even fiercer than that of his brother in the West. This persecution raged furiously in the province of Asia and its capital Ephesus, where 'those which used curious arts' were compelled to 'bring their books together' by an influence very different from the persuasive teaching of the Apostle Paul, at the bidding of a fierce proconsul named Festus, who slew and banished relentlessly those suspected of such dark practisings with the infernal powers. There is reason to fear that not only there, but over the whole Roman world, many books which would now be of priceless value, as illustrating the philosophy and theology of the classical nations, perished at this time. Arts of divination.
Zosimus, iv. 15.

One reason why the Emperors and the Provincial governors who did their bidding waged such fierce war against the professors of divination, doubtless was that their art was connected with a certain feverish anxiety as to the political future of the Empire. The one question of most intense interest to the reigning Emperors as well as to millions of their subjects was, 'How long shall we be Emperors, and who will succeed us?' Nor will the nervous interest both of governors and governed in this question seem unnatural, when we remember that the Emperor was the source of all promotion and of all legislation—a Prime Minister, as it were, appointed for life, unchecked by Parliament, and with a chance, but not a certainty, of transmitting his power to his son. Or, to go across the Atlantic for an analogy to his position, if the quadriennial election of

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

the President of the United States raises to fever-pitch the passions of all the army of office-holders, past, present, and to come, much more would the dark possibilities and the dramatic surprises of a change in the Imperial dynasty, stir the hopes or rouse the fears of a population, among whom office of one kind or another was rapidly becoming the only barrier which separated the happy from the destitute.

Affair of
Theodorus.

A few years before the death of Valentinian¹, his younger brother was driven into an agony of cruel terror by the discovery of a meeting somewhat resembling a *séance* of modern Spiritualists, the object of which was to extort from the unseen powers the name of his future successor. There was a certain young man at Antioch, named Theodorus, descended from an ancient family in Gaul, highly educated, modest, self-controlled, one who had reached the important position of an Imperial notary, but who always seemed greater than his office, and marked out by Fate for some higher station than that to which he had already attained. Some persons of rank and influence at Antioch met together, probably under cover of night, to consult the diviners as to the name of the future Emperor. A little tripod ('like a Delphic cauldron'), made of laurel wood and consecrated with mysterious songs and choral dances, was set in the middle of the house, which had

¹ We get the account of this affair of Theodorus from Ammianus, xxix. 1, and Zosimus, iv. 13-15. Ammianus appears to date it in 371, but his narrative does not always strictly follow the chronological order. Tillemont, I know not why, fixes it in 374, and this date has been generally accepted by historians. But, as he himself points out, Themistius in his eleventh oration, uttered in 373, uses language as to a recently discovered conspiracy, which would fit very well this of Theodorus.

been purified by the burning of Arabian spices. The tripod was placed upon a round dish made of diverse metals, and with the twenty-four letters of the alphabet marked upon its circumference. Thereafter entered a person clad in linen and with linen socks upon his feet, bearing in his hand branches of an auspicious tree, who, after again singing a magic song, leaned over the sacred tripod and shook up and down a flaxen thread, very fine, to which a ring was attached. As the ring danced up and down, it touched the letters of the metal dish, and thus words, and sentences, and even hexameter verses like those uttered by the priests of Apollo at Miletus, were delivered to the bystanders. The question was put, 'Who shall succeed the present Emperors?' The ring spelt out the letters ΘΕΟΔ (Theod.¹), and, without waiting for more, all the bystanders agreed that the high-born and accomplished Theodorus would be the future Emperor.

Theodorus himself had not been present at this performance, but when he was informed of it by Euserius, a man of great literary attainments, and who had formerly been Prefect of Asia, his own earnest desire was at once to go and report the whole affair to the Emperor. In an evil hour for himself he was dissuaded from doing so: for as Euserius said to him, 'You are guiltless of any lawless desire to rule: and if Fate have ordained for you that great advancement, nothing that you can do will either help or hinder it.' However, there seems reason to think that the dazzling prospect which the dreams of these diviners opened before Theodorus did in some degree divert him from his duty as a subject,

¹ Ammianus makes the fatal letters only three, but Zosimus and Socrates agree in counting four.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

and that the capital sentence which was pronounced and promptly executed upon him was justified by real acts of *laesa majestas*¹. But when Valens discovered that many of the nobles, officials, and philosophers of Antioch had been engaged in speculations on the contingency of his death, and endeavours to wrest from futurity the name of his successor, his suspicious rage became almost madness. A perfect reign of terror followed. As Theodorus had been a heathen and a friend of the philosophers, the most eminent philosophers of Asia were put to death, the chief among these heathen martyrs being that same Maximus who, years before, had called the attention of his master Julian to Valentinian's contempt of heathen ordinances². A governor of Bithynia, an *ex-vicarius* of Britain, a pro-consul of Asia, two consuls related to the family of the Emperor Constantius, notaries, officers of the palace, and multitudes of smaller officials were accused, and not a few of them were put to death. According to one authority³ many absolutely innocent men, whose names began with the three fated letters, such as Theodorus, Theodotus, Theodosius, Theodulus, and the like, were sacrificed to the Emperor's fears: and many, to avoid the danger to which they found themselves suddenly exposed, changed the names which they had borne from infancy.

¹ 'High Treason.' Both Ammianus and Zosimus seem to admit the justice of the execution of Theodorus. His son, Icarius, who was a poet of some reputation in his day, was apparently Comes Orientis after Proculus had been removed from that office (about 384). He wrote a poem in praise of the Emperor Theodosius (cf. Sievers: *Das Leben des Libanius*, p. 163).

² See p. 132.

³ Socrates, iv. 19.

While the leaders in the spiritualistic adventure were suffering the torture¹ to which even Roman citizens were now liable to be subjected when the safety of the Emperor was at stake, the taunting question was put to them, 'Did the divination which you practised foretell your present tortures?' Upon which they uttered some oracular verses which seem almost to have passed into a proverb² clearly foretelling death as the penalty for those who like them had sought to pry into futurity, but also containing dark hints of retribution at the hands of the Furies, of fire and blood-stained garments awaiting the Emperor and his servants. The last three lines of the oracle gasped out by the groaning victims ran thus :

'Not unavenged our blood shall sink to the ground, for against you
Glooming Tisiphoné shall array portentous destruction,
All in the plains of *Mimas* when Ares rages around you.'

At the time of Valentinian's death, the fury of this persecution of the philosophers and the diviners had already abated, but, especially at Antioch, it had left a peculiar mental reaction behind it. The dwellers in the soft and licentious city by the Orontes seem to have settled down into a state of apathetic discontent, varied by anticipations, to themselves only half intelligible, of some terrible approaching doom. In after time, when the doom had fallen, men remembered what presages might have been drawn from the dismal cry of birds at night, from the howls of wolves, and the unusual mists which had so often blotted out the sunrise. Nay, the

¹ 'Fodicatis lateribus' (Amm. Mar. xxix. i. 33). This form of torture seems to have consisted in lacerating the sides of the victim with an iron claw (ungula).

² 'Versus illos notissimos' (Amm. Mar. u. s.).

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

Ammi-
anus, xxxi.
J. 2.

mouths of men, as on so many previous occasions of impending disaster to the State, had uttered unconsciously the plainest prophecies. When any of the common people of Antioch imagined himself wronged, he would cry out in the meaningless slang of the streets, 'May Valens be burned alive [if I will put up with this]!' And as the Emperor had presented the city with one of those usual tokens of Imperial munificence, a magnificent range of *Thermae* (hot baths), one might hear every morning the voices of the town-criers calling to the people, 'Bring wood, bring wood, bring wood, to heat the baths of Valens.' Men looked back afterwards upon these and similar presages, and wondered that they had been so blind to the signs of coming woe.

Irruption
of the
Huns.
372!

Meanwhile, in the steppes of Astrakhan, and on the northern slopes of the Caucasus, events were progressing among unknown and squalid barbarians, which, co-operating with the internal rottenness of the Empire, were to bring about not only the violent death of Valens, but many another change of more enduring consequence. The *Huns*, a nation whom we may, with sufficient, if not with scientific accuracy, describe as a vast Tartar horde, allured or impelled from Asia by some unknown force, fell first upon the Tartar or semi-Tartar nation of the Alani, who dwelt between the Volga and the Don, slew many, and made vassal-confederates of the rest, and with forces thus swollen pressed on toward the broad domains of Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths.

It will be necessary, when the descendants of these invaders in the third generation dash themselves upon the Roman legions, to consider their ethnological position somewhat more closely. At present the collision

is only Hun against Goth, and therefore it is sufficient to learn from the pages of Jordanes what the Goth thought of these new and unexpected enemies. This is what he says in the twenty-fourth chapter of his book 'on Gothic affairs.'

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

'We have ascertained that the nation of the Huns, who surpassed all others in atrocity, came thus into being. When Filimer, fifth king of the Goths after their departure from Sweden, was entering Scythia, with his people, as we have before described, he found among them certain sorcerer-women, whom they call in their native tongue Haliorunnas (or Al-runas), whom he suspected and drove forth from the midst of his army into the wilderness. The unclean spirits that wander up and down in desert places, seeing these women, made concubines of them ; and from this union sprang that most fierce people [of the Huns], who were at first little, foul, emaciated creatures, dwelling among the swamps, and possessing only the shadow of human speech by way of language.'

Gothic tradition
about the
origin of
the Huns.

'According to Priscus they settled first on the further [eastern] shore of the Sea of Azof, lived by hunting, and increased their substance by no kind of labour, but only by defrauding and plundering their neighbours. Once upon a time, when they were out hunting beside the Sea of Azof, a hind suddenly appeared before them, and having entered the waters of that shallow sea, now stopping, now dashing forward, seemed to invite the hunters to follow on foot. They did so, through what they had before supposed to be trackless sea with no land beyond it, till at length the shore of Scythia [Southern Russia] lay before them. As soon as they set foot upon it, the stag that had guided them thus

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

far mysteriously disappeared. This, I trow, was done by those evil spirits that begat them, for the injury of the Scythians [Goths]. But the hunters who had lived in complete ignorance of any other land beyond the Sea of Azof were struck with admiration of the Scythian land and deemed that a path known to no previous age had been divinely revealed to them. They returned to their comrades to tell them what had happened, and the whole nation resolved to follow the track thus opened out before them. They crossed that vast pool, they fell like a human whirlwind on the nations inhabiting that part of Scythia, and offering up the first tribes whom they overcame, as a sacrifice to victory, suffered the others to remain alive, but in servitude.

‘ With the Alani especially, who were as good warriors as themselves, but somewhat less brutal in appearance and manner of life, they had many a struggle, but at length they wearied out and subdued them. For, in truth, they derived an unfair advantage from the intense hideousness of their countenances. Nations whom they would never have vanquished in fair fight fled horrified from those frightful—faces I can hardly call them, but rather—shapeless black collops of flesh, with little points instead of eyes. No hair on their cheeks or chins gives grace to adolescence or dignity to age, but deep furrowed scars instead, down the sides of their faces, show the impress of the iron which with characteristic ferocity they apply to every male child that is born among them, drawing blood from its cheeks before it is allowed its first taste of milk. They are little in stature, but lithe and active in their motions, and especially skilful in riding, broad-shouldered, good at the use of the bow and arrows, with sinewy necks, and always

holding their heads high in their pride. To sum up, these beings under the form of man hide the fierce nature of the beast.' BOOK I.
CH. 4.

Such was the impression made upon the mind of the European barbarian by his first contact with the Asiatic savage. The moment was an eventful one in the history of the world. Hitherto, since the great migration of the Aryan nations, Europe had arranged her own destinies, unmolested by any Asiatic invaders save the great armaments which at the bidding of Darius and Xerxes marched onwards to their doom. Now the unconscious prototypes of Zinghis Khan, of Timour, and of Bajazet had come from the steppes of Turkestan to add their element of complication to the mighty problem. Historical
importance
of this
Asiatic
migration.

It need not be said that the narrative of Jordanes is not here offered as trustworthy history. The battles with the Alani must in all probability have been over before the Huns first saw the Sea of Azof, and the latter squalid tribe were no more descended from Gothic women than from demon-fathers. But the passage is worth reading, and even reading again, for the vividness with which it brings the new in-comers into Europe before our eyes, and contrasts them with other tribes, like them in the deadliness of their onset against Rome, but unlike in all else.

The fair-haired, fair-skinned, long-bearded and majestic Goth on the one hand ; the little swarthy smooth-faced Tartar Hun on the other : here the shepherd merging into the agriculturist, there the mere hunter : here the barbarian standing on the very threshold of civilisation, there the irreclaimable savage : here a nation already in great measure accepting the faith of Contrast
between
Goths and
Huns.

BOOK I. Christ and reading the Scriptures in their own tongue,
 CH. 4. there brutal heathens. Such was the chasm which separated the Goths and the Teutons generally from the Huns.

After the Alani of the Don¹ were beaten down into subjection, the Huns with a sudden rush broke in upon the wide-spreading and comparatively fertile districts² which owned the sway of Hermanric, king of the Greuthungi or Ostrogoths. The great king—the new Alexander, as his Greek neighbours called him, when they wished to propitiate his favour—was now in extreme old age, verging, if we may believe Jordanes, on a hundred years and ten. His rule over the nominally subject tribes around him was probably loose and ill compacted, and some of them eagerly caught at the opportunity afforded by the Hunnish invasion to break loose from his empire. Among the revolters was ‘the faithless nation of the Rosomoni³,’ whose king seems to have deserted the Ostrogothic standard on the field of battle, perhaps in the first skirmish with the Hunnish invaders. In his rage Hermanric took a cruel and cowardly revenge. As the king had escaped from his power, he ordered Sunilda, his wife, to be torn in

¹ ‘Halanorum quos Greuthungis confines Tanaitas consuetudo nominavit’ (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 3). Apparently, therefore, the Alani, like the Cossacks of later times, took a surname from the great river by which they dwelt.

² ‘Ermenrichi late patentes et uberes pagos repentino impetu per-ruperunt’ (Ibid.).

³ ‘Rosomonorum gens infida’ (Jordanes, xxiv). All this story about Sunilda is peculiar to Jordanes, and is probably part of some old Gothic saga. Von Wietersheim has pointed out that a story somewhat similar to this is told in the Eddas, of Svanhild as the daughter of Sigurd Fafnisbane, her husband Jörmunrek (Hermanric), and her sons Sörli and Hamdie (Sarus and Ammius).

pieces by wild horses. Her brothers, Sarus and Ammius, took up the blood-feud, and though they failed to kill Hermanric, wounded him severely in the side. The wound prevented him from going forth to battle: his warriors everywhere yielded to the terrible Asiatics: the Visigoths came not to help their Ostrogothic overlord: in despair at having lived so long, only to see the ruin of his empire, the aged Hermanric escaped from his troubles by suicide¹. The power of the Ostrogoths was broken, and Balamber, king of the Huns, was now supreme in Scythia. Hunimund, son of Hermanric, was permitted to become king of the Ostrogoths, but on condition of accepting the over-lordship of the Huns: and for the following eighty years his people had no other position than that of a subject race in the great and loosely-knit Hunnish confederacy².

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

Death of
Herman-
ric.
375¹

Overthrow
of the Os-
trogothic
Empire.

¹ 'Magnorum discriminum metum voluntariâ morte sedavit' (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 3). Jordanes, though he cleverly contrives to avoid saying so much as this, not obscurely hints it.

² The inclination of the German critics is to spread the 'Hunnen-einfall' over five years, thus: '372, attack upon the Alani; 374-375, overthrow of the Ostrogoths; 375-376, defeats of Athanaric.' There is a good deal to be said in support of this view, and there can be little doubt that at least the wars with the Alani were over before the commencement of 376. Against any further extension of the time are to be set the strong expressions of Jordanes and Ammianus as to the rapidity of the Hunnish conquests ('ad Scythiam properant quasi quidam turbo gentium,' says Jordanes. 'Ermenrichi late patentibus et uberibus pagis repentino impetu perruperunt qui vi subitae procellae percussus voluntariâ morte sedavit;') 'Cujus post obitum rex Vithimiris creatus restitit aliquantisper Halanis' are the words of Ammianus), and the entry in one of the Latin Chronicles (Descriptio Consulum Idatio Episcopo adscripta), which seems to assign the whole Hunno-Gothic campaign to the year 376 ('Valente Aug. V. et Valentiniano Juniore Augusto. His consulibus victi et expulsi sunt Gothi a gente Unorum et suscepti sunt in Romaniâ pro misericordiâ jussione Augusti Valentis'). I do not see that the point is one of

BOOK I.
CH. 4.
376.

There was, indeed, a small section of the community which chose Withimir (or Winithar) of the royal race of the Amals, but not a son of Hermanric, for their king, and under his leadership attempted a brave but hopeless resistance to the overpowering enemy¹. After much slaughter he was slain in battle, and the remnant of the people, under the nominal sovereignty of the boy Wideric, son of the late king, but really led by his guardians, Alatheus and Saphrax, made their way westwards to the Dniester, and joined apparently in the defence which their Visigothic kinsmen were making by that river.

Defeat of
Athanaric
by the
Huns.
376.

For the refusal of the Visigoths to answer the call of Hermanric had brought them no immunity from the attacks of the terrible invaders. The swarthy riders on their little ponies had soon swept across the plains traversed by the Dnieper and the Boug, and Athanaric found that he had to fight for his kingdom and his life against an enemy very different from the warily marching legions of Valens. He pitched his camp by the margin of the Dniester, and apparently fortified an earthen rampart which marked the confines of the Ostrogothic and Visigothic territory². He sent forward Munderic (who much consequence. The really important event, the hurling of the Visigoths against the Danube frontier of the Empire, unquestionably took place in 376.

¹ The Huns seem to have left the work of crushing this inconsiderable resistance to their confederates the Alani (see quotation from Ammianus in the preceding note).

² 'Castris denique prope Danasti margines ac Greuthungorum vallem (?) longius oportune metatis' (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 3). I venture to suggest 'vallum' for 'vallem.' When so large a tract of country belonged to the Greuthungi, why should one valley be called 'Greuthungorum vallis'? 'Vallum,' on the other hand, gives a perfect sense.

afterwards entered the Imperial service and was a general on the Arabian frontier) with a colleague named Lagariman and other Gothic nobles, to a distance of twenty miles, to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy, and meanwhile he drew up his army in battle-array. All was leisurely, calm, and apparently scientific in the movements of the Gothic 'Judex': but, unfortunately, he had to deal with an utterly unscientific foe. The Huns, cleverly conjecturing where the main bulk of the Gothic army was posted, avoided that part of the river, found out a ford at some distance, crossed it by moonlight, and fell upon the flank of the unsuspecting Athanaric before a single scout gave notice of their approach. The Goth, stupefied by their onslaught, and dismayed by the death of several of his chiefs, withdrew to the territory of his friendly neighbours, the Taifali, and began to construct a fortified position for the remnant of his army between the mountains of Transylvania and the river Sereth¹. The Huns pursued him for some distance: but, loaded with spoil and, perhaps, well-nigh sated with killing, they soon relaxed the eagerness of their pursuit.

Meanwhile, the tidings 'that a new and hitherto unknown race of men had fallen like an avalanche' upon the supposed invincible Hermanric and Athanaric spread far and wide throughout the region of 'Gothia,' and everywhere seems to have produced the same feeling, 'We must put the Danube between us and the

Wide-spread
terror
of the
Visigoths,

¹ Thus, as Von Wietersheim points out, we must probably correct the words of Ammianus, 'a superciliis Gerasi fluminis ad usque Danubium . . . muros altius erigebat.' It is almost certain that Athanaric would construct his line of defence westward to the mountains, not eastward to the Danube.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

376.

foe.' It was one of those epidemics of terror which are sometimes found among half-civilised races, unworthy, certainly, of a brave and high-spirited people, but due in part to the superstitious imaginations described by Jordanes. A Visigothic chief, named Alavivus, was the leader of the new migration, but Fritigern was his second in command, and seems gradually to have obtained the foremost place. If the Goths were to obtain a footing on the Roman side of the broad and strong stream, watched as it was by the legions and ships of the Emperor, it could be only as the result of friendly negotiations with Valens; and who so fitting to commence these negotiations as Fritigern, the convert to Christianity, and the faithful advocate of the Roman alliance?

who flock
to the
Danubian
frontier of
the Em-
pire.

So now was seen by those who looked across from the Bulgarian to the Wallachian shore (from Moesia to Dacia, if we use the contemporary geographical terms) a sight the like of which has not often been witnessed in history since the dismayed armies of the Israelites stood beside the Red Sea. It is thus described by the contemporary historian Eunapius¹.

'The multitude of the Scythians [Goths] escaping from the murderous savagery of the Huns, who spared not the life of woman or of child, amounted to not less than 200,000 men of fighting age [besides old men, women, and children]. These, standing upon the river-bank in a state of great excitement, stretched out their hands from afar with loud lamentations, and earnestly supplicated that they might be allowed to cross over the river, bewailing the calamity that had befallen them, and promising that they would faithfully adhere

¹ P. 48 (Bonn ed.).

to the Imperial alliance if this boon were granted them.'

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

The authorities of the province to whom this request was made, answered, reasonably enough, that they could not grant it upon their own responsibility, but must refer it to the Emperor at Antioch, in whose council the question was long and earnestly debated. The statesmen of the Empire had indeed come, though they knew it not, to one of the great moments in the history of Rome, to one of those crises when a Yes or a No modifies the course of events for centuries. There was danger, no doubt, in keeping two hundred thousand warriors, maddened by fear and famine, at bay upon the frontiers of the Empire; yet, encumbered as they were by the presence of their wives and children, they would hardly have succeeded in crossing the river in the Emperor's despite¹. There was danger in admitting them within that river-bulwark: yet, for the greater part of a century, they had been the faithful allies of Rome; they recognised the binding force of a solemn covenant; they were rapidly coming under the influence of civilisation and Christianity. Bringing, as they proposed to bring, their wives and children with them, they gave some pledges to Fortune, and, if they had been justly dealt with, might probably in the course of years have become attached to their Moesian homes, and have formed an iron rampart for the Empire against further barbarian invasion. Or, if this attempt to constitute

376.
Debates at
Antioch as
to the re-
ception of
the Goths
within the
Empire.

¹ Some of the bolder warriors did attempt forcibly to cross the Danube. Many were drowned, and those who effected a landing were cut to pieces by the Roman soldiers on the opposite shore. The officers who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of this resistance were cashiered by Valens, and narrowly escaped being themselves put to death (Eunapius, p. 49, and Amm. Mar. xxxi. 4-5).

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

376.

them armed defenders of the Roman soil were too venturesome, they might possibly, in that extreme need of theirs, have been constrained into peaceful pursuits, if the surrender of their arms had been made an indispensable condition of their entrance upon Roman territory.

Mistaken
policy of
Valens.

Unfortunately, in that supreme crisis of the Empire, the mediocre intellect and feeble will of Valens, guided by the advice of men who were accomplished only in flattery¹, decided upon a course which united every possible danger, and secured no possible advantage. His vanity was gratified by the thought that so many stalwart warriors did but crave permission to become his servants. His parsimony—the best trait in his character—discerned a means of filling the Imperial treasury by accepting the unpaid services of these men, while still levying on the provinces the tax which was supposed to be devoted to the hire of military substitutes for the provincials². His unslumbering jealousy of his young and brilliant nephew, Gratian, suggested that in the newly enlisted Goths might one day be found a counterpoise to the veteran legions of Gaul. Moved by these considerations, he decided to transport the fugitives across the Danube. At the same time he laid upon them conditions hard and ignominious, but which if once named ought to have been rigidly enforced; and he himself, by the necessity of the case, contracted obligations to them which it would have required the highest degree of administrative ability to

¹ 'Eruditis adulatoribus' (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 4. 4).

² 'Et pro militari supplemento, quod provinciatim annum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus' (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 4. 4).

discharge. All these details—and it was a case in which details were everything—he left in the hands of dishonest and incapable subordinates, without, apparently, bestowing on them a day of his own thought and labour; and those subordinates, as naturally as possible, brought the Empire to ruin. Notwithstanding the often-quoted saying about ‘the little wisdom with which the world is governed,’ the Divine Providence does generally, in administration as in other branches of conduct, reward human foresight with success: and it branded the haphazard blundering of Valens with signal and disastrous failure.

The conditions upon which the Emperor permitted, and even undertook to accomplish, the transportation of the Goths to the territory of the Empire, were, first, that all the boys who were not yet fit for military service (that is, no doubt, all those whose fathers were men of influence in the Gothic host) should be given up as hostages, and distributed in different parts of the Empire; and second, that the weapons should be handed over to the Roman officials, and that every Goth who crossed the river should do so absolutely unarmed. Later and ecclesiastical historians have added, and laid great stress upon, a third condition, that they should all embrace Christianity, of course in its Arian form; but this stipulation, which is not mentioned by any contemporary authority, and is in itself unlikely, has been probably introduced from some confused remembrance of the previous dealings between Valens and Fritigern, dealings in which the weight of the Imperial name does seem to have been thrown into the scale of Christianity, as understood by the Arians. We may probably, however, conclude with

BOOK I.
Ch. 4.
376.

The conditions imposed on the Goths.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

376.

safety, that the only Goths to whom liberty to cross the river was voluntarily conceded by the Emperor were these Christian clients of his, the followers of Fritigern.

but not enforced by the officers of Valens.

The conditions which were imposed destroyed all the grace of the Imperial concession, wounded the home-loving, war-loving Goth in his affections and his pride, and brought him, with a rankling sense of injury in his heart, within the limits of the Empire. But having been imposed, these conditions should have been impartially enforced. As it was, the one stipulation which had now become all-important was disgracefully neglected by the two officers, Lupicinus, Count of Thrace, and Maximus (probably Duke of Moesia¹), who had charge of the transportation of the barbarians. All day and all night, for many days and nights, the Roman ships of war were crossing and recrossing the stream, conveying to the Moesian shore a multitude which they tried in vain to number. But as they landed, the Roman centurions, thinking only of the shameful plunder to be secured for themselves or their generals, picking out here a fair-faced damsel or a handsome boy for the gratification of the vilest lust, there appropriating household slaves for the service of the villa or strong labourers for the farm, elsewhere pillaging from the waggons the linen tissues or costly fringed carpets which had contributed to the state of the late lords of Dacia²—intent on all these mean or

¹ Tillemont gives him this title, but I am not able to trace his authority for it. Ammianus calls him, I think, only 'dux exitiosus.'

² Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτραπέντες ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν διαβεβηκότων ἤρα παιδαρίου τινὸς λευκοῦ καὶ χαρίεντος τὴν ὄψιν, ὁ δὲ ἡλέει γυναικὸς εὐπροσώπου τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ὃς δὲ ἦν αἰχμαλώτος ὑπὸ παρθένου, τοὺς δὲ τὸ μέγεθος κατεῖχε τῶν δώρων, τὰ τε

abominable depredations, suffered the warriors of the tribe to march past them with swelling hearts, and with the swords which were to avenge all these injuries not extracted from their scabbards. This hateful picture of sensuality and fatuous greed is drawn for us, not by a Goth, but by two Roman historians¹; and in looking upon it we seem to understand more clearly why Rome must die.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.
376.

As the expressed condition on the part of the Goths—the surrender of their arms—was recklessly left unenforced, so the implied condition on the part of the Romans—the feeding of the new settlers—was criminally ignored. It did not require any great gift of statesmanship to see that so large a multitude, suddenly transplanted into an already occupied country, would require for a time some special provision for their maintenance. Corn should have been stored ready for them in the centre town of each district, and those who could not buy, as many could have done, the food needful for their families, should have been permitted to labour for it at some useful work of fortification or husbandry. But everything was left to chance: chance, of course, meant famine; and, according to the concurrent testimony of Goths and Romans², even famine itself was made more severe by the ‘forestalling and regrating’ of Lupicinus and Maximus. These men sold to the strangers at a great price, first beef and mutton, then the flesh of dogs (requisitioned from the Roman inhabitants), diseased meat and filthy offal. The price

Neglect of
Commis-
sariat.

λινὰ ὑφάσματα καὶ τὸ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα θυσιανοειδές (Eunapius, pp. 49, 50).

¹ Zosimus and Eunapius.

² Jordanes and Ammianus.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

376-7.

of provisions rose with terrible rapidity. The hungry Visigoths would sell a slave—they evidently still possessed slaves—for a single loaf, or pay ten pounds of silver (equivalent to 40*l.* sterling) for one joint of meat. Slaves, money, and furniture being all exhausted, they began—even the nobles of the nation¹—to sell their own children. Deep must have been the misery endured by those free German hearts before they yielded to the cruel logic of the situation. ‘Better that our children live as slaves, than that they perish before our eyes of hunger.’

Gothic discontent.

Through the winter months of 376-377, apparently, this systematic robbery went on, and still the Goths would not break their plighted faith to the Emperor. Even as in reading the ghastly history of the Terror in 1793 we are bound to keep ever in memory the miserable lot of the French peasant under the *ancien régime*, so the thought of this cold and calculated cruelty, inflicted by men who had agreed to receive them as allies, and who called themselves their brothers in the faith of Christ, should be present to our minds when we hear of the cruel revenges which in Thrace, in Greece, and in Italy, ‘Gothia’ took on Rome. At length murmurs of discontent reached the ears of Lupicinus, who concentrated his forces round the Gothic settlements. The movement was perceived and taken advantage of by the Ostrogothic chieftains, Alatheus and Saphrax, who, with the young King Wideric under their charge, after sharing in Athanaric’s campaign against the Huns, had fled to the Danube shore and had asked in vain for the same permission that was

¹ ‘Mancipia, inter quae et filii ducti sunt optimatum’ (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 4. 11).

accorded to the Christian Visigoths. Watching their opportunity, they made a dash across the Danube, probably lower down the stream than the point where their countrymen had crossed. Thus the peril of Moesia, already sufficiently grave, was increased by the arrival of a new and considerable host, who were bound by no compact with the Empire, and had given no hostages of their fidelity. Fritigern, who was not yet prepared for an open breach with the Romans, but nevertheless would fain fortify himself by an alliance with these powerful chiefs, slowly marched towards Marcianople¹, the capital of the Lower (or Eastern) division of Moesia. When he arrived there, with his comrade in arms Alavivus, an event occurred which turned discontent into rebellion, and suspicion into deadly hate. The story is thus told by Jordanes, with some added details from Ammianus.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

377.

‘It happened in that miserable time that the Roman general, Lupicinus, invited the kings Alavivus and Fritigern to a banquet, at which, as the event showed, he plotted their destruction. But the chiefs, suspecting no guile, went with a small retinue to the feast. Meanwhile the multitude of the barbarians thronged to the gates of the town, and claimed their right as loyal subjects of the Empire to buy the provisions which they had need of in the market. By order of Lupicinus the soldiers pushed them back to a distance from the city. A quarrel arose, and a band

*Banquet at
Marcia-
nople.*

¹ Marcianople corresponds to the modern *Shumla*. The strength of this position as commanding several of the Balkan passes, and near both to the Danube and the Euxine, has been sufficiently impressed upon us by recent events. It and Hadrianople were the great arsenals of Moesia and Thrace, respectively.

BOOK I. of the soldiers were slain and stripped by the barbarians. News of this disturbance was brought to

CH. 4.

377.

Lupicinus as he was sitting at his gorgeous banquet, watching the comic performers and heavy with wine and sleep. He at once ordered that all the Gothic soldiers, who, partly to do honour to their rank, and partly as a guard to their persons, had accompanied the generals into the palace, should be put to death. Thus, while Fritigern was at the banquet, he heard the cry of men in mortal agony, and soon ascertained that it proceeded from his own followers shut up in another part of the palace, whom the Roman soldiers at the command of their general were attempting to butcher. He drew his sword in the midst of the banqueters, exclaimed that he alone could pacify the tumult which had been raised among his followers, and rushed out of the dining-hall with his companions. They were received with shouts of joy by their countrymen outside; they mounted their horses and rode away, determined to revenge their slaughtered comrades¹.

‘Delighted to march once more under the generalship of one of the bravest of men, and to exchange the prospect of death by hunger for death on the battlefield, the Goths at once rose in arms. Lupicinus, with no proper preparation, joined battle with them at the ninth milestone from Marcianople, was defeated, and only saved himself by a shameful flight. The barbarians equipped themselves with the arms of the slain legionaries, and in truth that day ended in one

¹ It seems possible that Alavivus was slain at the banquet. Ammianus, who has scrupulously mentioned his name with Fritigern's up to this point, now speaks of him no more.

blow the hunger of the Goths and the security of the Romans; for the Goths began thenceforward to comport themselves no longer as strangers but as inhabitants, and as lords to lay their commands upon the tillers of the soil throughout all the Northern provinces¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

377.

After war had been thus declared, Fritigern, elated with his success, marched across the Balkans, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. There the incredible folly of the Roman officials, who seem to have been determined 'not to leave one fault uncommitted,' threw another strong Gothic reinforcement into his arms. There were two chieftains named Sueridus and Colias, possibly belonging to the 'Gothi Minores' of Ulfilas, who had long ago entered the service of the Empire, and who were now from their winter-quarters at Hadrianople placidly beholding the contest, without any disposition to side with their invading kinsmen. Suddenly orders arrived from the Emperor that the troops under their command were to march to the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. The leaders prepared to obey, but made the perfectly reasonable proposal that they should receive an allowance for the expenses of the march, rations for the journey, and be allowed a delay of two days to complete their preparations. Some old grudge connected with depredations committed by the Goths on their property in the suburbs prompted the magistrates of the city to refuse the request; nay more, to arm

Sueridus
and Colias
driven into
rebellion.

¹ Jordanes, cap. xxvi; Amm. Mar. xxxi. 5. There are slight differences between the two narratives which make it not easy satisfactorily to combine them. Jordanes especially makes no mention of Alavivus.

BOOK I. the smiths, of whom there was a large number in
 CH. 4.

377.

Hadrianople, the chief arsenal of Thrace, to sound the trumpets, and to threaten Sueridus and Colias with instant destruction unless they immediately obeyed the Emperor's orders. The Goths at first stood still, unable to comprehend the meaning of this outburst of petulance, but when scowling looks were succeeded by taunting words, and these by actual missiles from the armed artisans, they willingly accepted the offered challenge and fought. Soon a crowd of Romans were lying dead in the streets of Hadrianople. According to the usual custom even of Roman warfare the Goths despoiled the corpses of their arms, and then they marched out of the town to join their countryman Fritigern. The united forces attempted a siege of the city, but in vain; and with an exclamation from Fritigern, 'I do not make war on stone walls,' they broke up their camp and streamed westward and southward through the Rhodope valleys and over the rich province of Thrace¹. From every quarter the enslaved Goths hastened to the uplifted standard of 'the bravest of men,' eager to avenge upon their oppressors the insults and the blows which they had received since that shameful day of the passage of the Danube.

The Goths
 ravage
 Thrace.

These, and some deserters from among the poorer Provincials², were of great service to the barbarian

¹ For convenience sake I use Thrace in the classical sense, as representing the country between the Balkans and the Aegean. Official Thrace at this time reached northwards to the Danube.

² Ammianus says that 'to these were joined several persons skilled in tracking out veins of gold, who were not able to bear the heavy burdens of the taxes, and being received with the willing consent of all, they were of great use to the invaders of an unknown country in pointing out the hidden stores of corn and the lurking-places of the

leaders in guiding them to the lurking-places of wealthy Romans, and the secret stores of corn and treasure. Pillage, conflagration, murder, were universal in all the country districts of Thrace. Little children were slain before the eyes of their mothers, and old men, stripped of all their wealth, lamenting their ruined homesteads, and crying out 'that they had already lived too long,' were dragged away into slavery among the barbarians.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.
377.

When the news of this disastrous issue of the Gothic migration reached the Emperor at Antioch, it naturally plunged him in the deepest anxiety. Yet he left the campaign of 377 to be fought out by his generals, and did not that year appear himself upon the scene. He at once patched up a peace with Persia, withdrew his troops from Armenia, and sent them straight to the field of action in Thrace under two generals, Profuturus and Trajan, whose self-confidence, we are told, was greater than their capacity. Gratian also spared some troops from Gaul, under the command of Richomer, who held the high office of 'Count of the Domestics,' but their numbers were considerably lessened by desertion before they reached the foe.

Action
taken by
Valens.

Ammianus blames the strategy of the generals of Valens, who, he thinks, should have avoided anything like a pitched battle with the Goths, and should have gradually worn them down by frequent and harassing encounters. But it is plain that they succeeded in clearing first the Rhodope country, and then the line

fugitives' (xxxi. 6. 6). We learn from Vegetius (a contemporary writer on military affairs) that the Roman generals always endeavoured to have some of these very Thracian miners in their armies in order to conduct the subterranean operations of a siege (iv. 24).

BOOK I. of the Balkans, of the Gothic army (though detached
 CH. 4. bands of plunderers still loitered in the south), and at
 377. last the three generals sat down before the barbarian
 camp at a place called 'The Willows' (Ad Salices), in the
 region which we now call the Dobrudscha, between the
 Danube and the Sea. That the tide of battle should
 have rolled so far northward seems to show that the
 Roman generals had not greatly failed in their campaign.

Drawn
 battle
 of 'Ad
 Salices.'

A bloody but indecisive battle followed, of which Ammianus has given us a striking if somewhat turgid description. We see the Goths in their great round encampment of waggons which they themselves called 'carrago,' and with which their Dutch kinsmen in South Africa have lately made us familiar under the name of 'the laager camp¹.' Those fiery spirits hoped to win the battle on the previous evening. They now pass the night in sleepless excitement, varied by a prolonged supper. The Romans also remain awake, but rather from anxiety than hope. Then with the dawn of day the barbarians, according to their usual custom, renew to one another their oaths of fidelity in battle. The Romans sing a martial song, rising *crescendo* from the lower notes to the higher, which is known to their nation as the *barritus*. The barbarians, with less of harmony, make the air resound with the praises of their martial ancestors. (Would that the historian could have taken down for us from the mouth of some captive Goth a specimen of one of these ancestral songs!) Then the Goths try, but not with great success, to gain some rising ground from which they may rush down in fury on the foe. The

¹ 'Ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digestâ plaustrorum tamquam intramuranis cohibitum spatiis' (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 7. 5).

missile weapons fly, the Romans, joining shield to shield, form the celebrated *testudo*, and advance with firm step. The barbarians dash down upon them their great clubs, whose blackened ends are hardened in the fire, or stab those who resist most obstinately with the points of their swords. Thus for a time they break the left wing of the Imperial army, but a strong support comes up, and the Roman line is restored. The hail of flying javelins rattles on unceasingly. The horsemen on both sides pursue the fugitives, striking at their heads and backs; the foot-soldiers follow, and hamstring the fallen to prevent their continuing their escape. So, while both nations are fighting with undiminished ardour, the sun goes down upon scenes whose ghastliness our historian describes with unnecessary minuteness, and after all the battle of the Salices is neither lost nor won. Next day the bodies of the chiefs on both sides are buried. Those of the common soldiers are left to the vultures, which at that time fed fat upon human flesh. Years after, Ammianus himself appears to have seen the heaps of whitened bones which still denoted the site of the great battle¹.

After this indecisive battle the Goths remained 'in laager' for seven days. The Romans retired to Marcianople, but succeeded, owing to the inactivity of the

¹ 'Reliqua peremptorum corpora dirae volucres consumpserunt, adsuetae illo tempore cadaveribus pasci, ut indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi.' Compare Claudian (writing of these times but of a slightly different place)—

'Dicite, Bisaltae, vel qui Pangaea juvencis
Scinditis, offenso quantae sub vomere putres
Dissiliant glebis galeae, vel qualia rastris
Ossa peremptorum resonent immania regum.'

In Prim. Cons. Stilichonis, i. 134-7.

BOOK I. barbarians, in shutting many detached parties of the
 CH. 4. Goths into sequestered valleys among the Balkans,
 377-8. where they perished of famine. Richomer, however, in
 the autumn returned to Gaul, which was believed to be
 in danger of invasion; and, perhaps in consequence of
 this diminution of the Imperial forces, before the close
 of the year, we find the Goths again holding the
 Balkan line against Saturninus, Master of the Horse,
 who had been sent to reinforce Trajan and Profuturus:
 and not only so, but having sent invitations to some of
 their late enemies, the Huns and the Alani—for by this
 time the Roman was even more hateful than the Hun
 —they again burst into Thrace, where they committed
 a fresh series of outrages, the heightened brutality of
 which seems to be due to the presence of their Tartar
 auxiliaries.

Coalition of
 Goths and
 Huns
 against
 Rome.

In the mournful procession that followed in the train
 of the invaders might be seen mothers with their new-
 born children in their arms, scarred by the lash of the
 slave-driver, tender and delicate women longing in vain
 for death to free them from foreseen dishonour, wealthy
 nobles hurried away from the smoking ruins of their
 villas and bewailing the caprice of Fortune, which in a
 moment had given them in exchange for lordship and
 luxury, the prospect of the barbarian torture-chamber,
 the ignominy of the barbarian master's scourge.

Success of
 Frigeridus.

The Teutonic invaders, however, were by no means
 uniformly victorious. A general named Frigeridus (pro-
 bably of Frankish extraction) had been sent by Gratian
 into the Thracian provinces, and had strongly entrenched
 himself near Beroea. He had shown hitherto but little
 energy, being, as his friends said, at times incapacitated
 by cruel attacks of gout, while his enemies insinuated

that the gout was rather the consequence than the cause of his inactivity. Now, however, by one successful stroke he redeemed his military character. The Taifali, a satellite-tribe of the great Gothic confederacy, had crossed the undefended Danubè, and under the leadership of a Gothic noble named Farnobius, were roaming over Thrace and Macedon, doing the usual work of devastation. Frigeridus waited till they came near his entrenchments, then sallied forth and inflicted upon them a well-aimed and successful stroke. Farnobius was slain, and the whole band of Taifali and accompanying Goths might have been cut to pieces. But Frigeridus, when they were at his mercy, granted their prayer for life, and sent them into Italy to cultivate as *coloni* the rich alluvial plains in the neighbourhood of Modena, Reggio, and Parma. We do not hear again of these involuntary emigrants, but the fact that such a settlement was desirable or even possible in the fertile valley of the Po shows what desolations had begun to reveal themselves even in the very heart of the Empire. After this victory Frigeridus, who seems to have thoroughly shaken off his former lethargy, set himself to work to fortify the passes of the Balkans, and especially that most important pass, then known as the pass of Succi, in later times as the Iron Gate or Trajan's Gate, over which runs the road from Sophia to Philippopolis. Could his wise defensive policy have been maintained, Thrace at any rate would have been kept clear from the Gothic ravagers, even if Moesia were abandoned to their devastation. But, apparently in the winter of 377, Frigeridus was relieved of the command of the Western troops, which was given to Count Maurus, a fierce, fickle, and corrupt officer, of whom history has nothing memorable

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

to relate, except that seventeen years before this time he was at Paris, serving as one of the front-rank men in the legion of the Petulantes when Julian was proclaimed Augustus by the insurgent soldiery, and that he, when no diadem was at hand, and when the necklace of Helena, Julian's wife, and a horse's collar had both been proposed and rejected as unsuitable, took from his neck the torque which he wore as bearer of the dragon-ensign of the regiment, and placed it on the head of the new Emperor. Maurus appears to have been defeated by the barbarians at the pass of Succi ¹, and fresh hordes of them probably poured southward into Thrace over the undefended barrier.

Campaign
of 378 in
the West;

Still upon the whole, the campaign of 378 seems to have opened auspiciously for the interests of Rome along the whole line. In the West, Gratian, who had found his barbarians upon the Rhine and in the Tyrol perceptibly more restless and excited on account of the rumours of Rome's reverses on the Danube, succeeded in winning an important victory near Colmar in Alsace, and in reducing to obedience, after some operations of extraordinary difficulty, the Lentienses, a barbarous tribe who dwelt among the mountains of the Black Forest.

in the East.

In the East, Sebastian, who had been so lately an unconscious candidate for the purple of Valentinian, was summoned from Italy at the earnest request of Valens and assumed the supreme command of the infantry in the room of Trajan. With a small and select detachment of troops ² he fell by night upon a large

¹ This, which must have been an important engagement, is only mentioned incidentally by Ammianus in his account of Julian's coronation. 'Maurus nomine quidam postea comes, *qui rem male gessit apud Succorum angustias*, Petulantium tunc hastatus' (xx. 4. 18).

² Only 300 according to Ammianus: Zosimus, who is less likely to

body of marauding Goths who had settled themselves to sleep by the banks of the river Hebrus (*Maritza*), and only a few nimble-footed ones among them escaped the slaying sword of the Roman general.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.
378.

But these two victories were in fact not the precursors merely, but the causes, of a greater and far more terrible defeat. The Emperor Valens had now appeared upon the scene, having removed his court from Antioch to Constantinople. Deep down in that man's heart, the secret motive it may be believed of many of his worst and most unwise actions, was the conviction that he had been chosen by fraternal partiality for an office for which he was not fitted, and that all men, citizens, soldiers, generals, were ever reflecting upon that unfitness. The victory of his nephew, the gallant and brilliant Gratian, was gall and wormwood to his spirit, and he nourished a petulant and morbid craving for a triumph in which that nephew should have no share, and which Sebastian's success, somewhat magnified in the general's report of it, persuaded him would be an easy one.

Valens at
Constantinople.

The few days of the Emperor's stay at Constantinople had been clouded by an outbreak of popular sedition, partial indeed, and soon suppressed, but unpleasantly indicating the adverse judgment of the multitude on his recent policy. Valens withdrew in displeasure to his villa of Melanthias (eighteen miles from the capital), where, since he knew himself to be unpopular with the citizens, he set himself to gain the affections of the soldiery by the well-worn devices of donative and

be accurate, says 2000 : but both agree that they were most carefully selected soldiers.

BOOK I. extra rations, and affable gossip with the men¹. In
 CH. 4. this way the early summer passed on, while Sebastian
 378. won his victory by the Maritza and Gratian his by the
 Rhine. Roused by these tidings, Valens set forth from
 his villa with a large and well-appointed army, contain-
 ing no small number of veterans, and many experienced
 officers, among them Trajan, the late Master of the
 Soldiers. On his march an incident occurred, which at
 the time was probably remarkable only as furnishing an
 illustration of the lamentably devastated condition of the
 country, but to which later generations added a touch
 of the supernatural, and then beheld in it a portent.

Book iv,
 ch. 21.

Portent
 which ap-
 peared to
 the army
 of Valens.

‘The body of a man,’ says Zosimus, ‘was seen lying
 by the roadside, seeming as if it had been scourged
 from head to foot, and utterly motionless, except as to
 the eyes, which were open, and which it moved from
 one to another of the beholders. To all questions who
 he was, or whence he came, or from whom he had
 suffered these things, he answered nothing. Whereupon
 they deemed the sight to be somewhat in the nature
 of a portent, and showed it to the Emperor. Still,
 when he questioned it, it remained equally dumb: and
 you would have said that it could not be living, since
 the whole body was motionless, nor yet utterly dead
 since it still had the power of vision. And while they
 were gazing, suddenly the portentous thing vanished.
 Whereupon those of the bystanders who had skill to
 read coming events, conjectured that the apparition
 foreshadowed the future condition of the commonwealth,
 which, like that man, should be stricken and scourged,
 and lie for a space like one who is about to give up the

¹ ‘Militem stipendio fovebat et alimentis et blandâ crebritate sermonum’ (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 11. 1).

ghost, until at length by the vileness of its rulers and ministers it should be utterly destroyed. And this forecast, as one after another all these things have come upon us, is seen to have been a true one.'

BOOK I.

CH. 4.

378.

After three days' march the army reached Hadrianople, where they took up their position in the usual square form of a Roman camp strengthened by ditch and vallum and palisade. The scouts who had seen the Gothic forces, by some incredible error brought back word that they only numbered 10,000 men¹. Before the battle was joined, the Emperor must have been undeceived on this point, but it is probable that to the last he under-estimated the strength of his foe. While they were still in camp Richomer, the Count of the Domestics, arrived with a letter from his young master Gratian, who had been detained by fever at Sirmium, stating that he was again on the road, and would shortly join his uncle with powerful reinforcements. A council of war was held to decide between instant battle and a delay of a few days in order to effect a junction with Gratian. Sebastian, fresh from his easy victory by the Maritza, advised immediate action². Victor, Master of the Cavalry, a Sarmatian

¹ It is not very easy to understand Ammianus' account of the movements of the Goths. He says that Fritigern, after Sebastian's victory by the Hebrus, gathered all his people together and marched at once to Cabyle (in the north-east corner of Thrace, between the Balkan and the Euxine), for the sake of food, and to be safe from another surprise by Sebastian (xxxi. 11. 5). The Imperial scouts reconnoitred the Gothic forces at Nicé, about 30 miles East of Hadrianople. Apparently, therefore, Fritigern, having resumed the offensive, had marched southward by the Marcianople road which, near Nicé, joins the road coming from Sophia and Hadrianople.

² Zosimus says that Sebastian advised Valens to avoid a pitched

BOOK I.
CH. 4.
378.

(Sclavonian) by birth, but an excellent and wary general and true to Rome, advised delay. The absurd miscalculation of the enemy's forces, joined to the Emperor's unconcealed desire to win his victory without Gratian, carried the day, and it was decided to fight forthwith.

Negotiations commenced by the Goths.

Scarcely had this resolution been arrived at when a singular embassy arrived from Fritigern. 'A presbyter of the Christian worship,' with other persons of somewhat humble rank¹, brought a letter, in which the Gothic king entreated that he and his people who were driven forth from their homes by the inroad of the savage Huns, might have the province of Thrace² assigned to them for a habitation, with all the cattle and crops which yet remained in it. On this condition, which, as it may have been represented, was justified by the precedent of Aurelian's cession of Dacia, they promised to remain everlastingly at peace with Rome. According to a camp-rumour, which Ammianus believed, but which to a modern historian seems highly improbable, this same messenger brought confidential letters from the Goth to the Emperor, advising him apparently not to concede the terms openly asked for, but to hurry up his army close to the barbarian host, and thereby enable Fritigern to extract from his too arrogant followers terms more favourable to the Roman commonwealth.

battle with the Goths, but Ammianus, from whom I have taken the account given above, is a better authority.

¹ 'Christiani ritus presbyter, ut ipsi appellant, missus a Fritigerno legatus cum aliis humilibus venit ad principis castra' (Amm. Mar. xxxi. 12. 8).

² This would almost exactly correspond with the Western half of the modern province of Eastern Roumelia. A reference to the map will show that the Diocletianic province of Thrace was much smaller than the region generally known by that name.

Such an embassy, with such a request, especially in the existing mood of the Emperor and his officers, was of course disregarded: and at dawn of the following day the Emperor and his army set forward, leaving their baggage, military chest, and the chief of the trappings of the Imperial dignity, under the shelter of the walls of Hadrianople.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.378.
Battle of
Hadrian-
ople, Aug.
9, 378.

It was not till about two o'clock in the afternoon that the waggons of the Goths, arranged in their usual circular form, were seen upon the horizon. The Romans drew up their line of battle, putting the cavalry, contrary to their usual custom, in front of the heavy-armed infantry. While this was going on, the barbarians, 'according to their custom,' says Ammianus, 'raised a sad and savage howl,' which however was probably meant for melody. Then followed, not the fight, but a perplexing series of embassies and counter embassies between Fritigern and Valens. The Goth seems to have had really some doubt as to the issue of the combat. His Ostrogothic allies, Alatheus and Saphrax, with the chief of the barbarian cavalry, were from some unexplained cause absent, but he knew that they were hastening to join him. He knew also that with the Roman troops, hot, exhausted, and thirsty after a long march under the noon-day sun of August, and with their horses unable to graze—for the Goths had set the dry grass on fire and it was still blazing around them—an hour or two of delay would tell for him against the Emperor. Why Valens lingered is less easy to explain, unless, after all, he, though eager for a victory all his own, had little inclination for the fight.

The negotiations turned on the quality of the hostages who were to be exchanged in order that Fritigern

BOOK I. might be sufficiently secure of peace to impose it on his
 CH. 4. followers. Aequitius, who held the high office of
 378. 'Cura Palatii,' and was a relation of Valens, was
 named: but Aequitius had before tasted the discomfort
 of captivity among the Goths, and having escaped—
 perhaps broken his parole, was not sure what kind of
 welcome he would be met with by the barbarians. Then
 Count Richomer nobly volunteered for the unpleasant
 task, and had actually started for the waggon-encamp-
 ment, but before he reached it the impatience of the
 Roman soldiers put an end to this irritating suspense.
 Some light-armed troops (archers and shield-bearers)
 under the command of Bacurius the Armenian, came up
 to the Gothic rampart and actually engaged the enemy
 at the very moment when Richomer was starting on
 his mission. Doubtless, however, even then Fritigern
 would have found means to spin out again his inter-
 minable negotiations, had not his chief end already been
 attained. Alatheus and Saphrax were come, and their
 cavalry swept down upon the hot and hungry Roman
 soldiers 'like a thunderbolt.' The battle which followed
 is described with much minuteness but no great clear-
 ness by Ammianus. What the professional Roman
 soldier has failed to make clear, a modern and unpro-
 fessional writer may be excused from attempting to
 explain. Something is said about the right wing of the
 cavalry having reached the ground before the left,
 which straggled up in disorder by various roads to the
 field of battle. It has also been suggested¹ that the
 Romans, in putting their cavalry before their infantry,
 showed that they intended to attack, and that the
 battle was necessarily lost when Fritigern by his crafty

¹ By Pallmann (i. 134).

negotiations and by the well-timed charge of Alatheus and Saphrax wrested from them the offensive. The left wing of the cavalry actually pushed up to the Gothic waggons, and had they been supported by their comrades, would perhaps have stormed the camp, but isolated as they were from the rest of the army, they were powerless. Far behind them the maniples of the infantry were so tightly jammed together that they could scarce draw their swords or reach back a once-extended hand, and their spears were broken by the swaying to and fro of their own unmanageable mass before they could hurl them against the enemy. There they stood, raging but helpless, an easy mark to the Gothic missiles, not one of which could fail to wound a Roman soldier, while the cavalry, which should have covered their advance, far forward on the battle-field, but separated from the main body of the army by an intervening sea of furious barbarians, stood for some time a brave but broken bulwark. At length, after hours of slaughter and after some hopeless charges over the heaps of slain, in which the Romans tried to get at the enemy with their swords and to avenge the destruction which they could not avert, the ranks of the infantry gave way and they fled in confusion from the field.

Where meanwhile was Valens? When the day was irretrievably lost, finding himself surrounded on all sides by scenes of horror, he rode, leaping with difficulty over heaps of slain, to where two legions of his guard¹ still held their ground against the surging

¹ The *Lancearii* and *Mattarii*, both of which bodies of troops, named from the weapons which they employed, are mentioned in the *Notitia Orientis* (cap. iv) among the six *Legiones Palatinas*. The

BOOK I.
CH. 4.

378.

torrent of the barbarians. Trajan, who was with them, shouted out, 'All hope is gone unless a detachment of soldiers can be got together to protect the Emperor's person.' At these words a certain Count Victor¹ rode off to collect some of the Batavian cohort, whose duty it was to act as a reserve to the Imperial Guard. But when he reached their station he found not a man there, and evidently deeming further efforts to save his master's life hopeless, he and Richomer and Saturninus hurried from the field.

Death of
Valens.

Trajan fell where he was fighting, and round him fell presumably the two still unbroken legions, while the miserable Valens wandered on between heaps of slain horses and over roads made nearly impassable by his dead and dying subjects. Night came on, a moonless night, and, when the dreadful day dawned, the Emperor was not to be found. Some said that they had seen him at twilight flying from the field, in the crowd of common soldiers, sore wounded by an arrow, and that he had suddenly fallen, faint from the loss of blood. Others told a more circumstantial tale. According to them, after he had received his wound, a small company of eunuchs and soldiers of the body-guard who still surrounded him, bore him off to some miserable out-house of timber, which they saw nigh at hand. There, while they were trying to assuage his pain, a company of Goths came by, ignorant whom they were pursuing, and demanded admission. As the door was kept tightly barred against them, and they were assailed by a shower of arrows from the roof, the bar-

Batavi Seniores mentioned in the next sentence, head the list of the eighteen *Auxilia Palatina*.

¹ Not the Master of the Cavalry mentioned p. 269.

barians, impatient at being so long hindered from their work of depredation, piled straw and logs against the cottage and set it on fire. One young guardsman alone escaped from the conflagration to tell the Goths what they had done, and of how great a prize they had defrauded themselves by their cruel impatience.

BOOK I.
CH. 4.
378.

This last version of the story, though only half credited by Ammianus, is the one which obtained most currency with posterity. The ecclesiastical historians, in whose eyes the heresy of Valens was his greatest crime, were never tired of remarking that he who, by seducing the Gothic nation into Arianism, had caused so many of their number to burn eternally in hell, was himself, according to the righteous retribution of God, burned on earth by the hands of those same barbarians.

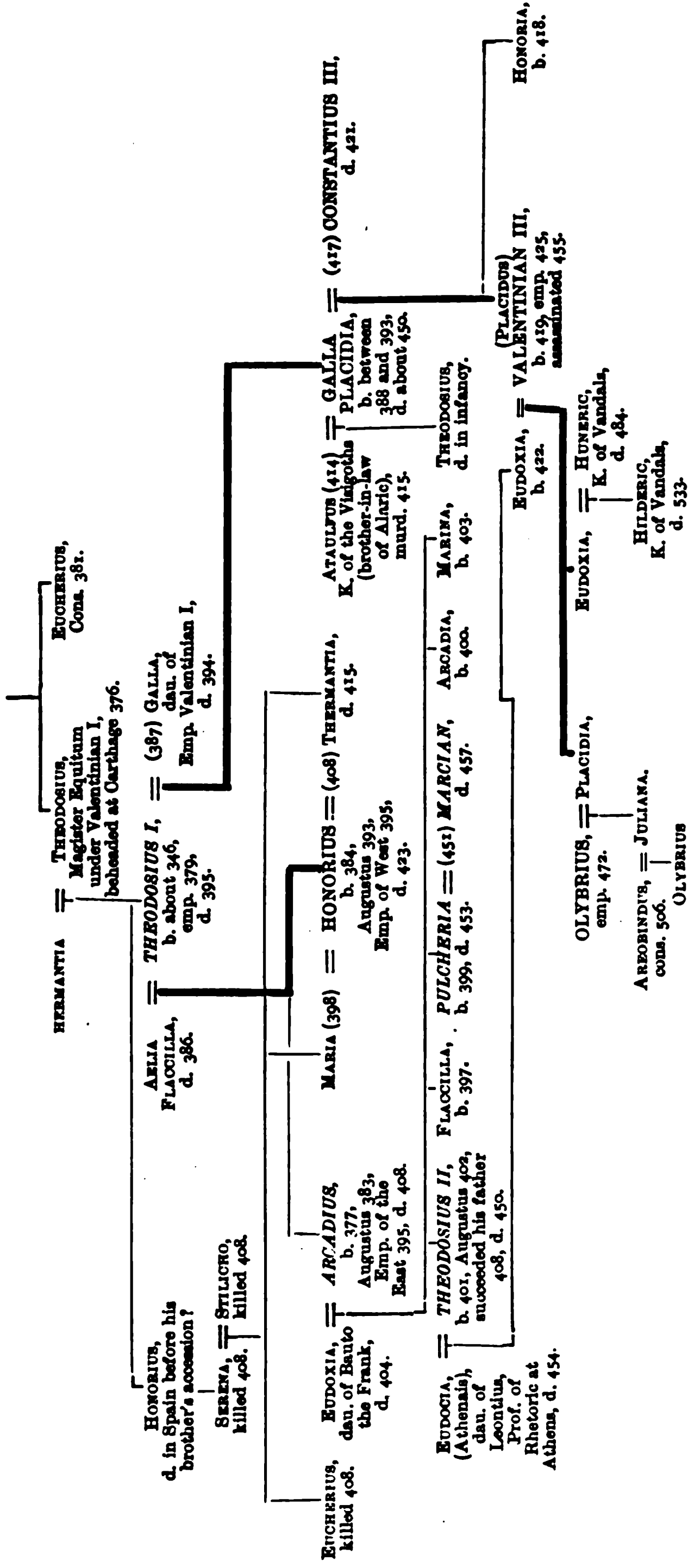
Upon the field of Hadrianople fully two-thirds of the Roman army were proved to have perished. Among them were thirty-seven officers of high rank, besides Trajan and Sebastian. 'Though the Romans,' says Ammianus, 'have often had experience of the fickleness of Fortune, their annals contain no record of so destructive a defeat since the battle of Cannæ.' And we, after the lapse of fifteen centuries, can perceive that while even the terrible disaster of Cannæ was reparable, the consequences of the battle of Hadrianople could never be repaired¹.

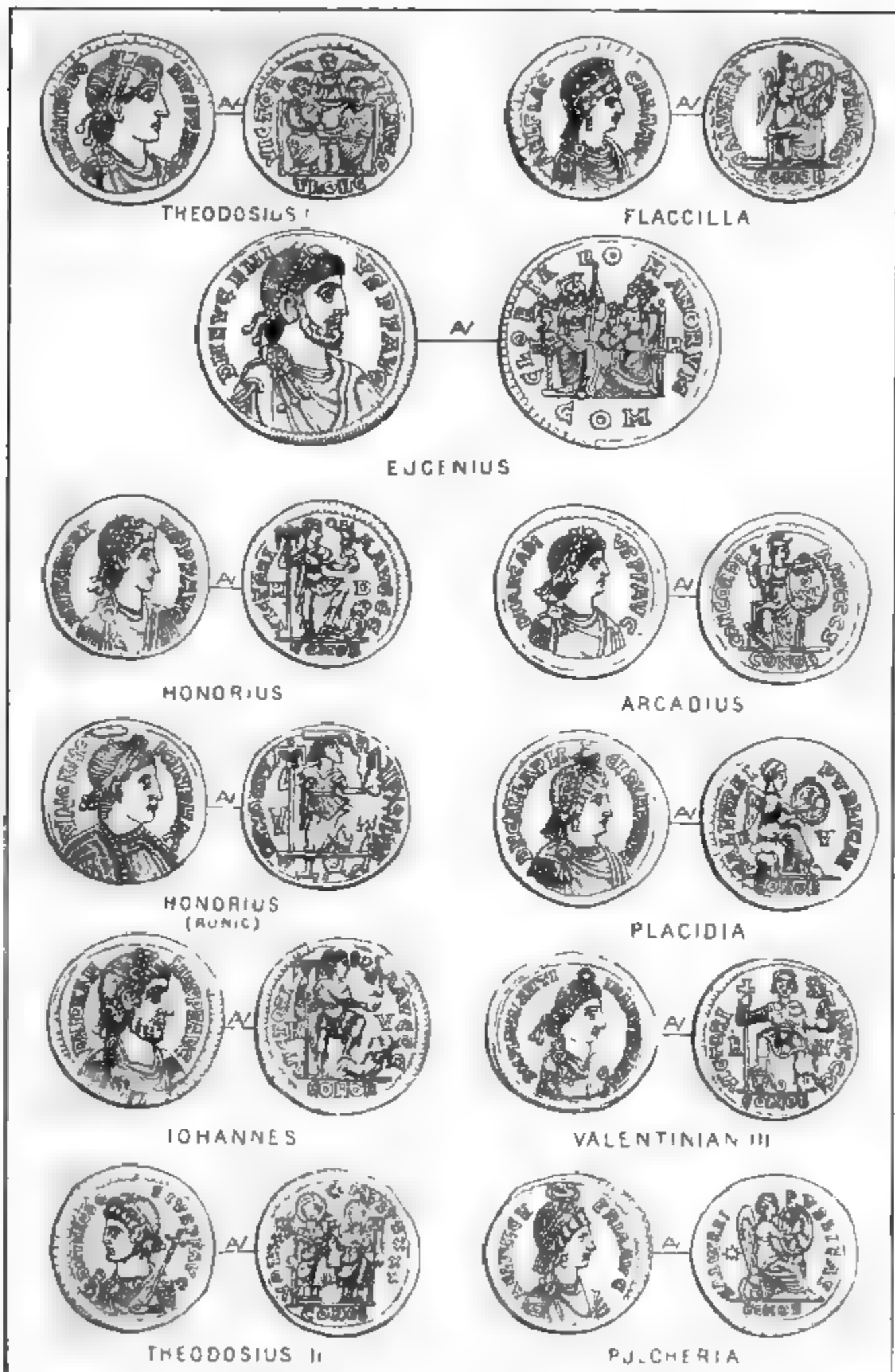
¹ After the battle of Hadrianople had been fought and the enemy had departed, it is said that a stone sepulchre was discovered on the plain with the name of a nobleman called Mimas carved upon it in Greek letters. Then was remembered the oracle repeated by the victims in the affair of Theodorus (p. 241) prophesying that they should be avenged—

Ἐν πεδίοισι Μίματος ἀγαιόμενον Ἄρης.

(From the table in Clinton's Fast! Roman!)

[Emperors of the East are printed in *Italic capitals*.]





EMPERORS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

THEODOSIUS I — THEODOSIUS II

CHAPTER V.

THEODOSIUS AND THE FOEDERATI.

Authorities.

Sources :—

AMMIANUS serves us for five months after the battle of Hadrianople. Then, with the accession of Theodosius, we lose his guidance, and the 'younger and more learned' successor, whose advent he looked forward to as the historian of the reign of Theodosius, unfortunately for us never appeared.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

Our chief *heathen* authority for the reign of Theodosius is ZOSIMUS (described at the beginning of the previous chapter), who is more than usually confused and inconsecutive in his account of the events of this reign. We possess, however, a few interesting fragments of the writer upon whose history that of Zosimus was probably in great part founded.

EUNAPIUS, like Zosimus, a heathen, and very bitter against both Constantine and Theodosius.

He was born at Sardis, about 347, and was educated by his kinsman Chrysanthius, the sophist, whom Julian made high-priest of Lydia. In 362 he went to Athens in order to attend the lectures of the aged Proaeresius, who was at that time reputed the greatest of the Sophists. After four years of study he was initiated into the secret theurgic doctrines of Iamblichus. At the same time probably he was also initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, and the Hierophant who performed the rite, informed him confidentially that the complete overthrow of the old religion and the ruin of Greece were near at hand. On his return to Lydia he became a professed teacher of rhetoric. He wrote both *The Lives of Philosophers and Sophists*, and also *A History* in continuation of Dexippus. The latter consisted of fourteen books, embracing the period from the death of

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

Claudius Gothicus, 270, to the banishment of St. Chrysostom, 404. He himself gives us some interesting details concerning the motives which urged him to authorship. 'Now,' he says, at the commencement of his second book, 'having reached the period of Julian, my story has brought me to that which was ever my chief aim in writing. Now shall I be concerned with the actions of one whom I regard with somewhat of a lover's enthusiasm. Not, by Jove, that I ever saw him or received any benefit at his hands, for I who write these lines was but a boy when he reigned. But a wonderful and irresistible incentive to love was the universal feeling of admiration which he excited, and the untarnished brilliance of his glory. For how could I be silent, when none around me were silent, about the actions of Julian? How refrain from speaking when even men unskilled in speech loved to linger over the sweet and golden theme of his praises?' And then Eunapius goes on to describe how his associates, chief among them a Professor of Medicine named Oribasius, who had himself been a faithful friend and counsellor of Julian, seeing his literary skill, urged him to compose the history of the Emperor's exploits, saying that it would be stark impiety if he refrained from doing so.

We owe to Eunapius, scanty as are the fragments of his work that have been preserved (only 77 pages, all told, in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians), many interesting sketches of men and manners, and some curious anecdotes of classical times; as, for instance, that Philip of Macedon, having slipped and fallen on the arena, when he saw the measure of his body in the dust, said, half laughing at himself, 'How little ground is covered by a man who hankers after the whole world.' Again, that Marius said of Sulla, 'He is a lion and a fox joined together, but I fear the fox most.' And again, the fact which has been already referred to, that Julian said, when the war with Persia was coming to a head, and no one else dreamed of trouble from any other quarter, '*The Goths are quiet just now, but perhaps they will not always be quiet.*' A few of the most striking features in the ordinary description of the assemblage of the fugitive Goths on the Danubian frontier of the Empire are also borrowed from Eunapius.

Excerpt 19,
pp. 69-71.

In one passage the quiet page of the decorous Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians seems suddenly to flame into passion,

and we hear the shrill theological wrath of the unknown scribe who has been dead for a thousand years. Eunapius, in his account of the feelings of the army after the death of Julian, says that the common soldiers knew right well that they should never again find such a general, not even if a god took shape and came to lead them. 'A man who, by his own inherent nobility of nature and by something akin to God within him, arrested the till then irresistible downward tendency of the State. A man who, emerging from such waves of adversity, looked upon the sky and saw its hidden loveliness. A man who, while still clothed with a body, communed with the disembodied gods: who accepted sovereignty not because he loved it, but because he saw men in need of a ruler: who made himself beloved by his soldiers, not because he cared for popular applause, but because he knew that by doing so he should promote the welfare of all.'

Then, in a parenthesis, with a shriek that is all but audible, bursts in an outraged Christian copyist: 'Dost thou dare to insult us with such nonsense, thunder-maddened and fatuous chatterer? "Disembodied gods!" Whence stole you those words but from the Christian mysteries? Was Ganymede caught aloft by the eagle at the bidding of a disembodied god? Is Juno sister and wife of such an one? Were they disembodied gods for whom Hebe poured the nectar, and who in their drunkenness bandied their unseemly jests over the fall of Troy? It was not in order to reform the life of men that Julian chose empire, for he reformed nothing. He acted at first from base vanity and ingratitude to Constantius his benefactor, and then he was driven on by the demons to whom he offered sacrifice, that he might meet with the fitting reward of his folly and his crime.'

Against this angry interpolation yet another amanuensis has written his note in the margin, 'An invective against Eunapius' (*στηλιτευτικὸς κατὰ Εὐναπίου*). Eunapius must have been still writing his history in the sixty-eighth year of his age, or later, as he alludes therein to the sale of public offices under Pulcheria who was not declared Augusta till 414. But (as before said) his work, probably interrupted by his death, did not reach to a later period than 404. In the Prooemium to his History Eunapius indulges in some very dangerous reflections

BOOK I. on the comparative unimportance of chronological accuracy.
 CH. 5. Minute calculations of days and weeks, says he in his lordly way, may do for a rich man's steward, but not for a historian.

To set against the heathen estimates of the character of Theodosius, we have pretty copious notes of his reign in *The Ecclesiastical Historians*:—

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS (about 379–450).

His history covers the period from 306 to 439.

SOZOMEN (contemporary with Socrates).

His history covers the period from 323 to 425.

THEODORET (about 393–457).

His history covers the period from 320 to 429.

PHILOSTORGIUS, born about 364, died after 425.

His history covers the period from 300 to 425.

These historians are too well known to need any special description. It is sufficient to observe that for the period for which we shall require their aid they may be considered as practically contemporary authorities. Though writing histories of the Church they are not all Churchmen. Socrates and Sozomen were barristers at Constantinople. We do not appear to be informed as to the occupation of Philostorgius, but he was a bitter Arian, and loses no opportunity of decrying the orthodox champions. Theodoret was a Syrian bishop. A question here arises, how far these historians, so nearly contemporary and traversing almost precisely the same ground, are independent of one another. On the whole it seems most probable that Sozomen was acquainted with, and freely used the work of Socrates, though he never acknowledges any obligation to him. Theodoret and Philostorgius are probably independent authorities.

There are no doubt degrees of merit in these four histories; but they are all of them disappointing works to a modern student, dwelling at tedious length on mere theological squabbles, and giving little insight, comparatively, into the inner life of men or the causes of the transcendently important events in civil history which were proceeding in their day.

Though a heathen, THEMISTIUS, as has been already said, was favoured by Theodosius, and repays him with unqualified praise.

Another favourable, perhaps Christian, authority for the life of Theodosius is PACATUS (Latinus Pacatus Drepanius), a native of Bordeaux, who pronounced a panegyric on the Emperor at Rome, 389, after his victory over Maximus. The praise is of the fulsome and tasteless kind usual in these official panegyrics, and, where the oration deals with qualities, it can hardly be considered as furnishing any trustworthy materials for history. Actions (the chief of these being Theodosius' suppression of the tyranny of Maximus) may perhaps be more safely described from this source, as complete falsification of these would have been more difficult.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

Guide:—

The monograph on 'Der Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse' by Dr. A. Guldenpenning and Dr. J. Ifland (Halle, 1878) is a careful and scholar-like work, and I have derived much assistance from it in preparing this edition.

THE course of events in the provinces south of the Danube during the year 378 was an illustration of the fact, abundantly proved by many other passages in the history of the world, that a barbarous race fighting against a civilised one may win victories, but scarcely ever knows how to improve them. Such a calamity as that of Hadrianople, had the king of Persia been the antagonist, must surely have involved the ruin at any rate of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire. In the hands of the Goths its direct results were ridiculously small—a little more ravaging and slaughtering, two or three years of desultory war, and then a treaty by which the barbarians bound themselves to be the humble servants of the Emperor.

378.

With the dawn which followed the terrible night of the 9th of August, the victors, excited and greedy of spoil, marched in compact order to Hadrianople, where, as they knew from the reports of deserters, were to be found the insignia of the Imperial dignity and a great

The Goths
march on
Hadrian-
ople.

BOOK I. accumulation of treasure. At first it seemed not im-
 CH. 5. possible that they might carry the place by a *coup de*
 378. *main*. Fugitives from the beaten army, soldiers and
 camp-followers, were still swarming around the gates
 and blocking up the road, by their disorderly eagerness
 preventing themselves from obtaining an entrance.
 With these men the Gothic squadrons kept up a fierce
 fight till about three in the afternoon. Then three
 hundred of the Roman infantry—possibly themselves
 enlisted from among the Teutonic subjects of the
 Empire—went over in a body to the barbarians. With
 incredible folly as well as cruelty the Goths refused to
 accept their surrender, and killed the greater part of
 them, thereby shutting out all propositions of a similar
 kind during the remainder of the war. Meanwhile
 the defenders of the city had succeeded in firmly
 closing the gates, had stationed powerful catapults and
 balistae on the walls, and finding themselves well
 supplied with all things necessary for a long defence,
 except a good stock of water, as the first day wore
 away to its close leaving the city still no nearer to its
 capture, their spirits began to rise, and the hope that
 all might yet be retrieved grew brighter.

But fail to
 take it.

Contrary to the advice of Fritigern, whose authority,
 though he bore the name of king, was evidently not
 absolute over followers hungering for booty, the Goths
 resolved to continue the siege, but, dismayed by the
 sight of so many of their bravest warriors slain or
 disabled, they determined to employ stratagem. Not
 all, apparently, of the deserters of the previous day
 had been slain by the Gothic sword. Some of the late
 Emperor's own guard of honour, conspicuous by their
 white tunics, as English guardsmen by their bear-skin

caps, and known throughout the Empire as *candidati*, had been admitted to surrender by the barbarians, and were now to be employed in the fresh attempt upon Hadrianople. They agreed to feign flight from their new friends and, when received within the gates, to set the city secretly on fire. In the bewilderment and confusion of the fire it was hoped that the walls would be stripped of their defenders, and that the Goths might rush in to an easy victory. The *Candidati* appear to have been true in their treachery. They stood in the fosse before the walls and stretched out suppliant hands entreating for admission. A suspicious diversity, however, in their statements respecting the plans of the Goths, caused them when admitted to be kept close prisoners, and when torture was applied they confessed the scheme in which they had made themselves accomplices.

The Gothic stratagem having thus miscarried, there was nothing for it but to try another open assault. Again the bravest and noblest of the barbarians pressed on at the head of their people, each one hoping that his should be the fortunate hand which should grasp the treasure of Valens. Again the engines on the walls played with fearful havoc upon the dense masses of the besiegers. The cylinders and capitals of stately columns came crashing down upon their heads. One gigantic engine, called the Wild Ass, hurled a mass of stone so vast that though it chanced to fall harmlessly upon a space of ground which was clear of the hostile ranks, all who fought by that part of the wall were demoralised by fear of what the next bray from the Wild Ass might signify. At length, after a long weary day of unsuccessful battle, when the assault of the besiegers

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

378.

had degenerated into a series of ill-organised rushes against the walls, brave but utterly hopeless, their trumpets were sadly sounded for retreat, and every survivor in the host said, 'Would that we had followed the counsel of Fritigern.' They drew off their forces. Hadrianople was saved, and its defenders, a larger host than was needed for its protection, withdrew by devious ways, some to Philippopolis and some to Sardica. They still hoped to find Valens somewhere hidden in the ravaged country, and they probably bore with them his treasure and his crown.

The Goths
repulsed
from be-
fore Con-
stantin-
ople.

The Goths meanwhile, with many of their new allies, the Huns and the Alani, in their ranks, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Perinthus by the Sea of Marmora, marched upon Constantinople. Destitute as they were of all naval resources, it must surely have been but a forlorn hope for men who had failed in the moment of victory to take the inland city of Hadrianople, to attempt the strongly fortified peninsula of Byzantium. At any rate their attack was repulsed, and that partly by the patriotic exertions of Dominica, widow of Valens, who paid the troops and organised the work of defence¹, and partly by the rough energy of a race whom after ages would have wondered to behold among the defenders of Christian Constantinople. A band of Saracens, the wild and wandering inhabitants of Arabia, who had been converted to some external semblance of Christianity, had been sent by their queen Mavia as auxiliaries to Valens², and upon them now fell the chief labour of its defence. With barbarian confidence and impetuosity they issued forth from the gates and fell upon the squadrons of the

¹ Sozomen, vii. 1.

² Eunapius, p. 52 (ed. Bonn); Sozomen, l.c.

Goths. At first the event of the battle seemed doubtful, but at length the Teutonic host became demoralised and retired in disorder. According to Ammianus¹, the determining cause of their defeat was the horror inspired by the ghastly proceedings of one of the Saracen warriors. Completely naked except for a girdle round his loins, with that long floating black hair which Europe afterwards knew so well, uttering a hoarse and melancholy howl, he sprang with drawn dagger upon the Gothic hosts, and having stabbed his man proceeded to suck the life-blood from the neck of his slaughtered foe. The Northern barbarians, easily accessible to shadowy and superstitious terrors, and arguing perhaps that they had to do with demons rather than with men, began to waver in their ranks, and withdrew from the field. Who that witnessed that confused jostle between the Northern and Southern barbarisms could have imagined the part that each was destined to play in the Middle Ages beside the Mediterranean shores; that they would meet again three centuries later upon the Andalusian plain; that from these would spring the stately Khalifats of Cordova and Bagdad; from those the chivalry of Castille?

The Gothic army, with heavy losses and somewhat impaired hope, retired from Constantinople. Since they could take no important city, it was clear that they could not yet conquer, if they wished to conquer, the Empire of Rome. They could ravage it however, and this they did effectually, wandering almost at pleasure over the countries that we now call Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and up to the very spurs of the Julian Alps on the north-eastern confines of Italy. Incapable of resist-

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
378.

¹ xxxi. 16. 7.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

379-
Murder
of the
hostages.

ance except behind walls, the Romans took a cruel and cowardly revenge. It will be remembered that when the Goths were ferried across the Danube they had been compelled to surrender all the youthful sons of their chief men as hostages for their good behaviour. These lads had been dispersed through the cities of the East, where their rich attire and the stately forms which seemed to tell of the temperate northern climates in which they had their birth, excited the admiration and fear of the populations among whom they were placed¹. Three years had now passed since the fatal treaty, and these youths were rapidly maturing into men. The brave deeds, the victories and defeats of their fathers on the Thracian battle-fields, had reached their ears. Clustering together in the unfriendly streets they muttered to one another—so at least the Romans thought—in their barbaric tongue, counsels of revenge for their slain kinsmen. Julius, the Master of the Soldiery, to whom tidings were brought of this real or supposed movement among the hostages, determined to strike the first blow. Having obtained full powers from the Senate at Constantinople, and communicated his plans under pledges of inviolable secrecy to the commandants of the garrisons, he circulated through the provinces a report that all the hostages who should present themselves at the chief cities on a given day would receive rich gifts and an allotment of lands from the bounty of the Emperor. Laying aside all thoughts of vengeance, if they had ever entertained them, the Gothic lads trooped in, each one, to the capital of his province. When they were thus assembled, unarmed

¹ Eunapius, p. 50: *παῖδες δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τε τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ἀέρων ἀνέδραμον καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἤβησαν.*

and unsuspecting, in the Thracian and Asiatic market-places, the soldiery at a given signal mounted the roofs of the surrounding houses, and hurled stones and darts upon them till the last of the yellow-haired striplings was laid low. A brave deed truly, and one worthy of the Roman legions in those days, and of the Master of the Soldiery—bearing alas, the great name of Julius—who commanded them! It is with sorrow that we observe that Ammianus Marcellinus, who closes his history with this event, speaks with approbation of the ‘prudent counsel of the Master, the accomplishment whereof without tumult or delay saved the Eastern provinces from a great danger.’

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
379.

This dastardly crime seems to have been committed on the authority of the Senate only, during the interval of five months which intervened between the death of Valens and the elevation of his successor to the Eastern Throne¹. To him, to the well-known figure of the Emperor *Theodosius*, it is now time to turn. He inherited from his father a name ennobled by great services to the state, and shaded by the remembrance of a cruel wrong. Of all the generals who served the house of Valentinian none had earned a higher or purer fame than that father, Theodosius the Spaniard.

His birthplace was probably the same as that of his Imperial son, namely, the little town of Cauca (now Coca), situated near the confines of Old Castille and Leon, on the upper waters of the Douro, twenty-nine miles from the city of Segovia². He was of illustrious birth,

Services of
the elder
Theodo-
sius.

¹ Tillemont truly observes that the authority of Ammianus is to be preferred to that of Zosimus (iv. 26) who puts the massacre after the accession of Theodosius.

² Both Zosimus (iv. 24) and Idatius (*Chronicon*, s. a. 379) make

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

sprung from one of those powerful provincial families which now formed the true aristocracy of the Empire. We are not informed of the year of his birth (which was probably about 320), nor of the earlier steps in his upward career. We first hear of him in Britain, and as three of the Camps¹ on the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland were garrisoned by detachments of cavalry and infantry from the north-west of Spain², it is possible that Theodosius the Elder may have learnt the rudiments of war in defending that bleak barrier. This, however, is merely a conjecture. Our first authentic information concerning him brings him before us not as a Tribune or Prefect, but as holding the high military office of Duke of Britain³. In the year 368 tidings had been brought to Valentinian of the melancholy state of our island. The Franks and the Saxons were harassing the eastern coast with their pillagings, burnings, and murderings. On the northern border of the province the Picts, the Emperor Theodosius a native 'of the province of Gallicia and the city of Cauca.' The Cauca above described was not in the province of Gallicia, but some sixty or seventy miles to the south-east of its nearest point. As this was Idatius' own country it is unsatisfactory to have to impute inaccuracy to him on a subject with which he must have been well acquainted, and I am disposed to conjecture that there may have been another, Gallician Cauca, of which, however, I find no trace. The assignment of Italica (near Seville) as the birthplace of Theodosius, for which Marcellinus Comes is responsible, has evidently arisen from the desire to make him a fellow-townsmen with Trajan.

¹ Condercum (Benwell), Cilurnum (Chollerford) and Aesica (Great Chesters).

² See *Notitia Occidentis*, cap. xl: 'Sub dispositioni viri spectabilis ducis Britanniarum . . . per lineam valli . . . Praefectus alae primae Asturum Conderco . . . Praefectus alae secundae Asturum Cilurno . . . Tribunus cohortis primae Asturum Aesica.'

³ 'Dux Britanniarum.' We may fairly infer from Ammianus, xxviii. 3. 1, that this was his title.

divided into two branches, the Dicalydones and Verturiones, the warlike nation of the Attacotti and the wide-wandering Scots, were marching up and down whither they would, carrying desolation with them. The Count of the Saxon shore was slain, the Duke of Britain (the predecessor of Theodosius) was apparently a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. The Emperor chose Theodosius who had already earned a high military reputation, and sent him with a selected body of young legionaries, proud to serve under such a commander, to deliver Britain from the spoiler.

Theodosius landed at Richborough, and went first to a city which in old times used to be called Lundinium, but which the moderns—that is to say, the moderns of the fourth century—persisted in calling Augusta. Making this city his basis of operations, but avoiding any great pitched battle, he divided his forces into small but nimble detachments, whose business it was to intercept the plundering hordes, to fall upon them when encumbered with spoil, and thus to pillage the pillagers, and slay the slayers. In this way he gradually cleared the country of its invaders, and recovered the greater part of the booty which they had taken and which, except a small portion reserved as a reward for his weary soldiers, was all returned to the provincials¹. In the words of Claudian, the court-poet of the Theodosian family,

‘What did the stars avail, the seas unknown,
The frost eternal of that frigid zone?
The Saxons’ life-stream steeped the Orcadian plain,
Thulë with blood of Picts grew warm again,
And icy Erin² mourned her Scotsmen slain³.’

¹ Amm. Mar. xxvii. 8.

² ‘Glacialis Ierne.’

³ Claudian de IV Cons. Honorii, 30–34.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

368.

The result of the campaign of Theodosius was that the wanton insolence of the various barbarian tribes who thought to find the British province an easy prey was checked, the ruined cities and camps were rebuilt, and the foundations of what promised to be a long peace—it lasted, in fact, for something like forty years—seemed to be securely laid¹. In his civil administration of the province, Theodosius showed himself equally successful, detecting and repressing a dangerous conspiracy², and effecting a reformation in the corps of *Areani*³, who having been originally organised as a kind of secret intelligence department to gain information of the movements of the enemy, had been largely engaged in underhand trade with the bands of the spoilers, virtually becoming receivers of stolen goods, and far more often revealing the movements of the legions to the barbarians than those of the barbarians to the Roman officers.

In the following year (369) Theodosius, now Master of the Cavalry, led an army through the Grisons to a successful attack upon the Alamanni, many of whom he slew, while the remainder were transported to the north of Italy, where they cultivated the fruitful plains watered by the Po, as tributaries of the Empire.

¹ ‘Fusis variis gentibus et fugatis, quas insolentia nutriente securitate adgredi Romanas res inflammabat, in integrum restituit civitates et castra multiplicibus quidem damnis adflcta, sed ad quietem temporis longi fundata’ (Amm. Mar. xxviii. 3. 2). A very interesting passage, as throwing light on the state of our island towards the close of the fourth century.

² That of Valentinus, brother of the Praetorian Prefect Maximin, whose tyranny Ammianus describes at great length (xxix. 3, etc.).

³ Amm. Mar. xxviii. 3. 8. I can find no trace of these *Areani* elsewhere. There seems to be no variation in the MSS., but is not *Areani* an error for *Arcani*?

His greatest services to the State, however, were rendered in the province of Africa, where he spent the last three years of his life (373-376). During the cruelly oppressive government of Count Romanus, a Moorish chieftain named Firmus, the lord of a large tract of country, had openly revolted against Valentinian and assumed the purple. The Emperor naturally turned to Theodosius, the most distinguished of his generals, the man who then occupied the same place in the minds of men which Corbulo had filled in the reign of Nero, and sent him with the dignity of Count of Africa, to suppress the Moorish revolt. A difficult but victorious campaign was ended by the suicide of Firmus, and Theodosius remained to govern, equitably and wisely, the province which his arms had saved from the barbarian. 'Africa,' wrote the orator Symmachus to him¹, 'has recovered from her disease, and though our invincible Emperors were her physicians, you were the remedy which they applied. Your true palm-wreath is the happiness of the province.'

To a life distinguished by such eminent services to the state, if not the Imperial diadem, at least an old age of dignified repose would have seemed the fitting crown. But an unexpected change in his fortunes was at hand. In the year 376, a few months probably after the sudden death of the Emperor Valentinian, a scaffold was erected at Carthage, and Theodosius was ordered to ascend it. 'He asked,' we are told², 'that he might first be baptized for the remission of his sins, and having obtained the sacrament of

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
373-376

How repaid.

¹ Epist. x. 1.

² Orosius, vii. 33. It is very extraordinary that we have no mention in Ammianus of the death of Theodosius the elder.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

376.

Christ, which he had desired, after a glorious life in this world, being also secure of the life eternal, he willingly offered his neck to the executioner.' History asks in vain for the motive of such well-nigh unexampled ingratitude. The only one that is assigned is 'creeping envy' of the fame of the old general¹. It is possible that the party of the late governor Romanus, scotched but not killed by that oppressor's removal from office, may have found means to calumniate him successfully at the Court of Milan². Possibly too his adherence to the orthodox creed may have rendered him obnoxious to Justina, widow of Valentinian, who governed Africa as well as Italy in the name of her infant son, and whom we know to have been a bitter Arian. But it is probable that the hand which prepared, and the voice which counselled the stroke, were the hand and the voice of Valens, the most powerful member for the time of the Imperial partnership. Those four ominous letters Θ Ε Ο Δ began the name of Theodosius as surely as that of Theodorus, and it seems therefore allowable to suppose that the incantation scene at Antioch four years previously—the laurel tripod, the person in linen mantle and with linen socks, who shook the magic cauldron and made the ring dance up and down among the twenty-four letters of the alphabet—were links in the

¹ 'Instimulante et obrepente invidiâ ;' Orosius, l.c.

² Richter (*Weströmisches Reich*, pp. 401-2) attributes the death of Theodosius to Merobaudes, and thinks it was decreed because he did not belong to the clique of Gratian's friends. But there does not seem to be any testimony in support of this charge, and it is to be remembered that Africa was under Justina and her son, not directly under Gratian.

chain of causation which led the blameless veteran to his doom.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

Such, briefly sketched, was the career of the elder Theodosius. His son and namesake, born in Spain about the year 346, was like him, a man of noble and commanding presence, affable in his demeanour¹, but of slender literary attainments², as might naturally be expected in one who had been 'a man of war from his youth.' He certainly had the power of inspiring enthusiastic loyalty in his soldiers, and terror in his enemies. From the hints both of friends and foes we may perhaps conjecture that his large handsome countenance in the earlier years of his reign wore an expression which the former called good-tempered, the latter heavy and indolent; but that after some years of despotic power, the scowl on the brow grew darker and the angry flush on the cheek more often visible³.

Career of
Theodosius
Junior.

Having learned the elements of the military art under his father, doubtless in Britain, Germany and Africa, he had shown such evidences of good soldiership that already in the year 373 he filled the high office of Duke of Moesia⁴. In this capacity he won several victories over the 'Free Sarmatians,' and by the terror of his name checked the torrent of barbarian invasion which was overflowing Pannonia. On the death of his father (376) he retired into private life, lived among

¹ Themistius, Or. xv. p. 190 (ed. Paris).

² Aurelius Victor, Epitome xlviii.

³ Pacatus and Themistius suggest the idea of *bonhomie*; Zosimus of indolence; Claudian (Laus Serenae, 135-8) that of passionateness.

⁴ 'Dux Moesiae Theodosius Junior, primâ etiam tum lanugine juvenis' says Ammianus (xxix. 6. 15). He was probably then in his twenty-seventh year.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

his own people on his Spanish estate, and—so says his panegyrist¹—often encouraged his peasants by taking a turn with them in the labours of the farm, so that his martial limbs might not grow flabby by disuse. His retirement lasted less than three years. Then Gratian, finding himself, at the age of twenty, left by the death of his uncle Valens, the oldest of the Emperors, with only his impetuous and unwise step-mother Justina nominally assisting in the administration of the Empire, looked around him for help, and wisely determined by one act to associate with himself a colleague of riper experience than his own, and to repair, as far as it could be repaired, the cruel injustice which had been committed by the house of Valentinian. He summoned Theodosius from Spain, and on the 19th of January, 379, proclaimed him Augustus at Sirmium on the Save. The new Emperor was probably in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

His accession Jan.
19, 379.

Division
of the
Empire.

To his new colleague Gratian assigned the share of the Empire which had formerly been governed by Valens, but with considerably enlarged limits. It had doubtless been perceived in the recent campaign that the division between *Oriens* and *Illyricum* which split what is now called 'the Balkan peninsula' into two unequal parts, by a line running north and south from the Danube to the Aegean², was ill adapted for purposes of defence against the Gothic invaders. Now, therefore, Gratian handed over to Theodosius not only *Oriens*

¹ Pacatus, Panegyricus ix.

² This line pretty nearly corresponded with the twenty-fourth parallel of longitude, running first a degree to the west and then a degree to the east of it, almost passing through Sardica (the modern Sofia) and coming out opposite to the island of Thasos.

(that is Moesia and Thrace, with Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt) but also the eastern part of Illyricum, comprising the two 'Dioceses' of Dacia and Macedonia, or, speaking in terms of modern geography, Servia, Macedonia, Albania and Greece. Nearly the whole of that territory which recently belonged to Turkey, except Moldavia and Wallachia, thus became subject to the sway of the Eastern Emperor. This arrangement undoubtedly worked well for the defence of the provinces, now consolidated under the rule of Theodosius: and it had important bearings on the after-history of Europe, as the line now traced was practically the abiding frontier between the Eastern and Western Empires¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
379.

From Sirmium, the scene of his accession, the new Emperor of the East seems to have marched up the valley of the Morava, and down the valley of the Vardar to Thessalonica, which he made his headquarters for the two following years. It is not difficult to discern the reason for his choice. All over the plains of Thrace and Macedonia, on the south of the Balkan range as well as on the north of it, the Gothic marauders were swarming. The walled cities, it is true, everywhere repelled their attacks, but in the open country they were irresistible. Far and wide the burning villas, the ravaged vineyards, the long trains of captives, in which the nobleman as well as the *colonus* was led off into miserable bondage, told the tale of the ruin wrought by the terrible day of Hadrianople. The

First campaign of Theodosius.

¹ The important fact of this new division is disclosed to us only by a sentence in the Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen (vii. 4), 'Gratian bestowed the government of *Illyria* and of the eastern provinces upon Theodosius.' Tillemont has successfully vindicated the general accuracy of this statement against the attacks of M. Godefroy (v. 716).

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

379.

first duty of Theodosius manifestly was to clear the provinces south of the Balkan range, and when that was accomplished it would be time enough to consider how to deal with the Gothic settlers in Moesia. Till this was done the new Emperor would not even enter his capital. The right place for commencing the work was Thessalonica, with its strong situation on the Aegean, commanding the passes into Thessaly, and the shortest line of communication with Gratian's Illyrian capital, Sirmium.

Theodosius
at Thes-
salonica.

Thessalonica itself had been only lately hard pressed by the Gothic marauders, but a pestilence had broken out in their host which the Christians within the walls attributed to the prayers of their great bishop Acholius¹, who thus like another Elisha scattered by spiritual weapons the host of the invaders²; and thus, probably before the spring of 379, the neighbourhood was cleared of their unwelcome presence. Here then, in this old Macedonian city, Theodosius fixed his camp and court, and hither streamed all the high dignitaries of the State, the officers of the army, the Senators of Constantinople, the members of the great Civil Service of the Empire, zealous to pay court to their new sovereign, and keen to receive promotion from his hands. The language, even of a hostile historian like Zosimus³, shows the favourable impression which the new Emperor made upon his subjects. Instead of the jealous, suspicious, timid Valens, here

¹ Or Ascholius. Contemporary writers seem to prefer the form in the text.

² This supposed supernatural intervention is mentioned by St. Ambrose—writing after the death of Acholius—in letter 15 (Class I). I owe this reference to Dr. Ifland (*Theodosius der Grosse*, p. 67).

³ iv. 25.

was a frank, genial soldier, of florid face and sanguine temperament, affable to all who wished to approach him, well known for his courage in the field, and ready (only too ready for the State's necessities) to bestow office, honours, emoluments on all who approached him as candidates for his favour. He is accused by his critic¹ of having increased the number of the highest military commands (Mastership of the Cavalry, and Mastership of the Infantry) from two to five, and doubled all the lower grades held by generals, tribunes, and so forth. Though Zosimus affirms that this was done without adding to the strength of the army, we may well believe that it was upon the whole a wise policy on the part of Theodosius to surround himself with a large number of active and zealous officers, more than sufficient to replace the terrible losses sustained at Hadrianople. In the guerilla war which he had now for some time to wage, leadership was more important than great masses of men. He had to restore the shaken confidence of the Roman troops and to terrify the barbarians into retreat by a series of daring expeditions such as Gideon in old time conducted against the Midianites; and now, as in the days of Gideon, courage and mutual confidence between general and army were the first and essential conditions of success. Probably too, he already revolved in his mind the scheme which he afterwards so successfully matured, of enlisting the barbarians themselves in the service of the Empire; and, if that were to be done, it was all-important that he should draw round his Council-table a group of brave and experienced officers, whom the Goth would obey because he had found

¹ iv. 27.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

379.

them terrible on the battle-field. Still it is obvious that this policy rendered necessary heavy demands on the exhausted treasury of the State, exhausted by the very ravages which it was meant to terminate. Every one of the five new *Magistri* received, we are told, as liberal allowances for his staff as had been formerly bestowed upon each of his two predecessors. The Emperor's own table was spread with a magnificence which formed an unpleasant contrast to the misery of the ruined villages of Thrace. Cooks and butlers and eunuchs, 'a list of whom would fill a volume,' swarmed around the princely Spaniard, and those among them who were distinguished by their handsome presence and courtly address might hope to supplant the responsible Ministers of the State. Already, it may be, in the first flush of the new Emperor's popularity, it was possible to discern the harbingers of future storms: already a veteran statesman might surmise that the openhandedness of this affable soldier would one day make the men sigh for the parsimony of the jealous Valens.

Panegyric
of Themis-
tius.

However, for the time, the comparisons were all in favour of Theodosius. It was probably early in 379 that the orator Themistius presented himself at Thessalonica in order to offer his tribute of florid panegyric¹ to the new Emperor, and at the same time to hint the desire of the senators and nobles of Constantinople that the fountain of honour, which had in their opinion been kept of late too closely sealed, might now be set running freely. An earlier deputation had been sent by the Senate of Constantinople with formal congratulations on the accession of Theodosius, but

¹ Oration xiv.

Themistius had been prevented by sickness from taking part in that deputation. At the time he bitterly regretted this absence, but now, he says, he almost rejoices over it, since the ardour of his spirit has conquered the infirmities of his body, and he is enabled to behold with his own eyes the return of the golden age. Was the orator thinking of the crooked legs and mean appearance of the predecessor of Theodosius when he said, 'It is now permitted me to behold an Emperor whom I can only describe in the words of Homer'—

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

379.

"Ne'er have these eyes of mine beheld so noble a presence,
Never one so majestic: in truth thine aspect is king-like"¹

Then with a touch of something which looks like genuine enthusiasm he breaks forth. 'Thou art the one man who outweighest all others to us. Instead of them we look to thee. Thou art to us instead of Dacia, instead of Thrace, instead of Illyria [the provinces torn from us by the barbarians], instead of our legions, instead of all our other warlike equipment, which vanished more swiftly than a shadow. Now we who were erewhile pursued are driving our foes headlong. By the new hopes which thou hast kindled in us we stand, we take breath, we are confident that we shall arrest the Goths in their prosperous career, and shall extinguish the wide-spreading conflagration which they have kindled and which hitherto neither Haemus², nor the boundaries of Thrace, or of Illyria, rough of passage as they are to the traveller, have been able to arrest. . .

¹ Iliad iii. 169-170. Priam is speaking of Agamemnon. Themistius changes *ἔοικε* to *ἔοικας* to make the compliment more direct.

Καλὸν δ' οὕτω ἐγὼν οὕτω ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
Οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν· βασιλῆϊ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικε.

² The Balkans.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

379.

It was no fiction of the poet when Homer represented Achilles as by his mere battle-cry repelling the conquering barbarians: for those accursed ones, ere a battle was yet joined, when thou hadst merely moved up thine outposts to theirs, lost their old audacity. This have they felt already. What more shall they feel when they see thee brandishing thy spear, shaking thy shield, when they see close to them the gleam of thy burnished helmet?’

Fulsome as is the praise which the orator bestows on the possessor of supreme power, it is clear that the new Emperor's accession had in a notable manner raised the spirits of his subjects, and was beginning to depress those of the barbarians. And herewith agrees the calm judgment of the Gothic historian¹, recorded after the lapse of a century and a half. ‘When Theodosius was associated in the Empire by Gratian in the room of Valens, the Goths soon perceived that military discipline was replaced on a better footing, the cowardice and sloth of former Emperors being laid aside: and when they perceived it they were struck with terror. For the Emperor, keen in intellect, strong in courage, and wise in counsel, tempering the severity of his orders by liberality and an affable demeanour, was ever rousing his demoralised army to brave deeds: and the soldiers observing the favourable change in their leader soon recovered their lost self-confidence.’

Of the actual events of the campaign of 379 we hear but little. The dates of his laws² enable us to trace the movements of Theodosius, keeping his line of communication open with Gratian at Sirmium, in July

¹ Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, xxvii.

² As collected from the Theodosian Code by Iland, pp. 70 and 72.

at Scupi¹, 100 miles north of Thessalonica, in August apparently on the southern shore of the Danube², in January (380) back again at Thessalonica. We are told³ that not only did courage, owing to the successful operations which Theodosius commanded, return to the Imperial infantry and cavalry, but that even the peasants became formidable to the barbarians, and the workers in the mines, at the Emperor's orders, threw down the gold-ore and took the iron of the soldier into their hands.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
379.

The honours of this campaign, however, as far as Zosimus may be trusted to award them, fell not to Theodosius himself so much as to Modar, one of those generals with whom, as we have seen, he wisely surrounded himself. This man, a Goth by birth and even of royal lineage, but a Christian and of the orthodox faith⁴, had recently deserted from the cause of his countrymen and taken service under the Roman eagles. He had given striking proofs of his fidelity to his new lords, and had accordingly been appointed one of the five Masters of the Soldiery⁵. He selected a bit of high table-land among the Balkans, upon which, unknown to the Goths, he pitched his camp, concealed doubtless by surrounding eminences. There he watched

Brave
deeds of
Modar.
Zosimus,
iv. 25.

¹ Now Uskub.

² If, that is to say, the 'Vico Augusti' of the Theodosian Code be the same with the 'Augustis' of the Itinerary and the Tabula Peutingeriana, which is by no means clear.

³ By Themistius (*ubi supra*).

⁴ Ifland (p. 70) seems justified in drawing this conclusion from the unqualified language of Gregory Nazianzen in the letter addressed to Modares (or Modarius), (Ep. 136).

⁵ Καὶ δι' ἣν ἐπεδείξατο πίστιν στρατιωτικῆς προβεβλημένος ἀρχῆς probably means this.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

379

his opportunity, and when the barbarians, revelling in the plunder which they had gathered from the villages and unwall'd towns of Thrace, were indulging in a drunken debauch in the plains below, he armed his soldiers with sword and shield, the coats of mail and heavier armour being left behind, and led them stealthily down the mountain to the Gothic camp. Surprised and unarmed, the barbarians for the most part awoke from their stupor only to find themselves transfixed by the swords of the Romans. In a short time the whole of this host was slaughtered, and their arms and ornaments became the spoil of the conquerors. Then the soldiers of Modar rushed forward to the rude waggon-encampment, where the women and children were quartered. No fewer than 4000 Gothic waggons, so we are told, were taken possession of, and all the women, the children, and the captive slaves who were accustomed on the march to walk and ride upon the waggons by turns¹, fell into the hands of the legionaries. The Roman captives were no doubt released, and the Gothic women and children sold into slavery.

The success of this murderous undertaking of Modar's—a success which was perhaps partly due to his knowledge of the moral weaknesses of his countrymen—and the fear of its repetition, seem to have determined the fortunes of the campaign of 379. The Goths were probably for the most part driven to the north of the Balkans, and some successful battles must have been

¹ Ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὁρμήσαντες ἀμάξας μὲν εἶλον τετρακισχιλίας, αἰχμαλώτους δὲ ὅσους ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοσούτων ἀμαξῶν φέρεσθαι, δίχα τῶν βάδην ταύταις ἀκολουθούντων καὶ ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς, οἷα φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, τὰς ἀναπαύσεις ἐπ' αὐτῶν ποιουμένων (Zosimus, iv. 25). An interesting picture of a Gothic native army on its march.

fought, perhaps on the southern bank of the Danube, not with the Goths only but with other wild tribes which had swarmed over the great river. On the 17th of November Theodosius was able to send official messengers to all the great cities of the Empire announcing a series of victories over 'the Goths, the Alani and the Huns¹.' Still, even the region south of the Balkans can hardly have been entirely cleared of the invaders, for we find the Emperor yet delaying to take up his abode in his capital, and instead thereof fixing his headquarters for the winter at Thessalonica.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
379.

It is a proof how much of the recent success had been due to the energy of one man, that the temporary suspension of his powers changed the whole aspect of affairs. In the early part of the year 380 Theodosius fell sick at Thessalonica. Probably the same morbid influences which had previously broken up the camp of the Gothic besiegers, now laid low their energetic enemy. The crisis of the illness lasted apparently somewhat less than a month, as we find edicts bearing his signature both on the 2nd and 27th of February, but none in the intervening period. There is reason to think, however, that during many months of the year 380 he was unable to take the field in person². Meanwhile a change of vast

Sickness
of Theo-
dosius.

¹ 'Ansonio et Olybrio Coss. [379] His Conss. levatus est Theodosius Aug. ab Augusto Gratiano die xiv Kal. Februar. in civitate Sirmio. Ipso anno multa bella Romani cum Gothis commiserunt. Deinde victoriae nuntiatae sunt adversus Gothos, Alanos atque Hunos die xv Kal. Decembr.' This important notice is from the *Descriptio Consulum Idatio Adscripta* (Roncalli, ii. 95), which, whether rightly attributed to Idatius or not, undoubtedly contains some valuable extracts from the official records kept at Constantinople. (See Holder-Egger's paper in the *Neues Archiv*, i. 227 et seq.)

² This is made probable by the fact that almost all his decrees for this year are dated from Thessalonica (there is perhaps some error

BOOK I. importance to the internal politics of the Empire had been
 CH. 5. caused by this illness. Theodosius, who like his father
 380. had postponed the rite of baptism, with its supposed
 mysterious efficacy for the washing away of past sins,
 to as late a period as possible, now, believing himself
 to be at the point of death, received the lustral water
 from the hand of Bishop Acholius. He laid himself
 down on his sick bed a lukewarm, if not actually
 heterodox, Christian: he arose from it a zealous
 champion of Athanasian orthodoxy.

Return of
the bar-
barians.

Postponing for a short time the fuller consideration
 of the religious policy which Theodosius henceforward
 adopted, let us observe the effect which his sickness
 produced on the struggle between the Empire and the
 Goths. The provinces south of the Balkans, if they
 had been cleared of the barbarians during the preceding
 year, were now again overrun by their desolating
 swarms. Fritigern, satiated apparently with the ravage
 of Moesia and Thrace, directed his course southward to
 Epirus, Thessaly and Achaia: while his old allies, the
 Ostrogothic chiefs Alatheus and Saphrax, marked down
 a new prey, crossing over the Danube where it flows
 from north to south, and attacking the Western Empire
 in its frontier province, Pannonia.

Inter-
vention of
Gratian.

With all these barbarous hordes pouring in upon the
 devastated Empire, and himself still unable from
 physical weakness to ride forth at the head of his
 legions, Theodosius was constrained to call upon his
 Western colleague for help. Gratian did not himself

about four laws at the end of April and the beginning of May dated
 from Antioch and Damascus): and also by Gratian's taking the chief
 part in the conclusion of the treaty with the Goths, to be shortly
 mentioned.

take the field against the Goths, but he seems to have journeyed from Trier to Milan and Aquileia¹. From the latter place he doubtless superintended the defence of Pannonia (as to which our authorities tell us nothing), and the attack upon the Goths in Thessaly and Macedonia. The latter duty was entrusted to two Frankish chiefs named Bauto and Arbogast. It is a striking proof of the extent to which Teutonic soldiers had already succeeded in establishing themselves in the service of the Empire, to find such a high command as this, at a most critical period for the State, entrusted to two Franks from the forests beyond the Scheldt. Both were destined to rise even higher in the Roman commonwealth. Bauto was to be an Emperor's chief minister, and his daughter was—after his death—to be hailed as Augusta; Arbogast was to place one of his humble friends and dependents on the Imperial throne. But both were at this time steadfastly loyal to the great civilised Empire under whose eagles they had enlisted, and the fact that they were men of war, whose hands were soiled by no ignoble gains, not venal hucksterers like Lupicinus and Maximus, had gained for them the enthusiastic love and confidence of their soldiers.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
380.

Bauto and
Arbogast.

We hear little or nothing as to the details of the campaign conducted by the two Frankish generals, but from its result we may conclude that it was entirely successful. Macedonia and Thessaly appear to have been freed from their barbarian invaders, who were now probably for the most part ranged along the southern shore of the Danube, in the regions where four years previously they had been peacefully settled by Valens.

¹ Our information as to these movements of Gratian is derived from the Code.

BOOK I. About this time Fritigern seems to have died, perhaps
 CH. 5. slain in battle with Bauto or Arbogast. And now, by
 380. one of those strange changes in men's minds which so often occur when civilised and barbarous nations meet in battle, there came to Gratian (who by this time had marched eastward as far as Sirmium¹ and was therefore close to the theatre of events) an opportunity for concluding a safe and honourable peace.

Peace concluded.

Fritigern being dead, the one dauntless spirit which had hitherto breathed hope and mutual loyalty into the Gothic kinships, was gone. There were among them troubles and dissensions (which will shortly be alluded to) in connection with Fritigern's old rival, Athanaric. And after all, every Gothic warrior in the ranks might well ask himself what he was fighting for. To take the walled cities and make himself master of all their strange delights, the Goth had found impossible. It was easy to wander wide over the plains of Thessaly and Thrace, burning villas, driving off cattle, carrying away the provincials into captivity. But this process could not go on for ever, and with every year that the war lasted it became harder to procure a bare subsistence, much more the luxuries which were the earlier prize of rapine, in the thrice desolated valleys through which the barbarians roved. Were it not better, now that they had proved their might, and done deeds of daring which would be told of in song by generations yet unborn, to settle down once again within the limits of the Empire as the friends, not the foes, of a generous Augustus?

This, or something like this, was the calculation on

¹ According to the Code, Gratian was at Sirmium on the 8th of September, 380.

the barbarians' side ; and on the other hand the conclusion of the offered peace was for the Emperors a piece of most wise statesmanship. The fatal policy of Valens could not now be undone. The Gothic nation was within the borders of the Empire : to destroy and to expel it were both impossible. The mistake of Hadrianople must not be repeated, nor the fortunes of the Empire hazarded upon the cast of a single battle. What war there was must be of the tedious Fabian kind, harassing the invaders, cooping them up in the mountains, falling upon them in small detachments, and wearing them out by hardship and famine. But, all this while, the once wealthy and flourishing provinces of Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia would be slowly bleeding to death. It was surely better that there should be peace between the Empire and her new visitors, peace on terms not dissimilar to those which Fritigern had asked for, perhaps insincerely, before the battle of Hadrianople, but which his people, tired of those winters in the snowy Balkans, might now be willing loyally to accept. These terms involved a settlement of the Goths south of the Danube resembling that which they had previously possessed in Dacia ; only that the barbarians should be more blended with the Roman inhabitants, and should more distinctly hold their lands on condition of military service in the armies of the Empire, becoming in the political language of the day *foederati*.

Thus it came to pass that in the language of the Gothic historian (which is in the main confirmed by the Roman chroniclers), ' Gratian, though he had collected an army, did not nevertheless trust in arms, but determining to conquer the Goths by gifts and favour, and bestowing

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
380.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

380.

provisions upon them, entered into a covenant with them and so made peace. And when, after these things, the Emperor Theodosius recovered his health and found that the contract which he himself had wished for was concluded between the Goths and the Romans, he accepted the fact with very grateful mind, and gave his own consent to that peace¹.

Athanasius
driven into
exile,

This reconciliation between the Visigoths and the Empire was connected, partly as cause and partly as effect, with another most important event which marked the beginning of 381, the submission of the sturdy old chief Athanasius, who had so long upheld among his countrymen the banner of defiance to Rome, and refusal to amalgamate with Roman civilisation. Five years before, when his kinsmen were praying for admission into the Empire, he too appeared with his warriors and his waggons on the Wallachian shore of the Danube. When he heard that his old enemy Fritigern was admitted, but that the Ostrogoths under Alatheus and Saphrax were excluded, the proud and sensitive chief, mindful of his own past discourtesy to Rome, would not run the risk of a similar rebuff, but retired into the recesses of Dacia to a region of mountains and forests called Caucaland², and there, from behind

¹ Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, xxvii, xxviii. The most important entry in the Roman chronicles is in Prosper s. a. 380: 'Procurente Gratiano, eo quod Theodosius aegrotaret, pax firmatur cum Gothis.' This entry is absent in one important MS., the 'Parmensis.'

² 'Ad Caucalandensem locum altitudine silvarum inaccessum et montium, cum suis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extrusis.' Amm. Mar. xxxi. 4. 13. Caucaland looks like a Teutonic name. Zeuss (*Die Deutschen*, &c. p. 410) identifies it with *Hauha-land*, the Gothic equivalent of High-land. It was probably the eastern portion of Transylvania.

the mountain-wall of the Carpathians, bade defiance to his enemies the Huns. An unexpected foe roused up the old lion from his lair. The Ostrogothic chiefs, Alatheus and Saphrax, retreating before the now better-disciplined army of Theodosius, re-crossed the Danube, and avenging perhaps some old grudge of pre-Hunnic days, expelled Athanasius from his kingdom¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
381.

He fled into the territory of Theodosius, who received him courteously, loaded him with presents, and escorted him into Constantinople. Let Jordanes describe for us the effect produced by the sight of New Rome upon the man who had been all his life the ideal Rome-hater². 'As he entered the royal city he said, wondering, "Lo now I behold what I have so often heard with unbelief, the splendour of this great city." Then turning his eyes this way and that way, and beholding the glorious situation of the city, the array of ships, the lofty walls, the multitudes of various nations all formed into one well-ordered army (like a fountain springing forth through many holes, yet collected again into one stream), he exclaimed, "A God upon earth, doubtless, is this Emperor, and whoever lifts a hand against him is guilty of his own blood."'

and courteously received by Theodosius.

The Emperor continued to treat his barbarian guest with high courtesy, and the guest remained in the same state of awe-struck admiration at all that he beheld. But his residence beside the Bosphorus was not to be

Death and burial of Athanasius.

¹ Zosimus iv. 34 must be combined with Jordanes xxvii (as to the defeat of Alatheus and Saphrax by Theodosius), and is confirmed by an incidental allusion in Ammianus (xxvii. 5. 10): 'Athanasius *proximorum factione* genitalibus terris expulsus.' Evidently it was not by Huns or 'Sarmatians' that he was driven forth from Caucasia.

² De Reb. Get. xxviii.

BOOK I. of long duration. His entry into Constantinople was
 CH. 5. made on the 11th of January 381, and on the 25th
 381. of the same month he died¹, broken-hearted, it may be,
 at the collapse of his barbarian State, or more probably
 pining away, as the American Red-skin pines, in contact
 with a higher and more complex civilisation. Theodo-
 sius honoured him almost more in his death than in his
 life, provided for him a funeral of extraordinary mag-
 nificence, and himself rode before the bier as they
 carried the corpse of the old Gothic chieftain to the
 grave.

It was wisely as well as courteously done, this
 homage to Rome's old enemy. The heart of the
 Visigothic nation was touched by the respect shown by
 the great Augustus to the man who by the death of
 Fritigern had become their unquestioned king and
 leader². Not only his own personal followers, but the
 great mass of the people, accepted gladly the terms
 which Gratian's generals had offered to so many of their
 nation in the preceding year, and became *foederati* of
 the Empire.

As to this important change we have not so many
 details as we could desire, and our account of it must

¹ These dates furnished us by the apparently accurate 'Fasti Idatiani' (in Roncalli, ii. 95) and confirmed by Marcellinus Comes (ibid. 268: 'eodemque mense morbo periit') must outweigh the vague 'paucis mensibus interjectis' of Jordanes. Prosper says accurately enough that the death of Athanaric took place 'xv quo fuerat susceptus die,' but incorrectly says 'occiditur.' The 'morbo periit' of Marcellinus is more in harmony with the other authorities.

² 'Aithanarico rege, qui tunc Fritigerno successerat' (Jord. u. s. xxviii). It will be observed that the title of *Judex* is dropped now that the Ostrogothic over-lordship is at an end, and Athanaric, even in his low estate, is now *Rex*.

be framed from scattered and fragmentary notices, to some extent helped out by conjecture. Doubtless one condition of the *foedus* was that all the ravaging inroads which had been made into the provinces south of the Balkans since the day of the banquet at Marcianople should cease, and that the Goths should return to the settlements assigned them in Moesia Inferior¹ by Valens, and earn their bread by the cultivation of the soil. But, though we have little or no information on this point, it seems reasonable to suppose that the high-spirited Gothic warriors were not called upon again to submit themselves to the degrading rule of such governors as Lupicinus and Maximus. More probable is it that they now stood outside of the whole administrative system of the Empire, paying no taxes, and free from obedience to the Roman judges, except when disputes arose between them and the Provincials. Thus (though it must be again repeated that we speak here only from conjecture) we may conceive of the Goths as reproducing in Moesia some of the characteristic features of German life as described to us by Tacitus, with its public meetings of the men of the village and the county², its strong, but not unlimited power vested in the chiefs and kings; perhaps (but here our conjectures must become even more hesitating than elsewhere) with its peculiar agricultural system and periodical redistribution of the land.

In return for the privileges thus conceded, and for the (probable) immunity from taxation³ which must

BOOK I
CH. 5.

Meaning
of the
Foedus
cum
Gothis.

¹ And perhaps in Dacia Ripensis.

² Vicus and pagus.

³ A strong confirmation of the theory (probable on *à priori* grounds) that the Goths enjoyed special immunities from taxation and from the

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

have practically rendered almost the whole province of Moesia useless to the Imperial exchequer, what was the Gothic contribution? Whenever they were summoned by the Emperor they were to muster under their own chiefs, with their own horses, arms, and accoutrements, and to fight under the supreme command of the Roman Master of the Soldiery, for the defence of the Empire. The amount of pay (*stipendium*) which was to be given to each barbarian warrior, noble or simple free-man, was probably fixed in the original contract entered into between Theodosius and the chieftain who may have succeeded Athanaric. This contract was the *Foedus* which constituted the Goths *Foederati*.

The *Foederati* compared with the *Socii* and *Auxilia* of earlier times.

In this arrangement there was, besides much present statesmanship, a certain curious reversion to some of the oldest traditions of the past in the Roman state. The Allies (*Socii*), consisting first of the soldiers of the Latin cities and then of warriors from the various provinces of Italy, always formed an important part of the hosts of the Republic, somewhat outnumbering the regular Roman legionaries, and fighting for the most part on the wings of the army, while the legions

rule of the civil magistrates of the Empire, is afforded by a passage in the XVIth Oration of Themistius. He brings forward the example of the Gaulish invaders of Asia Minor, who had been settled in Galatia and had given their names to that province. 'Now,' he says, 'no one could call them barbarians but altogether Romans. Their manner of life is the same as ours: they pay the same tributes, undergo the same military service, receive the same magistrates, obey the same laws. So too before long will it be with the Goths. Now the wounds which they have inflicted are recent: but soon we shall have them bound by the same treaties, eating at the same tables, serving with us in the same army, undertaking the same public duties.' Evidently this was not the state of things established by the *foedus*.

were drawn up in the centre¹. When the Italian provincials acquired the full rights of Roman citizens, the separate organisation of the *Socii* died away, the Samnite and the Marsian taking their place in the legions side by side with the soldier born in sight of the Capitol. But their places were virtually taken by the *Auxilia*, bodies of troops raised in those provinces beyond sea, which became successively the theatres of war. Under the Empire, as the rights of citizenship were more liberally granted; this distinction also became less important; and when at length, in the reign of Caracalla, those rights were bestowed on all the freeborn males throughout the Roman world, it really lost all its original meaning. But the two divisions of the army, *Legiones* and *Auxilia*, still existed side by side, the latter word being apparently used to designate a somewhat lower class of soldiers, employed in more irregular, skirmishing warfare than the legionaries. In our own country, for example, while three legions, the Second, the Sixth, and the Twentieth, remained for generations permanently stationed at the three great nerve-centres of Roman power, Caerleon, York, and Chester, the outpost duty of defending the wall which stretched from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway was entrusted to less dignified bodies of troops, such as the First Cohort of Batavians or the Second Ala of Asturians, who all passed under the generic name of *Auxilia*.

Still, as has been said, the old distinction between Roman and Ally had practically vanished, for the Gaul,

¹ In the year 225 B.C., according to Polybius, the legionaries numbered 325,300 and the *Socii* 443,000: total 768,300. (See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 381.)

BOOK I. the Spaniard, or the Illyrian felt himself as much a
 CH. 5. Roman citizen, and had as good a chance of one day wearing the purple as a man born on the banks of the Tiber. But it reappeared, when Theodosius and Gratian, making a virtue of necessity, granted permanent settlements within the Empire to the followers of Fritigern and Athanaric, on condition of their mustering round the eagles in the day of battle.

Mediaeval
 Analogies.

As this institution of the *foederati*¹ reproduced some of the features of the military system of the Republic, so it foreshadowed some of the features of the military systems of the Middle Ages. Though in the fourth century we are still separated by a vast tract of time from the establishment of the feudal system, it is easy to see how this contract between Emperor and *foederati*—so much land for so much service on the battle-field—will one day ripen into regular feudal tenure.

Modern
 Analogies.

In more modern days it might be possible to find analogies to the position of the *foederati* in that occu-

¹ It may perhaps be questioned whether the word *Foederati* was yet applied to the Goths, though it seems to me most probable that it was. It first appears in the Theodosian Code in the year 406, when a law of Honorius (lib. vii. tit. 13, 16) authorises the enlistment in the army of the slaves of 'Foederati and Dediticii.' And Olympiodorus (apud Photium, iii. 258, ed. Migne) seems to say that both the names of Buccellarius and Foederati were first introduced in the time of Honorius. His language however is not quite clear, and as Suidas and other writers emphatically say that Foederati meant treaty-bound Goths, ἱποσπόνδοι Γότθοι or Σκῦθαι, no time seems more probable for the first introduction of the term than the early part of the reign of Theodosius, unless indeed, which is very possible, it had been already applied to the Goths in the time of Constantine. This last is the account of the matter given by Jordanes (De Reb. Get. xvi and xxi). In the fifth century Foederati was a word in pretty frequent use. See for the chief passages in which it occurs Godefroy's note on the above law of Honorius (Codex Theodosianus: ed. Ritter, ii. 391).

pied by the Cossacks under their Hetman in the wars of Peter the Great and Charles the Twelfth, in the constitution of the 'Military Frontier' of Austria and Hungary under the Habsburgs, or in the place assigned to Sikhs and Ghorkas in the armies of the Empress of India. Like these latter troops (as we shall see hereafter) the foes turned friends and enlisted under the banner of their conqueror, did him good service in the crisis of his fortunes.

In order to understand more fully the policy thus adopted by Theodosius towards the Goths, it will be well to hear the allusions made to it by Themistius in his Oration¹ on the choice of Saturninus for the Consulship (383). The grey old rhetorician, who was by this time the tutor of Arcadius, son of the Emperor, and was soon after to be raised to high official position by that Emperor's favour, would of course represent the Imperial policy in the most favourable light to his hearers; and we may consider that in listening to his speech we are reading a leading article in the official newspaper of the Empire.

Themistius on the Foederati (in his Oration on the Consulship of Saturninus).

It seems that the honour of the Consulship for the year 383, the *quinquennalia* of the accession of Theodosius, had been offered by Gratian to his Eastern colleague. Themistius can hardly find words to express his admiration of the magnanimity of Theodosius in not only declining the brilliant honour for himself, but forbearing to claim it for Arcadius or some other member of his family, and handing it on to Saturninus, a stranger in blood, to reward him for the services which he had rendered to the state.

¹ Oratio xvi (ed. Paris, 1684).

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

383.

‘What are those services?’ says Themistius. ‘I might enumerate his great deeds in war, but as I am a lover of peace and of peaceful, harmonious words, I will rather turn to these and describe the benefits which the forethought of our Emperor has provided for us through the instrumentality of the new Consul. After that terrible Iliad of ours by the Danube, fire and sword were carried wide over Thrace and Illyricum; our armies vanished like a shadow: no Emperor presided over the State, and no mountains seemed high enough, no rivers deep enough, to prevent the barbarians from swarming over them to our ruin. Celts and Assyrians, Armenians, Africans, and Iberians, upon every frontier of our territory stood armed and threatening. Things had come to such a pass that we were prepared to hail it as a signal success, if only no worse evil might befall us than those which we had already undergone.

‘Then in the midst of the general despair came that impulse from on high by which Gratian was moved to invite Theodosius to share his throne; and at once over land and sea there spread a hope unknown before. Theodosius, as soon as he had grasped the reins of the Empire, began, like a skilful charioteer, to consider what lay within the capacity of his horses; and he first dared to note this fact, that the strength of the Romans now lies not in iron, not in breastplates and shields, not in countless masses of men, but in Reason. He perceived that we possess that other kind of force and equipment which, to those who reign according to the mind of God, comes down silently from above, and makes all nations subject to us, which tames the savage soul, and before which arms and artillery and horses and the obstinacy of the Goth and the audacity of the

Alan and the madness of the Massagete [Hun] all give way. This is that divine gift the praises of which we learned in our boyhood from the poets. So too Esop in his fable of the Wind and the Sun set forth the superiority of persuasion to violence; and the bards who sang of the wars in heaven declare that the giants, engaging in battle with the gods, were all able to stand up against Mars, but were lulled to sleep by the Caduceus of Mercury.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
383.

‘Deliberating with himself to whom he should entrust this message of reconciliation, he found none so fit as Saturninus, his old comrade in arms, whom he knew to be like-minded in this matter with himself. Even as Achilles sent out Patroclus to deliver the Greeks in the extremity of their peril, so, but with far happier auguries, did Theodosius send forth Saturninus; and as the son of Peleus arrayed his friend in his armour, so did the Emperor equip his messenger with his own arms of gentleness, of patience, and of persuasion. Saturninus came to the camp of the Goths, and as soon as he saw he conquered. He offered them an amnesty for the past, he rooted out of their minds the suspicions germinating from their own misdeeds, he set before them the benefits which they might enjoy as friends and servants of the Empire. Thus did he win a peaceful victory and lead their chiefs back in triumph to his master. Unarmed, except with their swords which they held out like olive-branches; with sad faces and downcast eyes, they walked with shame through the provinces which they had ravaged, and kept their hands religiously from the remnants of property which they had left there. They were tamed, they were softened, they

BOOK I. were subdued by the wise words of their conductor.
CH. 5.
383. I might almost say that he led them with their hands bound behind their backs, so that one looking upon them would have doubted whether he had persuaded, or had conquered, them.

‘It was considered a great thing when Corbulo induced Tiridates, King of Armenia, to submit to Nero, but the knowledge of the vile character of his master must have saddened even that success to Corbulo. How much greater the happiness of Saturninus who serves such a master as Theodosius! And the Armenians are a race easily lifted up with pride and soon cast down again, a race whose very liberty differs not much from slavery. Whereas these barbarians with whom we have to deal are men of most inflexible souls, men to whom the thought of humbling themselves ever so little is far more bitter than death. Yet this is the nation whose chiefs we have seen offering, not some tattered flag, but their very swords, their victorious swords, as a tribute to the Emperor; yea, and humbling themselves before him and clasping his knees as Thetis clasped the knees of the Thunderer, that they might hear from his lips the word, the irrevocable word of peace and reconciliation.

‘Now, that name Scythian [Goth], which was so hateful in our ears, how pleasant, how friendly it sounds! Now the Goths celebrate together with us the festival of our prince [the Quinquennalia], which is in truth one of rejoicing for the victories gained over themselves. Do you complain that their race has not been exterminated? I will not ask, “*Could* they have been exterminated?” I will concede that they might have been easily destroyed without loss to ourselves,

though certainly the history of the Gothic war makes that concession an improbable one. Still, I say, which of the two is better, that Thrace should be filled with corpses or with cultivators of the fields; that we should walk through ghastly desolation or through well-tilled corn-lands? that we should count up the dead men lying there or the ploughers ploughing? Is it better that we should bring Phrygians and Bithynians to settle in the waste lands, or that we should dwell there in peace with the men whom we have subdued? Already I hear from those who have visited those parts that the Goths are working up the iron of their swords and breastplates into mattocks and pruning-hooks, and, bidding a long good-bye to Mars, are paying all their devotions to Ceres and to Bacchus.

‘The course now pursued by Theodosius is not without a precedent in the history of the Republic. Masinissa, once the ally of Carthage, taken prisoner by the Romans and not put to death, became their steadfast friend and a strong defence against the enemies who afterwards attacked them. In our case the State which, like some mighty merchantman strained by wind and wave, was leaking at every seam, is brought into dock and is once more made sea-worthy. The roads are again open. The mountains are no longer terrible to the traveller. The plains are now bringing forth their fruits. No longer is the shore of the Danube a stage for the bloody dance of war, but seeds are being hidden in it and ploughs do furrow it. Villas and farm-buildings are again raising their heads. A delightful atmosphere of rest pervades the land; and the Empire, like some great living creature, feeling

BOOK I. no more the laceration of its wounded members, draws
 CH. 5. one deep breath of delight for ended sorrow.'

383.

With further praises of the generosity and clemency of Theodosius and with anticipations of a victory over Persia, no less complete than his bloodless and tearless victory over the Goths, Themistius ended his oration. The loss of the Mesopotamian provinces (the Alsace and Lorraine of the Empire) still rankled in the hearts of all true Roman citizens, and no motive for loyalty to Theodosius could be stronger than the hope that he would one day recover them. Even after the defeat at Hadrianople, not the barbarians of the North in their trackless forests, but the great autocrat of Persia was looked upon as the dangerous, the hereditary enemy of Rome.

Invasion
 of the
 Greuthungi
 under
 Odotheus,
 386.

After the reconciliation of the Visigoths to the Empire and their acceptance of the position of *foederati*, there seems to have been almost unbroken peace between Theodosius and the barbarians on his northern frontier. The only exception that is distinctly mentioned is the invasion of the Greuthungi or Ostrogoths five years after the submission of the Visigoths. What commotion in the anarchic Empire of the Huns may have caused another swarm of their Ostrogothic subjects to leave their homes in the Ukraine we know not; but they appear, a numerous horde, with many barbarous confederates of unknown origin, on the northern shore of the Danube in the summer of 386. The old men, the women and children, were with them. It was therefore a national migration, not a mere plunderer's foray, and the leader of the movement was Odotheus, whom we may possibly identify with that Ostrogothic chief Alatheus, the comrade of Saphrax

on the field of Hadrianople¹. They came in such vast numbers that (according to the perhaps exaggerated language of the poet) three thousand barks were needed to transport them across the river; and they asked, perhaps at first in friendly guise, for permission to settle within the limits of the Empire. Promotus, a brave and experienced officer, at that time commanding as Master of the Infantry in Thrace, refused the required permission, and drew up his troops along the southern shore of the Danube to dispute the passage. Not content with merely defensive measures, he devised a skilful if not very honourable stratagem in order to entice the Ostrogoths to their destruction. He secretly instructed some men who were acquainted with their language (possibly Visigothic *foederati*) to steal across the river and open negotiations for the betrayal of the Imperial army by night to their enemies. The apparent traitors demanded a high price for their treason: the chiefs hesitated and tried to reduce it: the deserters stuck to their terms and at length the compact was sealed:—so much blood-money to be paid at once on the conclusion of the bargain and the balance when the barbarians had the Roman army in their power. Odotheus then made his dispositions for reaping, as he supposed, an easy harvest of victory. His best and bravest warriors, the flower of his troops, were to be sent over at once to environ the sleeping host; then the troops of secondary quality; then lastly the men who were too young or too old for fighting, to do the shouting when the victory was won.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.
386.

¹ We get the name of Odotheus from Zosimus (iv. 35) and Claudian (De Quarto Consulatu Honorii, 626), neither of whom, I think, elsewhere mentions Alatheus.

BOOK I.

CH. 5.

386.

Meanwhile Promotus, guided by the concerted signals of the pretended traitors, was making his arrangements in the deepening dusk of the autumn evening. Along the shore he ranged his ships—probably the heavy provision-ships of his army—in three lines, extending for a distance of two miles and a half. Some swifter fighting-ships he kept apparently to manœuvre in mid-channel. The Ostrogoths embarked in their little canoes, small, and made for the most part out of the trunk of a single tree, but multitudinous in number. While they were rowing silently across the black river, the Roman general, still guided by the fire-signals of his confederates, charged in upon them with his powerful war-ships. The momentum of the Roman galleys, joined to the force of the impetuous Danube, was at once fatal to the little skiffs which contained the flower of the barbarian army. On all sides were heard the crash of broken barks, the groans of dying men, the despairing cry of some strong swimmer borne down beneath the eddying Danube by the weight of his cumbrous armour. If some wearied swimmer or the rowers of some disabled bark struggled on towards the southern shore, they were there confronted by the triple line of the Roman merchantmen, the soldiers on board of which assailed the hapless fugitives with whatever missile lay nearest to their hands. The affair was not so much a battle as a massacre, and soon the Danube was covered with the floating carcasses of Gothic warriors and the splintered fragments of Gothic spears.

When the destruction of the army was complete, the Roman soldiers were permitted to swarm across the stream in order to plunder the barbarian camp. Much

spoil they found there, but the chief prizes were the wives and children of the deluded and annihilated host. However, the revenge of the Empire was on this occasion wisely softened by mercy. Theodosius, who had fixed his head-quarters at some little distance from the scene of the battle, being sent for by Promotus to behold the fresh footprints of victory, when he gazed on the multitude of prisoners and the heap of spoils, set all the captives free from their bonds and comforted them with gifts and soothing words. To the Greuthungi of Odotheus he would pursue the same wise policy as to the Thervingi of Fritigern. Having once thoroughly beaten them and convinced them that Rome must be mistress, he would let them live, he would even accept their services. Most of the survivors of that terrible night—and notwithstanding the large words of the poet and historian, we are evidently not to suppose that all perished—became *foederati* of the Empire, and followed the standards of Theodosius in that civil war against the usurper Maximus, which will hereafter be described.

On the 12th of October, 386, Theodosius entered Constantinople in triumph, with his young son, Arcadius (who had now been for three years associated with him as Augustus), by his side. The captive, or the willingly subjected, Greuthungi graced his triumph, and (if this be not a poet's fancy) he deposited in the palace, as the old Roman kings used to deposit in the temple of Capitolian Jupiter, the *spolia opima* of their slain leader¹.

¹ 'Confessusque parens Odothaei regis opima
Rettulit exuviasque tibi.'

(Honorius is addressed: 'Claudian de IV Cons. Honorii, 632-3.')

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

The policy
of Theo-
dosius
criticised
by Zosi-
mus.

Hitherto we have seen the more favourable side of the policy of Theodosius towards the barbarians, as it is represented to us by Themistius and the Chroniclers. But there is no doubt that it was often commented upon in a different spirit, especially by the heathen subjects of the Emperor and those who felt themselves called upon to uphold the military traditions of the people of Romulus. We are still able to trace some of these hostile comments in the pages of Zosimus, the persistent enemy of Theodosius, and the pitiless critic of all his policy. This part of his history is more than usually unsatisfactory, destitute of order and chronological arrangement, weak and gossiping, an anecdote-book rather than a history. Still, some even of these anecdotes are worth studying, for the illustrations which they afford of the temper of the times and the relations of Romans and barbarians to each other at the close of the fourth century.

§ 1. THE TUMULT AT PHILADELPHIA¹.

The
tumult
at Phila-
delphia.

‘The Emperor Theodosius’ (says Zosimus, speaking apparently of the time immediately after his accession) ‘seeing the hopeless inferiority of his troops, gave leave to any of the barbarians beyond the Danube who were willing, to come to him, promising to enrol the deserters in the ranks of his army. Having received this offer, they came to him and were blended with his soldiers,

We get our chief details from Zosimus (iv. 35 and 38) who is somewhat confused and blunders as to the name and origin of the Greuthungi, besides telling the story twice over, but still gives us a spirited and valuable narrative. Claudian agrees with Zosimus in the main outlines of the history. We get the date of Theodosius’ triumphal entry from the *Fasti Idatiani*.

¹ Zosimus, iv. 30.

secretly cherishing the thought that if they but outnumbered the Romans they could easily throw off their disguise and make themselves masters of the Empire. But when the Emperor saw that the number of the deserters exceeded that of his own soldiers in those parts, casting about for some means to keep them in check if they should try to break their bargain with him, he thought it best to transfer some of them to the legions then serving in Egypt, and to bring some of the soldiers in those legions to his own camp. In the marches and counter-marches which this transference rendered necessary, the Egyptians made their passage peaceably through the Empire, buying at a fair price all things that they had need of: but the barbarians marched in no order at all, and helped themselves in the markets to whatsoever they pleased. When the two bodies of troops met at the Lydian city of Philadelphia, the Egyptians, who were much inferior in number to the barbarians, observed all the rules of military discipline; but the latter were encouraged by their numerical superiority to put forward the most arrogant pretensions. When a stall-keeper in the market ventured to ask a barbarian to pay him for something which he had bought, the man drew his sword and wounded him, and so he did also to a neighbour, who, alarmed by his cries, came running to the stall-keeper's help. The Egyptians, who pitied the sufferers, exhorted the barbarians to refrain from such excesses, which were not becoming in men desirous to live according to the laws of Rome. Then they turned, and began to use their swords against them also, on which the Egyptians, losing all patience, fell upon the barbarians and slew more than two hundred

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

of them, some by blows of their swords, and the rest by hunting them into the caves beneath the city¹, where they perished [of hunger]. After giving them this lesson in good behaviour, and showing them that there were some men left who would stand up for the citizens against them, the Egyptians set forward on their way and the barbarians marched to their appointed *rendezvous* in Egypt, their commander being Hormisdas the Persian, son of the Hormisdas who shared the Emperor Julian's campaign in Persia.'

§ 2. NIGHT ATTACK BY THE BARBARIANS.

NARROW ESCAPE OF THEODOSIUS².

Narrow
escape of
Theodo-
sius.

'When these Egyptians arrived in Macedonia and were enrolled in the cohorts there, no order was observed in the camps, nor was there any discrimination between Roman and barbarian, but all were jumbled up confusedly together, no record being kept of those who were enlisted in the several legions. Moreover the deserters [from the barbarian service], when they were now enrolled in the cohorts, were permitted to return to their own country and send substitutes instead of themselves, and then whensoever it pleased them, to re-enlist in the Roman service. When the barbarians saw such utter disorder prevailing in the Imperial

¹ Strabo speaks twice with great emphasis of the terrible earthquakes to which Philadelphia was liable, 'and modern travellers describe the appearance of the country as resembling a billowy sea of disintegrated lava, with here and there vast trap-dykes protruding' (Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, s. v. Philadelphia).

² Zosimus, iv. 31. This event also seems to have occurred near the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, perhaps before his illness at Thessalonica, but I despair of fitting it into its precise chronological position.

armies (for the deserters kept them informed of all that was going on, and there was perfect freedom of intercourse both ways) they thought their time had come for striking a blow at the State which was so negligently administered. Accordingly they crossed the river (Danube) without any trouble, and penetrated to Macedonia, for no one hindered them, and the deserters even facilitated their passage. Here they found that the Emperor had come to meet them with all his army, and as it was now the dead of night, observing one especially bright fire burning they conjectured that that fire marked the Emperor's quarters; a guess which was confirmed by the reports of the deserters who joined themselves to them. They therefore directed their course straight for the Emperor's tent, being guided by the bright watch-fire. As some of the deserters had joined them, only the Romans and the remainder of the deserters resisted their onset. These were few against many, and were barely able to cover the Emperor's flight, having done which, they all fell fighting like brave men, amid a vast multitude of slain foes. If then the barbarians had followed up their victory and pursued the Emperor and those who fled with him, they would at the first shout¹ have made themselves masters of everything. But, contented with their present victory, they overspread the undefended provinces of Macedonia and Thessaly, but spared the cities, doing no ungentle deed towards one of them, because they hoped that from them they should receive tribute.'

It will be seen that even in this narrative, penned by one who hated both Theodosius and his *foederati*, it is

¹ Πάντως αὐτοβοεῖ πάντων ἂν ἐκράτησαν.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

admitted that some of the Goths who had enlisted in the Imperial service, died fighting bravely round the eagles, in order to facilitate the escape of the Augustus. The great services, already described, which the royal Goth, Modar, rendered to the cause of the Empire in the campaign of 379, are another phenomenon of the same kind. In fact, all things being considered, the fidelity of many of the barbarians (Goths, Franks, and even Huns) to Rome, when they had once accepted her *mizdon*¹, is more extraordinary than their occasional treachery.

The next story illustrates the effect produced on the minds of the born subjects of the Empire by the favour shown to the new recruits. We may safely assume that the historian tells the tale in very much the same shape in which Gerontius himself would tell it to his discontented comrades.

§ 3. THE BRAVERY OF GERONTIUS AND ITS REWARD².

Bravery of
Gerontius.

‘At the Scythian town of Tomi (Ovid’s place of banishment, now Kustendje in Bulgaria, about sixty miles south of the Sulina mouth of the Danube), some Roman troops were stationed under the command of Gerontius, a man of great strength of body and skill in war. Outside the town was a detachment of barbarian auxiliaries, the very flower of their nation in courage and manly beauty. These men saw that Theodosius provided them with richer equipments and larger pay than he gave to the Roman soldiers inside the town, yet they repaid the favour, not with gratitude to the

¹ Soldier’s pay (= *μισθός*).

² Zosimus, iv. 40.

Emperor, but with arrogance towards Gerontius and unconcealed contempt for his men. Gerontius could not but see this, and suspected moreover that they intended to seize the town and throw everything into confusion. He consulted with those of his officers on whose judgment he placed most reliance, how to check this increasing wantonness and insolence of the auxiliaries. But when he found them all hanging back through cowardice, and dreading the slightest movement among the barbarians, he donned his armour, bid open the gates of the city, and with certain of his guards—a number that you could very soon have counted—rode forth and set himself against all that multitude. His own soldiers meanwhile were either asleep, or palsied with fear, or else running up to the battlements of the city to see what was about to happen. The barbarians sent up a great shout of laughter at the madness of Gerontius, and despatched some of their bravest against him, thinking to kill him out of hand. But he closed with the first who came, clutched hold of his shield, and fought on bravely till one of his guards with a sword lopped off the barbarian's shoulder (he could do no more, the two men's bodies were so closely intertwined) and dragged him down from off his horse. Then the barbarians began to be struck with awe at the splendid bravery of their foe, while Gerontius dashed forwards to fresh encounters; and at the same time the men who were looking on from the walls of the city, seeing the mighty deeds wrought by their commander, were stung with remembrance of the once great name of Rome, and rushing forth from the gates slew many of the barbarians, who were already panic-stricken and beginning to quit

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

their ranks. The rest of them took refuge in a building held sacred by the Christians and regarded as conferring immunity on fugitives. Gerontius, then, having by his magnificent courage freed Scythia¹ from the dangers impending over it, and obtained a complete mastery over the barbarians, naturally expected some recompense from his sovereign. But Theodosius being on the contrary deeply irritated by the slaughter of the warriors whom he so highly prized, peremptorily summoned Gerontius before him and required him to give a reason for his late conduct. The general pleaded the intended insurrection of the barbarians and their various acts of pillage and murder; but to all this the Emperor gave no heed, insisting that his true motives had been envy of the rich gifts bestowed on the auxiliaries, and a desire to have them put out of the way in order that his own robberies from them might be concealed. He alluded especially to some golden collars which had been given them by way of ornament. Gerontius proved that these, after the slaughter of the owners, had all been sent into the public treasury; yet, even so, he with difficulty escaped from the dangers which encompassed him, after spending all his property in bribes to the eunuchs about the court. And such were the worthy wages that he received for his zeal on behalf of Rome.'

§ 4. A GOTHIC DEBATE.

The history of this debate belongs to the latest years of the reign of Theodosius, but is introduced here as

¹ The Roman province of Scythia, corresponding to the modern Dobrudscha.

illustrating the precarious tenure by which Rome held the services of her Gothic auxiliaries. BOOK I.
CH. 5.

‘¹ When the news came of the probability of a second civil war [on the murder of Valentinian II and the usurpation of Eugenius], there arose a difference of opinion among the chiefs of the tribes whom Theodosius had at the commencement of his reign admitted to his friendship and brotherhood in arms, whom he had honoured with many-gifts, and for whom he had provided a daily banquet in common in his palace. For some of the chiefs loudly asserted that it would be better to despise the oaths which they swore when they gave themselves up to the Roman power, and others insisted that they must on no account depart from their plighted faith². The leader of the party who wished to trample on their oath of allegiance was Eriulph (or Priulph), while Fravitta (or Fraustius)³ headed the loyal party. Long was this internal dissension concealed, but one day at the royal table after long potations they were so carried away with wrath that they openly manifested their discordant sentiments. The Emperor understanding what they were talking

A Gothic debate.

A national party headed by Eriulph.

A Romanizing party by Fravitta.

¹ Zosimus, iv. 56 ; founded apparently on Eunapius (pp. 52–54, ed. Bonn), but modified from his version.

² According to Eunapius, one party advised that they should rest content with their present prosperity, the result of their league with the Romans, while the other insisted that they should revert to that attitude of eternal and unrelenting hostility to Rome, and determination to conquer her territory, to which they had bound themselves by solemn oaths while still in their own land.

³ Probably Fra-veitands ‘the Avenger.’ Eunapius tells us that he was a man who truly held the Homeric sentiment—

‘My soul abhors him as the gates of hell,
Who dares think one thing and another tell,’
that he married a Roman wife and became just like a Roman.

BOOK I. about, broke up the party, but on their way home from
CH. 5. the palace the quarrel became so exasperated that Fravitta drew his sword and dealt Eriulph a mortal blow. Then the soldiers of the murdered man were about to rush upon Fravitta and kill him, but the Imperial guards interposed and prevented the dispute from going any further.'

In the midst of the conflicting accounts which have come down to us of the character of Theodosius, one fact can be clearly discerned, that he was bent upon reversing the fatal policy of Valens, and while he dealt severely with those barbarians whose only thought was plunder, he was determined to enlist all that was noblest and in the best sense of the word most Teutonic among them in the service of Rome. Engaged in this enterprise one may liken him to a far-seeing statesman, who, seeing an irresistible tide of democracy setting in and threatening to overwhelm the State, goes boldly forth to meet it, with liberal hand extends the privileges of citizenship to the worthiest of those who have been hitherto outside the pale, and from the enemies of the constitution turns them into its staunch defenders. Or he is like the theologian who, instead of attempting an useless defence of positions which have long since become untenable, questions the questioning spirit itself to discover how much of truth it too may possess, and seeks to turn even the turbulent armies of doubt into champions of the eternal and essential verities of faith.

Such, viewed on its intellectual side, was the policy of Theodosius towards the barbarians; and though it was a policy which led to complete and utter failure, it is not therefore to be condemned as necessarily unsound,

for had his own life been prolonged to the ordinary period, or had his sons possessed half his own courage and capacity, it is likely enough that his policy would have proved not a failure, but a success.

BOOK I.
CH. 5.

But probably another and less noble motive conduced to the very same course of action. His soldier's eye may have been pleased with the well-proportioned frames and noble stature of those children of the North. His pride as a sovereign may have been gratified by enlisting those fair-haired majestic Amali and Balti among his household guards, instead of the little, dark-featured, supple inhabitants of the lands bordering on the Mediterranean; and he may have indulged this fancy to the full, without considering the deep wound which he thus inflicted on what yet remained of Roman dignity by assigning these offices to foreigners, nor the heavy demands which he was obliged to make on an exhausted exchequer in order to provide the double pay, the daily banquets, the golden collars for his Gothic favourites.

Defects of
Theodo-
sius's philo-
Tentonic
policy.

Thus the acceptance of the services of the Goths connects itself with another subject, which will have to be referred to later on, the financial policy—or want of policy—of Theodosius.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VICTORY OF NICAËA ¹.

Authorities.

Sources :—

BOOK I. GREGORY NAZIANZEN (whose life is described in the following
CH. 6. chapter). The two autobiographical poems of this father are full of interesting revelations of the temper of the times as well as of his own character.

Guides :—

Ullmann's Gregor von Nazianz, a very thorough and careful monograph, written from the point of view of German Protestant orthodoxy. H. M. Gwatkin's Studies of Arianism, a most helpful guide through the civil as well as the ecclesiastical history of this period.

WE have now to consider the effect of the sickness and baptism of Theodosius on the religious legislation of the Empire.

Religious
legislation.

The Sixteenth and last Book of the Theodosian Code is entirely occupied with legislation on religious affairs. The first 'Title' of that Book, 'Concerning the Catholic Faith,' begins with an edict of Valentinian (365) severely threatening any judge or minister of justice who should dare to impose upon men of the Christian religion the duty of guarding a heathen temple. After this check given to the officious zeal of

¹ Νίκαια νικῶσα.

some of Julian's friends who might still be endeavour- BOOK I.
ing to carry on his hopeless attempt to turn back the CH. 6.
tide of human enthusiasm into the old and dried-up
channels of Paganism, the next decrees, those which
may be considered the portals of the stately fabric of
the Imperial-Church legislation, are two which bear the
great name of Theodosius.

The first, which was dated at Thessalonica on the Acts of
27th of February in the first year of his Consulship Uni-
(380), was probably signed soon after he had been formity.
baptized by Bishop Acholius, and when he was still
lying in the chamber of sickness, where the Bishop had
visited him. It is to the following effect:—

'An Edict of Theodosius, concerning the Catholic 380.
Faith, to the people of the city of Constantinople. We (De Fide
wish that all the nations who are subject to the rule of Catholicâ.)
Our Clemency shall adhere to that religion which the Codex
divine Apostle Peter handed to the Romans (as is suffi- Theodosi-
ciently shown by its existence among them to this day), annus, lib.
and which it is obvious that Pope (Pontifex) Damasus xvi, tit. i. 2.
follows, as well as Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man
of apostolical holiness: namely, that *according to the
apostolical discipline and the evangelical doctrine we
believe the One Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
with equal majesty, in the Holy Trinity.* We order those
who follow this law to assume the name of Catholic
Christians: we pronounce all others to be mad and fool-
ish, and we order that they shall bear the ignominious
name of heretics, and shall not presume to bestow on
their conventicles the title of churches: these are to be
visited first by the divine vengeance, and secondarily
by the stroke of our own authority, which we have
received in accordance with the will of Heaven.'

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

The next edict bears date the 30th of July, 381, and carries into practical effect the principles announced seventeen months before :—

‘ We order that all churches be at once [*mox*] handed over to those Bishops who confess the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, of one majesty and power, of the same glory and of one brightness, making no discord by profane division but [holding] the order of the Trinity, the assertion of the Persons, and the unity of the Godhead : who shall prove that they are joined in communion with Nectarius the Bishop of the Church of Constantinople and with Timotheus, Bishop of the city of Alexandria in Egypt.’

Then follow the names of nine other orthodox prelates, chiefly in the dioceses of Asia Minor.

‘ And all those who shall be proved to be in communion with these men shall be entitled to be admitted to and to hold the Catholic Churches on the ground of their communion and fellowship with approved priests. But all those who dissent from the communion of the faith of those who have been here expressly mentioned, shall be expelled as manifest heretics from the Churches. Nor shall there hereafter be permitted to them any opportunity of obtaining the Pontifical office in the churches : in order that the ranks of the Priesthood may remain unpolluted in the true faith of Nicaea. Nor after this clear expression of our command shall any place be left for the cunning of malignity.’

The stiff and cumbrous phraseology of the Imperial edicts may hide from the reader the importance of the revolution effected by them. In order to understand their effect on the hearts of contemporary listeners, how by them triumph was turned into despair, and mourn-

ing into rejoicing, we will briefly review the fortunes of a man who at this time was brought into close contact with Theodosius and shared some of his most secret counsels, the famous Gregory Nazianzen.

Born at Nazianzus¹ (a little town of Cappadocia, on the banks of the river Halys), and the son of the Bishop of that place, who held the orthodox Nicene faith, Gregory, at an early age, set his heart on acquiring renown as a Christian orator. Having studied at Caesarea, in Palestine, and at Alexandria, he went, while still a youth, to Athens, and spent ten years at the university in that city. There was cemented his life-long friendship with his fellow-countryman, Basil: and there he sat on the same benches with the young *Nobilissimus*, Julian, cousin of the Emperor Constantius, in whom Gregory even then discerned the germs of that alienation from Christianity which was one day to be made manifest to the world in the brilliant but blighted career of the great 'Apostate.'

Returning at the age of thirty to his Cappadocian home, Gregory was entreated by his father to undertake the duties of a priest, in the hope of thus eventually securing him as his coadjutor in the see of Nazianzus. Gregory was more attracted by the life of monastic contemplation which his friend Basil was leading in the neighbouring province of Pontus. He wavered, however, and it was apparently in one of his moments of wavering that his father ordained him, an almost involuntary priest. No sooner was the step taken than it was repented of, and instead of discharging his priestly functions at Nazianzus he betook himself again to his

¹ Probably about 325.

BOOK I. solitude in Pontus, thus earning the unconcealed dis-
 CH. 6. approval of his father and his friends.

Bishop of
 Sasima.

Eventually Gregory seems to have settled down at Nazianzus, living his life on the lines which his father had marked out for him ; but in the year 372 came his consecration to the Episcopate. His elevation to this dignity was marked by the same conflict between his own and the stronger natures round him, perhaps we might say the two opposing tendencies, the speculative and the practical, in his own nature, which had marred his acceptance of the priestly functions. His friend Basil was by this time a Bishop, having been elected, partly through the influence of Gregory and his father, Metropolitan of the Cappadocian Caesarea. Owing to a division, for civil purposes, of the province of Cappadocia into two parts, Prima and Secunda, Basil found his claims as Metropolitan of the whole province contested by those of the Bishop of Tyana, the capital of the new province of Cappadocia Secunda. In order to carry on successfully the spiritual campaign it was important for Basil to secure an adherent in the enemy's territory, and he accordingly decided to plant a bishopric at the little town of Sasima, and to consecrate his friend Gregory as its first Bishop. In this measure Gregory's father concurred, and though he afterwards bitterly repented of the step, it is difficult to suppose that Gregory himself at the time refused his consent. Sasima was a *mansio*¹ on the high-road from Angora to Tarsus, and as it was only twenty-four Roman miles from Nazianzus, Gregory must have known

¹ Lodging-place. There were generally about two *mutationes* (post-stations) to each *mansio* (which marked the end of an ordinary day's journey).

perfectly well the character of the place from which he was to take his episcopal title. Here, however, is the description—doubtless the too depreciatory description—which he gives of it when he is reviewing the mistakes and failures of his life:—

‘There is a posting-place for travellers planned
Where three ways meet, in Cappadocian land.
This squalid hamlet is the home of slaves,
No spring refreshes it, no foliage waves.
There ever dust, and the car’s rattle reigns,
Wails, groans, the exactor’s shout, the clank of chains.
Its people—strangers who benighted roam :
And this was Sasima, my Church, my home.
This in his goodness had to me assigned
The Lord of fifty Bishops : wondrous kind !
To this new see, this fort must I repair
That I might fight my patron’s battle there¹.’

Bitter as is the lamentation, we are almost ready to forgive the poet the querulousness of his temper for the sake of the vivid picture which he has preserved for us of a village on one of the great highways of the empire, its inhabitants so harassed by the demands of the officers of the *cursus publicus*, so impoverished by *angaria*², so constantly called upon to furnish *paraveredarii*³ for governors proceeding to their provinces, or Bishops returning from their synods, that their condition was practically little better than that of slaves⁴.

What made the sacrifice that was asked for at his hands all the more painful was that Gregory was under

¹ Carmen xi. 439-450.

² Angaria=services on the road.

³ Paraveredarii=extra post-horses.

⁴ Gregory says (u. s. 441) that Sasima was

ἄνδρος, ἀχλούς, οὐδ’ ὅλως ἐλεύθερος.

I think this means more than the ‘*nihil habens liberale*’ by which the Latin translator has rendered it.

BOOK I. no illusion as to the meanness of the strife in which he
CH. 6.
— was expected to engage:—

‘Souls were the pretext: but I grieve to say
The love of rule it was that caused the fray.
This and the vulgar claims for tax and toll
That o’er the wide world vex the weary soul.’

Such was the profound disgust with which Sasima inspired its new Bishop that he apparently never attempted to discharge the obligations which he had assumed. After a very short residence, if indeed he ever resided there at all, we find him back at Nazianzus, where the increasing weakness of his father excused the helpful presence of a coadjutor. Two years after his consecration to the see of Sasima, both Gregory’s parents died. It seems that it was the general wish that the son should succeed the father, and that the canonical difficulty arising from his being already wedded to the see of Sasima would have been in some way surmounted. But again that strange irresolution, that attitude of ‘he would and he would not’ which is so characteristic of this father of the Church, displayed itself. He refused to be consecrated Bishop of Nazianzus, yet lingered on at that place of which he had now been for several years virtual Bishop. He declares that he performed no episcopal function, laid his hands on no priests’ head, nor even prayed publicly in the Church. But Basil refused to consecrate any other Bishop, hoping always that his reluctance to accept the office might be overcome, and Gregory, to show that this was impossible, made another retreat, this time to the monastery of Saint Thekla, at Seleucius.

And now at length, after the death of Basil, and seven years after his own consecration to the see of Sasima,

another prospect opened before him, one which appealed to all the higher and lower motives of his nature, to his enthusiastic zeal for the doctrine of the Trinity, and to his personal vanity: to his desire to stir great masses of men by his persuasive eloquence, and to his disgust with the dullness of Cappadocia. The thought suggested itself—or, as he believed, was suggested to him by the Spirit of God—that he should go to the capital and undertake the oversight of the little flock of adherents of the Nicene theology, which still remained in Arian Constantinople. The proposition had perhaps been originally made to him by some of the leaders of the Trinitarian party: it was at any rate warmly approved by them, and to Constantinople he accordingly departed¹.

The religious condition of the New Rome, the great city of the East, was at this time a most peculiar one. Heathenism had far less hold here than in the Old Rome by the Tiber: we may perhaps say that it had less hold than in any other city of the Empire. Christianity of one kind or another was the fashionable religion; but it was, and remained for long, whether it assumed the garb of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, a Christianity of the vain, disputatious, shallow kind, doing little to purify the lives of its professors, and making little response to the deep spiritual yearnings of humanity as expressed either in preceding or succeeding ages. For a generation and a half Arianism had been the dominant creed in court and camp and council-chamber, and Arians accordingly the majority of the citizens of Constantinople proclaimed themselves, looking down upon those who held fast to the Nicene Creed as

Religious
condition of
Constanti-
nople.

¹ He appears to have arrived in Constantinople early in 379.

BOOK I. heretics. But in addition to the professors of Arianism
 CH. 6. —themselves divided into Homoeusians, Homoeans, Anomoeans¹—there were the partisans almost of every strange opinion concerning the Godhead that the brooding spirit of the East had given birth to. Manicheans, who solved the riddle of the universe by proclaiming it to be the work of two equally strong co-enduring powers, Good and Evil: Gnostics, who worshipped Depth and eternal Silence and a wonderful family of Aeons, half male, half female in their attributes: men who believed in the magical efficacy of the letters composing the mystical name of God: men who derived the Old Testament and the New from two deeply opposed and hostile powers—the Puritan Novatian, the ecstatic Montanist—all were mingled in this great

¹ The following table exhibits the chief types of orthodox and heterodox opinion at the time with which we are engaged:—

<i>Name of Sect.</i>	<i>Battle-ory.</i>	<i>Chief Champions.</i>	<i>Imperial Patrons.</i>
Homo-usians.	'The Son is of one Substance with the Father.'	Athanasius. Basil of Caesarea. Gregory Nazianzen.	Gratian and Theodosius.
Homoe-usians or Semi-Arians.	'The Son is of like Substance with the Father.'	Eustathius of Sébasté. Basil of Ancyra.	Constantius.
Homoeans.	'The Son is like unto the Father in such manner as the Scriptures declare.' The terms 'Essence' and 'Substance' (<i>οὐσία</i> and <i>ὕποστασις</i>) ought not to be used in speaking of the Godhead.	Acacius of Caesarea. Eudoxius of Constantinople. Ulphilas.	Valens.
Anomoeans.	'The Son is unlike the Father and of a different Substance.'	Aetius, deacon, of Antioch. Eunomius of Cyzicus.	Gallus (for a short time: but as a rule this doctrine was disavowed even by the Arian Emperors).

tide of humanity which swayed to and fro, wrangling, disputing, bargaining by the shores of the Bosphorus ¹. BOOK I.
CH. 6.

Against all these opponents of the orthodox faith and against the Apollinarians who, though they accepted the Nicene Creed, were by their too daring speculations on the union of the Human and the Divine in the person of Christ, preparing the way for the long and terrible Monophysite controversy of the next century, Gregory waged earnest and eloquent, but not bitter war. He began to preach in the house of a relation (the Arians having still possession of every basilica in Constantinople), and the church which grew out of this little conventicle received the name of *Anastasia*, a name which to the minds of Gregory and his hearers fittingly expressed the resurrection of the true doctrine of the Trinity after its long apparent death during the Arian ascendancy. From the accounts which are given us of the multitudes that flocked to Gregory's preaching, we may perhaps infer that large additions were made to the single house which had at first received him. Later on the Emperor Theodosius erected there a magnificent basilica which was adorned with beautiful marbles. The Mosque of Mehmed Pasha on the south-west of the Hippodrome, and overlooking the sea of Marmora, still marks the site of this church of the Resurrection, where Gregory with rapt face expounded the mysteries of the Trinity, and where, a hundred years later, the Scriptures were read

Gregory's
preaching
at the
Church of
Anastasia.

¹ This description of the religious atmosphere of Constantinople is chiefly taken from Gregory (loc. cit. 1153-1185). He thus portrays the Gnostics—

Οἱ τὸν Βυθὸν Σιγὴν τε προχρόνους φύσεις
Τιμῶντες, Αἰῶνάς τε τοὺς θηλάρσενας
Σίμωνος υἱοὶ τοῦ μάγου.

BOOK I. in the Gothic tongue, in order to keep alive the memory
 CH. 6. of Aspar and Ardaburius, Gothic embellishers of the
 sacred building¹.

379. The intense earnestness with which Gregory pleaded for the doctrine of the Trinity, a doctrine which was to him no philosophical abstraction but the centre of all his spiritual life², joined to his great and undoubted oratorical gifts, obtained for him an enthusiastic and an increasing band of adherents, but he also met with much and bitter opposition. He himself tells us that his previous training and his personal appearance were against him. His life, which had been spent for the most part among the rustics of Cappadocia³, had but little prepared him to face the scrutiny of the delicate aristocrats of Constantinople :—

‘For “that the poorest of the poor,” said they
 Wrinkled, with downcast look and mean array,
 Whose fasts, and tears, and fears had left their trace
 Deeply on what was ne’er a comely face,
 A wandering exile from earth’s darkest nook
 That such should rule, no well-born souls could brook⁴.’

The lower classes of the capital were easily roused by the cry that the Cappadocian was bringing back

¹ See Dr. Paspatis’s *Βυζαντινὰ Μελετὰί*, p. 369. The identification of ‘Mehmed Pasha Djemi’ with St. Anastasia is due to Dr. Paspatis, who discovered in the Mosque traces of a Christian origin, which he refers to the eighth century.

² One cannot fail to be struck with the frequent references to the Trinity, even in the autobiographical part of Gregory’s poems. He speaks of ἡ Τριάς in a tone of personal affection, and with a familiarity which perhaps sometimes borders on irreverence. His language in this respect differs much from that of ordinary orthodox Christians of later ages.

³ Carm. xi. 594, *καίπερ δὲ ζήσαντες ἀγροικὸν βίον*.

⁴ Ibid. 696–702.

the many gods of heathenism, so completely had the doctrines of Nicaea faded from the popular memory during the long ascendancy of Arianism¹. He was stoned by the rabble in the streets ('Would that those stones had not missed their mark!' wrote he afterwards in the bitterness of his spirit), and he was dragged 'like a murderer' before the tribunal of the Prefect. But however dangerous the fury of the mob might be, if they gave chase to a Trinitarian in the streets of Constantinople, from the legal tribunals he had nothing to fear. Six months at least had passed since the last Arian Emperor had fallen on the field of Hadrianople, and though Theodosius, the new Augustus of the East, had not yet received baptism at the hands of the Trinitarian Acholius, enough doubtless was conjectured as to his bias, and enough was known as to the bias of his young colleague, Gratian, in favour of the creed of Nicaea, to make a judicious Praetorian Prefect hesitate before he put in force any of the anti-Nicene decrees of Valens which might perchance be slumbering in the statute-book².

But though little molested by the officials at Constantinople, Gregory was sorely troubled by dissensions and rivalry in the Church of Anastasia itself. The

¹ Πρῶτον μὲν ἐξεζέισε καθ' ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις
'Ὡς εἰσαγόντων ἀνθ' ἐνὸς πλείους θεούς,
θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν' ἦσαν οὕτως ἡγμενοί
'Ὡστ' ἀγνοεῖν παντάπασιν εὐσεβῆ λόγον
Πῶς ἡ Μονὰς τριάζεθ', ἡ Τριάς πάλιν
'Ενίζετ', ἀμφοῖν ἔνθεως νοουμένη. (Carm. xi. 654-659.)

² I speak hypothetically about these edicts of Valens against the orthodox. Some such there must surely have been, at any rate, issued after the death of Valentinian, but as far as I know they have left no trace in the Theodosian Code.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

379.

consecration of Maximus the Cynic as Orthodox Bishop of Constantinople was an event which filled Gregory's soul with bitterness and to which he devotes three hundred passionate lines in the poem of his life ; but we may pass lightly over it, as no principle of any kind was involved in the contest.

Maximus
the Cynic.

About the same time when Gregory himself arrived in Constantinople, there appeared there another visitor, from Egypt ; a man whose long hair, hanging down in curls over his shoulders, and whose staff carried in his hand proclaimed him a Cynic philosopher. This was Maximus, a Cynic still according to his own profession, but also an adherent of Christianity and of the Nicene form of that faith, one who had written well against the Arians and who—so he said—had suffered four years' banishment to an oasis in the Egyptian desert for his faith. This man professed and perhaps felt keen admiration for the great oratorical gifts of Gregory, and he was repaid by an elaborate oration in his praise pronounced before the congregation of Anastasia¹. At this time Gregory took the cynic-saint at his own valuation, and found his rhetorical vocabulary all too small to describe the union of religion and philosophy in the mind of the Egyptian convert, or to paint the exile, the stripes, the ignominy which he had endured for the faith of Christ. At a later time, when the ambition of Maximus had collided with his own, his vocabulary of abuse was even more severely taxed to describe the vices of his rival. The exile and the

¹ It appears to be generally admitted that Gregory's 'Oratio in Laudem Heronis Philosophi' was (as St. Jerome tells us) originally pronounced in praise of Maximus, and that its title was altered by copyists, jealous for the saint's consistency.

stripes, he hinted, had been the punishment of vulgar crimes. Maximus was so destitute of literary culture that it was nothing less than impudence for him to presume to write verses. He understood as much about oratory as a donkey understands of playing the lyre, or fishes of driving a chariot; whereas Gregory himself, whom he would provoke to a literary encounter, could no more help writing eloquently than water can help flowing or fire burning¹.

BOOK I.

CH. 6.

379.

Above all, however—and the emphasis laid on this offence makes us doubt the reality of the graver charges—Maximus made himself odious by wearing his hair long. It was partly golden-coloured, partly black (probably like the dandies of the period he dyed it, not with entire success, in imitation of the yellow hair of the Goths); it was curly; old and new fashions were combined in the dressing of it; it was tied up into a round knot² like a woman's; and so on, through many an angry line, runs the invective of the elderly rustic who saw this 'curled darling' stealing into the hearts of his female votaries, and silently supplanting him in his hardly-earned throne³.

In all this we greatly miss the calm summing up of an impartial judge. The career of Maximus was a strange one, and the proceedings which have next to be related with reference to his consecration were undoubtedly irregular; but there seems no reason to think that he was guilty of disgraceful crimes, and he was apparently a man of sufficient eminence as a

¹ Carm. xli. (ed. Migne), *Adversus Maximum*, 44-45, 54-56.

² Σισόη, the word used in the Septuagint translation of Leviticus xix. 27 ('Ye shall not round the corners of your heads').

³ Carm. xi. 751-772; xli. 49-51 (as to Maximus' popularity with the females of the congregation).

BOOK I. philosopher to cause his accession to the ranks of the
 CH. 6. orthodox to be considered a valuable conquest by
 379. others beside the preacher of Anastasia.

Maximus
 conse-
 crated
 Bishop.

In the year 379, while Gregory was confined to his house by illness, a mob of Egyptian sailors (says Gregory), hired for the purpose by a priest of Thasos, who had come to Constantinople to buy marble from Proconnesus for his church, rushed a little before dawn into the church of Anastasia¹. They seated Maximus in the marble chair of the Bishop and began to intone the service of Consecration. Other ecclesiastics were with them beside the marble-seeking priest from Thasos, and all alleged that they were acting in accordance with a mandate received from Peter, Bishop of Alexandria. Already Alexandria, as the most important Church of the East, was claiming to exercise that right of interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of Constantinople which was so grievously to trouble the peace of the Church in the following century.

But day dawned, and the rite of consecration was not ended. Even the necessary tonsure was not completed, when the faithful adherents of Gregory, having learned what was doing, came pouring into the church and found the Cynic, with half his curls still untouched by the shears, sitting in the marble chair. To escape the wrath of the shouting multitude, the Egyptians glided from the church into the adjoining house of a band-master, and there cut off the remaining curls and completed the consecration of their new Bishop.

¹ I think we must suppose that the consecration of Maximus took place in the only church at Constantinople possessed by the Nicenes. To have intruded into St. Sophia, Demophilus still ruling there, would have been surely impossible.

These events must have occurred in the summer of 379, and it was probably in the autumn of that year that Maximus, finding the tide of popular opinion running strongly against him, sought the camp of Theodosius and entreated his help to secure for him the episcopal throne of Constantinople. Let the Bishop's Muse, seated on her ambling pad, tell what followed:—

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

379.

Gregory in
presence
of Theo-
dosius.

'But when the Eastern Caesar, brooding ill
For the barbarian tribes who roamed at will,
Mustered in Macedonia his array,
What does this vilest dog¹? Attend, I pray;
Gathering the refuse of the Egyptian crowd,
(Those 'neath whose shears his yellow ringlets bowed)
He hastens to the camp with nimble feet
By royal edict to reclaim his seat.
Ejected thence by Caesar's anger dread
With fearful implications on his head²,
(For Theodosius still to me was kind,
And none had poisoned yet the Imperial mind),
The pestilential creature seeks once more
(His wisest course) the Alexandrian shore;
For Peter played throughout a double game,
A facile promiser, to each the same.'

If Constantinople could not be persuaded to own him as Bishop, Maximus insisted that Peter should abdicate for him his own see of Alexandria. This modest request was refused, nor when Peter soon after died—Feb., 380. perhaps his death may have been hastened by the shame and annoyance of the affair of Maximus—did the Cynic succeed in obtaining the vacant throne. His further movements need not be recorded. He went to

¹ As Maximus professed himself a Cynic, Gregory is within his rights in calling him 'dog,' but he perhaps avails himself of the privilege too freely.

² *Κακείθεν αὐθις, ὡς κύων, ἀπορρίφεις*

'Οργῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ὄρκοις φρικώδεσι. (Carm. xl. 1009–1010.)

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

Italy; he succeeded in enlisting in his cause the Italian Bishops with the great Ambrose at their head; but his election was pronounced utterly invalid by the council of Constantinople, and he soon disappears from history. A strange and presumptuous man doubtless, but perhaps hardly deserving of all the contempt which has been poured upon him, the usual portion of unsuccessful pretenders to thrones civil or ecclesiastical.

The glimpse which we have obtained of Theodosius driving the Cynic aspirant from his presence with anger and curses, shows us already the tendency to outbursts of passion in the florid full-habited Augustus, which was to lead to such a terrible result in the later years of his reign. To Gregory the affair of Maximus brought deep humiliation and keen annoyance, humiliation that he had so imperfectly understood the character of the man whom he had taken into his confidence, annoyance that any considerable number of the orthodox believers at Constantinople should put the dandy-philosopher's claims to spiritual authority in comparison with his own. He desired—or told himself that he desired—to abdicate his doubtful position at Constantinople, and preached a sermon in which he exhorted his congregation to hold fast the doctrine of the Trinity which he had taught, and not to forget his labours among them. The note of farewell which sounded in the sermon was perceived by his flock; and the response, we may perhaps say the desired response, broke forth. 'There was a stir like the hum of bees disturbed in their hive. Men and women, youths and maidens, old men and boys, gentle and simple, magistrates and soldiers on furlough, were all stirred by the same passions of anger and regret, regret at the thought

of losing their pastor, anger at the machinations which were driving him from among them.' They implored him not to desert his Anastasia, 'most precious of temples, the Ark of Noah which had alone escaped from the Deluge, and which bore in its bosom the seeds of a regenerated world of orthodoxy.' Still Gregory, as he tells us, hesitated, but at length a voice was heard from the congregation, 'Father! in banishing thyself thou art banishing also the Trinity,' and that voice decided him to remain.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.
380.

Thus passed the year 380, the year of the illness of Theodosius and of his long residence at Thessalonica, of Gratian's campaign and of the final ratification of the *foedus* with the Goths. And now, by the labours of Gregory in the Church, by the strategy of Theodosius in the mountain passes of the Balkans, by his and Gratian's policy in the Gothic army-meetings, all was prepared for the Emperor's triumphal entry into his capital, which took place on the 24th¹ of November, 380.

Triumphal
entry of
Theodosius
into Con-
stanti-
nople.

One of the earliest acts of Theodosius was to summon Demophilus the Arian Bishop of Constantinople to his presence, and ask if he were willing to subscribe to the Nicene Creed and thus restore the peace of the Church. Demophilus, a man apparently of respectable character though not of brilliant abilities, who had for ten years sat in the episcopal chair of Constantinople, teaching

26 Nov.,
380.

¹ This is the day of the month given by Socrates (v. 6) and the Paschal Chronicle (s. a. 378), and it agrees with the Theodosian Code, which makes Theodosius still at Thessalonica on the 16th November. Clinton is therefore justified in preferring it to the 14th November, the date given by the 'Descriptio Consulium Idatio Episcopo adscripta,' s. a. 380.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

380.

the doctrines of a moderate Arianism, refused even at the bidding of an Emperor to renounce the profession of a lifetime¹. 'Then,' said Theodosius, 'since you reject peace and unanimity, I order you to quit the churches.' Demophilus left the Imperial presence, and calling together his adherents in the Cathedral thus addressed them, 'Brethren, it is written in the Gospel, "if they persecute you in one city flee ye to another." The Emperor excludes us from our churches: take notice therefore that we will henceforth hold our assemblies without the city.'

The Arians
expelled
from the
churches.

'Thus then,' says the ecclesiastical historian with beautiful simplicity, 'the Arians, after having been in possession of the churches for forty years, were, *in consequence of their opposition to the conciliatory measures of the Emperor Theodosius*, driven out of the city in Gratian's fifth consulate, and the first of Theodosius [380] on the 26th of November. The professors of the Homo-usian faith in like manner regained possession of the churches².'

The Arians, henceforward a proscribed and persecuted sect, meeting outside the walls of Constantinople, were known by the contemptuous name of

¹ Gwatkin (*Studies of Arianism*, 256) says that 'the blunders of Demophilus did almost as much harm to the Homoeans as the profanity of Eudoxius.' Is not this to attach too much importance to the criticism of Philostorgius (ix. 14, and *Frag. apud Suid.*), who after all seems chiefly dissatisfied with Demophilus because he is not Arian enough for him? His conduct at Cyzicus seems to show that he was a moderate man.

² Socrates, v. 7. Marcellinus Comes (s. a. 380) makes a restitution of the Churches 'Nostris Catholicis' to have taken place in the month of December. But that is not inconsistent with the statement that a beginning was made with Demophilus and the Cathedral Church on the 26th November.

Exo-cionitae, because they met outside the pillar (κίλων) which marked the extreme westward limit of the city ¹. BOOK I.
CH. 6.

At this point Gregory shall resume the narrative, as the glimpse which he affords us of the character of Theodosius when seen from an orthodox point of view is too precious to be lost:— 380.
Theodosius
described
by Gre-
gory.

‘In this position did my fortunes stand
When came the tidings “Caesar is at hand;”
From Macedon he came, where he the cloud
Of Goths had scattered, menacing and proud.
A man not evil is he, one whose rule
The simple-minded for the faith may school;
A loyal servant of the One in Three,
So says my heart: and with its voice agree
All who hold fast Nicaea’s great decree.
Yet zeal is not in him nor purpose high
To compensate the wrongs of years gone by
With answering sternness, nor the ruins raise
Wrought by the Emperors of earlier days.
Or was there zeal enough, but lacked he still
Courage? or rashness? Answer it, who will.
Haply ’twere better take a kindlier tone
And say, the Prince’s *forethought* here was shown.
For of a truth persuasion and not force
For us and ours I hold the worthier course.
Since thus we lead the converts’ souls to God,
Not sway their conscience by the Sovereign’s nod.
The tight-bent bow springs back. If dams restrain
The prisoned stream ’twill one day flood the plain,
E’en so a faith constrained will lose its sway:
A faith enwrought lasts till Life’s latest day².’

Theodosius has not by the verdict of history been found guilty of too tender a regard for liberty of conscience in his subjects. Gregory, who here blames him

¹ Cf. Chronicon Paschale, s. a. 379 [380], Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔδωκε τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις, πανταχοῦ ποιήσας σάκρας καὶ διώξας ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς λεγομένους Ἀρειανοὺς Ἐξωκιονίτας.

² Carm. i. 11. 1278–1300.

BOOK I. for his lukewarmness, was certainly, whatever his other
 CH. 6. faults, one of the most tolerant ecclesiastics of the age,
 380. and even these lines reveal the divided councils of his own spirit on the subject of religious toleration. But that Gregory was even inclined to call Theodosius half-hearted is a valuable indication of the direction in which the stream of public opinion was flowing in that age, a direction exactly opposite to that in which it has been flowing with us since the days of Locke.

Church of
 the Twelve
 Apostles.

Demophilus being cast out from his basilica, the next thing was to enthrone Gregory. The Cathedral Church of these days was not the magnificent temple of the Divine Wisdom, the St. Sophia of Justinian and Anthemius : but it was the Church of the Twelve Apostles, the Westminster Abbey of Constantinople, where all the Eastern Emperors were buried, and where a year later Theodosius was solemnly to entomb his predecessor Valentinian. This great Church rose upon the fourth hill of Constantinople, overlooking both the Golden Horn, and the Sea of Marmora ; but now no vestige of it is left ; for there Mohammed the Conqueror exercised the right which only conquering Sultans may justly claim, the right of building a mosque and calling it after his name. In the spacious courtyard adjoining it are the gushing fountains required for the ablutions of Mohammedan worshippers : within is the tomb of the victorious Sultan covered with tawdry ornaments, and by the gate is inscribed in letters of gold on a tablet of lapis lazuli the prediction of the Prophet. ‘ They will capture Constantinople. Happy the prince, happy the army which shall accomplish this.’ Everything about the place now tells of the conquering sons of Ishmael, nothing of the *Heröon* in which the Caesars of New

Rome once lay in glory. Yet for this not so much the Mussulman as the Christian must bear the blame, for the spoliation of the Imperial tombs took place, not when Mohammed stormed the city, but two hundred and fifty years before, when the warriors of the Fourth Crusade committed the stupendous blunder and crime of the capture of Constantinople.

When Theodosius, who at this time had only kind looks and words for Gregory, said to him, 'God, through my hands, will give you the cathedral as a reward for your toils,' the heart of the new Bishop sank within him as he thought of the serried ranks of the Arians that would have to be beaten down before such a consummation could be attained. However he took courage in remembering the sufferings of Christ, which he might be called upon to share if he should fall into the hands of the multitude.

The appointed day dawned. The cathedral and all the approaches to it were lined with soldiers; but the streets were thronged by a mob of excited and angry citizens. At the windows of the second and third stories their faces were seen; they filled the roads, the square, the hippodrome. Men and women, grey beards and little children were there, all thrilled with sorrow and indignation. Passionate prayers were put up to the Emperor that he would even yet desist from his design; passionate threats were addressed to Gregory as to the vengeance that would descend on his head. The appearance of Constantinople, he himself tells us, was like that of a city taken by the enemy. And yet the Emperor, who dared all this for the sake of the creed of Nicaea, was accused of lukewarmness in its service.

The procession moved towards the cathedral. Gregory,

BOOK I.
CH. 6.
380.

The day
of the
Enthronement.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

380.

weak and suffering from his recent sickness, walked between the Emperor and his soldiers. A dark cloud hung over the city, and seemed, to the excited imaginations of the people, to denote the divine displeasure at the deed which was that day to be accomplished. But no sooner had the procession entered the church and reached the railings which separated the nave from the choir, than the clouds disappeared and a blaze of sunlight filled all the place. The *Te Deum* was intoned at the same moment: triumphant shouts drowned the angry murmurs of the crowd without: hands were waved in pious exultation. Joy and gladness shone in the countenances of the orthodox believers, a moment ago depressed and mournful: and it seemed to all that the glory of the Lord filled the house as it did the tabernacle of old.

Such were the scenes which marked the return of the Church of Constantinople to that Nicene form of the faith which was thereafter dominant throughout Christendom. Many a conflict was to arise on other points of doctrine between the Old Rome and the New, but to the creed of Nicaea both cities remained steadfast till at Constantinople all Christian creeds went down before the war-cry of Allah and the Prophet.

To Gregory, the day, so much dreaded, of the procession to the cathedral, proved the one supreme day of joy and triumph in a life of disappointment and apparent failure. After the singing of the *Te Deum* and the outburst of sunlight kindling the mosaic faces of the Apostles in the church which was dedicated to their honour, there arose from the congregation a sound which seemed like the roar of thunder, but in which articulate words were audible. Grave officials in the

body of the church, excited women in the gallery on high¹, joined in the earnest cry addressed to the Emperor, 'Thou has given us back the Church. Give us also Gregory for our Bishop.' So loud and so importunate were the voices that some reply must be promptly made to them; but Gregory, unnerved by the rapid alternations of fear and triumph on that day, distrusted his own powers of utterance. At his request a neighbouring presbyter arose and said: 'Cease your clamour. For the present we have only to think of thanksgiving². Hereafter we shall see greater things than these.'

BOOK I.
CH. 6.
380.

From this time, however, there seems, from Gregory's own narrative, to have been a slight but steady decline in the favour with which he was regarded by Theodosius. He attributes it, himself, to his lack of sedulous and obsequious attendance at Court. 'Let others,' he says, 'crouch before the frown of power, let them cultivate the favour of chamberlains who show themselves men only in their lust for gold, let them lie down before the doors of royalty, let them use the glib tongue of the informer, let them open the hand of the beggar, let them take their very piety to market and sell it for a price. I have practised none of these arts, and will leave the doors of princes to those who like to haunt them.' These are noble and manly thoughts, but they were partly suggested to the Cappadocian bishop by that 'rusticity' of which he was himself fully conscious, and which made him no congenial companion

Decline of
Gregory's
influence
at Court.

¹ Ταῦτ' ἐκ γυναικῶν ὑψόθεν βοῶμενα.

² Or may he mean 'We have now to celebrate the Eucharist'?

Καὶρὸς γάρ ἐστι πάντως εὐχαριστίας

Ὁ νῦν ὁ δ' εἰσέπειτα καὶ τῶν μαιζόνων.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

381.

of prefects and chamberlains. But besides this, Theodosius, who was a good judge of character, had probably discovered, as Basil had, in this fervent, impulsive, sensitive nature, an absence of those gifts which are required in him who would bear rule among men. Gregory's was essentially the oratorical temperament: and the men who are born to rule are generally men of silence.

Council of
Constanti-
nople.

Gregory's fall from power was hastened by an event which seemed at first to add lustre to his office, the Convocation of a general Council at Constantinople. This assembly, which has almost by accident obtained the second place among the great Councils of Christendom, was summoned by Theodosius in May 381. Its composition did not entitle it to the name of Ecumenical¹, for it consisted of 150 Bishops, drawn entirely from the eastern portion of the empire. It had, however, the glory of closing, practically, the Arian controversy, which for fifty years had distracted Christendom. It formulated no new creed: there had been enough and too many of these published at the endless councils assembled by Constantius and Valens. It did not even, as is generally stated, republish the creed of Nicaea with those additions concerning the Holy Spirit which now appear in the Latin and Anglican liturgies². But it re-affirmed that creed as the authoritative exposition of the faith of the Church, and by anathematising the doctrines of the various schools of its opponents from the Anomoeans up to the Semi-Arians, it secured victory to those champions who, through good report and evil report, had followed the flag borne aloft by Athanasius,

¹ Representing the whole inhabited world.

² See Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 262, n. 1, as to the 'Two Dissertations' of Dr. Hort.

and after his death by Basil and Gregory. It further declared that henceforward the See of Constantinople, the New Rome, was to take precedence after that of Rome itself, thus settling theoretically a dispute between Constantinople and other Eastern patriarchates, which was not practically to be terminated for more than a century.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.
381.

As to all the proceedings connected with the consecration of Maximus the Cynic, 'and the disorder introduced by him into the Church of Constantinople,' the Council declared that he neither was nor ever had been Bishop, and that all ordinations performed by him were invalid.

So far all the legislative acts of the Council had been distinctly in Gregory's favour: but besides this it took the further, administrative, step of formally installing Gregory in the Episcopal throne of Constantinople. He resisted, he tells us, even with shouts and lamentations, but yielded eventually, hoping that he might be the means of restoring peace to the distracted Church. The solemn consecration was performed by the venerable prelate who presided over the Council, Meletius, Bishop of Antioch. He was a man, who, having been appointed to that see as a supposed Arian by the Emperor Constantine, suffered exile and persecution for his bold profession of the Nicene faith. He was an ideal president of an ecclesiastical assembly, a man whose sweet temper corresponded to the meaning of his name¹, whose very countenance spoke of calm within

Gregory
consecrated by
Meletius,
Bishop of
Antioch.

¹ If, that is to say, it was derived from μέλι (= honey). It seems to be found in the form Melitius, as well as Meletius. Gregory says of him—

καλούμενον

ὁ ἦν. Μέλιτος γὰρ καὶ τρόπος καὶ τοῦνομα.

(Carm. ii. 9. 1520-1.)

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

381.

and whose hand, stretched forth with mild authority, secured calm without. According to a tradition which was prevalent in the Church in the fifth century¹, Theodosius, before his accession to the throne, had seen in a dream a venerable man, whom he instinctively knew to be the Bishop of Antioch, enter his room, invest him with the Imperial mantle, and place upon his head the Imperial crown. When the 150 fathers of the Church were summoned to Constantinople, Theodosius expressly enjoined them not to tell him which among them was Meletius. They were all ushered into the palace, and at once the Emperor, leaving the others unnoticed, ran up to the great Meletius, kissed him on the eyes, the lips, the breast, the head, and on the right hand which had conferred upon him the Imperial crown. The recognition was altogether like that between a father and a long separated son, and Theodosius rehearsed to the wondering prelate the vision which made his face familiar.

Death of
Meletius.

Such was the prelate who placed Gregory in the episcopal chair, and who presided over the earlier sittings of the council. But the good old man died before the council had been many weeks in session, and though his death brought an accession of dignity to the Bishop of Constantinople, for he was naturally chosen to succeed Meletius as president, it brought him also no small accession of labour and sorrow. For the See of Antioch had been for the last twenty years in the peculiar position of having two rival bishops, both orthodox, one of whom was generally recognised by the

¹ Related by Theodoret (*Ecclesiastical History*, v. 6. 71). Theodoret wrote probably between 430 and 450.

Nicene party in the West, and the other by the same party in the East. The venerable Meletius, notwithstanding his bold profession of faith in the Trinity, was repudiated by the stricter members of the orthodox party as having received consecration at the hands of Arian prelates, and eventually, nineteen years before the date of the Council of Constantinople, Paulinus, a steadfast adherent of the Nicene Creed, had been consecrated as a rival Bishop to Meletius, and had received the recognition of Rome and of most of the Churches of the West. Various attempts had been made to heal this senseless schism, which arose from no difference of doctrine but simply from personal antagonism. These attempts, however, had failed, owing to the obstinacy, not so much of the two bishops themselves, who were both high-minded and saintly men, as of the subordinate ecclesiastics of each party; 'vile place-hunters,' says Gregory, 'who were always blowing the flame of contention and who cleverly fought their own battle under the pretext that it was their chief's.' Some of the leading presbyters had, however, sworn not to seek election on the occasion of the death of one of the two claimants, but to accept his rival as bishop of the whole Church.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.
381.

362.

Now, upon the death of Meletius, the time had come for adopting this reasonable mode of terminating the schism. To this conclusion, to the recognition of Paulinus as the canonical Bishop of Antioch, Gregory now endeavoured to lead the Council. He has preserved to us the purport of his oration on this subject. 'It would not be worth while,' he said, 'to disturb the peace of the world, for which Christ died, even for the sake of two Angels, much less on account of the rival

Discussion
as to suc-
cessor of
Meletius.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

381.

claims of two Bishops. During the lifetime of the venerable Meletius, it was perhaps right that we should stand up for his claims against the opposition of the West: but now that he is dead, let Paulinus take the vacant see. Soon will death cut the knot, for Paulinus is an aged man: and meanwhile we shall have regained the affections of the estranged churches of the West and restored peace to Antioch. Now the faith itself is in danger of perishing through our miserable squabbles: and rightly, for men may reasonably ask what the faith is worth which permits of our bearing such bitter fruits. If any one think that I am influenced by any fear or favour in giving this counsel, or that I have been prompted thereto by the rulers of the State, I can only appeal to the Judgment of Christ at the Last Day to disprove such a charge. For me, I care not for my episcopal dignity, and am quite ready, if you wish me to do so, to lead a throneless life¹, without glory but, also without danger, in some retirement "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." "

Uproar
in the
Council.

As soon as Gregory had ended his oration there arose from all the younger Bishops a sound like the croak of jack-daws. Without reverence for his years, for the dignity of his presidential office, for the place in which they were assembled, they spluttered out their indignant ejaculations, in a tempest of windy wrath, or like wasps whose nest had been disturbed, so they buzzed angrily against the daring bishop who had dared to lift up his voice on behalf of common

¹ Ἡμῖν δὲ συγχωρήσαι ἄθρονον βίον
τὸν ἀκλεῆ μὲν, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ἀκίνδυνον
καθήσομ' ἐλθὼν οἱ κακῶν ἐρημία. (Carm. ii. 9. 1671-4).

sense and Christian forbearance¹. The older prelates, who ought to have checked the young men's excesses, followed ignobly in their train: and the war-cry of all, both old and young, was 'The East against the West.' The East had championed the cause of Meletius: it must not stoop to acknowledge defeat by accepting Paulinus the candidate favoured by the West. It was in the East that Christ had wrought His miracles, had suffered death on the cross, had risen from the dead. Let not Rome or any other western See presume to dictate to the sacred East in matters of Church government. On this argument, which reveals disruptive tendencies that were ultimately to manifest themselves on a larger scale and to exert a fatal influence on the destinies of the Empire, Gregory remarks, with some cleverness, that this geographical view of the nature of the Kingdom of Heaven involves its upholders in some difficulties. If we are to look to the lands of the sunrise for our spiritual light, and if the East is essentially religious and the West irreligious, what is to be said of the points North and South where the sun stops and turns in his yearly orbit? And as for the argument that the East is holy because Christ died there, it may be replied that since Christ must needs suffer, the East was chosen as the scene of his manifestation in the flesh, because only in the East could a people be found wicked enough to crucify Him.

Sick at heart with all the wranglings of the ecclesiastics, and sick in body from confirmed and chronic disease, Gregory absented himself from many meetings of the Council, and rumours of his intended abdication

Gregory
attacked by
Egyptian
Bishops.

¹ These metaphors, which it is hard to combine, are all taken from Gregory (Carm. ii. 9. 1680-7).

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

381.

began to circulate, arousing among his flock, especially among the poorer members of it, passionate lamentations and earnest entreaties that he would not leave them. Such was the posture of affairs when a crowd of Egyptian and Macedonian Bishops arrived to share the deliberations of the Council. Some of these may possibly have taken part in the earlier Alexandrian intrigue for the elevation of Maximus. With Gregory's doctrine they could find no fault: in fact they were, like himself, zealous champions of the faith of Nicaea. But they came, as he says, 'like boars with whetted tusks,' eager for battle with the Bishops of Asia, especially with the followers of the party of Meletius, and they perceived in the consecration of Gregory by Meletius a point of attack against the memory of that prelate too advantageous not to be occupied. For by one of the Nicene Canons, never formally abrogated, if in practice little regarded, it was forbidden to translate a Bishop from one see to another. As Gregory therefore had certainly been consecrated Bishop of Sasima, if he had not also virtually officiated as Bishop of Nazianzus, his consecration as Bishop of Constantinople was irregular, and the dead Meletius must be censured for having performed it.

Abdication
of Gregory.

The Egyptian Bishops assured Gregory that it was not against himself personally that these proceedings were aimed: but they filled full the measure of his disgust with Bishops and Councils, and ecclesiastical intrigues. He tells us that he was like a steed chained to the stall, but stamping with its hoof and whinnying for freedom and its old pastures: and in this technical point raised by the Egyptian bishops he saw the means of his deliverance. Dragging himself from his sick-

bed to the Council, he begged them not to interrupt those deliberations to which God had summoned them by the discussion of anything so unimportant as his position in the Church. Though guiltless of the storm he would gladly offer himself, like Jonah, for the safety of the ship. His glory would be to renounce an Episcopal throne in order to restore peace to the Church. 'I depart: to this conclusion my weary body also persuades me. I have but one debt still to pay, the debt of mortality, and that is in the hand of God.'

BOOK I.
CH. 6.
381.

The resignation of Gregory was accepted with a readiness and unanimity, which, he admits, surprised him¹: and he returned to his home with mingled feelings of joy and sorrow, joy that he had obtained a surcease from unwelcome toil, sorrow that he was leaving his flock to unknown guidance through the unknown dangers of the wilderness.

It remained only to visit the Emperor and announce to him the vacancy of the Metropolitan See. With a certain proud humility Gregory appeared before the wearer of the purple and said, 'Let others ask of you, oh great Prince, gold for themselves, or beautiful mosaics for their churches², or office for their kinsfolk; I ask a greater gift than these, leave to withdraw from the unreasonableness and jealousy of the world, and to reverence thrones [whether episcopal or imperial] from a distance and not nigh at hand. You have quelled the audacity of the barbarians: may you now win a bloodless victory over the spirit of discord in the Church.' The Emperor and all his courtiers applauded

¹ πλείον, ἢ καλῶς ἔχει

"Αφνω τετίμημ' εὐκόλῳ συναινέσει.

² Οὐ χρυσὸν αἰτῶ σ', οὐ πλάκας περιχρόους. (Carm. ii. 9. 1883).

BOOK I. the eloquent words of the prelate, but the command
 CH. 6. (if such command were expected) to reconsider his
 July, 381. decision, came not: and Gregory, after doing his utmost to reconcile his faithful flock to his departure, quitted Constantinople. He had preached in that city during a space of two years and a half, but had been only for about three months the recognised occupant of the episcopal throne.

Old age
 and death
 of Gregory. He returned to his native Cappadocia, endeavoured, not altogether successfully, again to guide the affairs of the Church of Nazianzus, retired to a little estate at the neighbouring village of Arianzus, and died there about 389, having attained, probably, the 65th year of his age. His premature old age was harassed by the vexations of a relative and neighbour named Valentinian, and saddened by great bodily weakness and spiritual depression. He longed after his flock at Constantinople, and in pathetic poems expressed his yearnings after the beloved Church of Anastasia, which the visions of the night brought with sad reality before him.

With all the obvious weaknesses of his character, there is something strangely attractive in the figure of this great champion of orthodoxy. In his mixture of zeal and tenderness, in his rapid transitions from triumph to depression, there is something which reminds us of the Apostle Paul: yet if we put the two lives side by side, and compare the utterances of the two men, we feel, perhaps, more vividly than in the case of more obviously unworthy successors of the Apostles, how great was the moral descent from the Christianity of the first to that of the fourth century, how ennobling and exalting to the whole character of man was the

power, the indefinable quality which was possessed by Paul of Tarsus, but which was not possessed by Gregory of Nazianzus.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.
381.

Soon after the departure of Gregory the Council of Constantinople ended its labours. Flavian, a presbyter who belonged to the party of Meletius, was chosen as his successor in the See of Antioch. For the all-important See of Constantinople, Theodosius selected Nectarius, a man of high birth—he belonged to a senatorial family—and filling at the time the office of Praetor, but unknown in the ecclesiastical world, and still only a catechumen. His mild and conciliatory temper, and the knowledge of the world which he had acquired in his political career, were his chief recommendations, and in fact, during his long episcopate he contrived to steer the bark of the Church of Constantinople with more skill than either of the far more famous theologians by whom he was preceded and followed.

Subse-
quent pro-
ceedings
of the
Council.

And thus it was, to return to the laws of Theodosius for the suppression of heresy, that on the 30th of July, 381, the Emperor ordered all the churches throughout his dominions to be handed over to those Bishops whose orthodoxy was guaranteed by the fact of their holding communion with Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, and Timotheus, Bishop of Alexandria. The old expedient of requiring subscription to a creed was abandoned: and communion with men of ascertained orthodoxy was substituted in its place.

If there were any of that reluctance which Gregory discovered in Theodosius to force the consciences of his subjects into compliance with his own belief, it soon disappeared under the influence of the exhortations to

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

more zeal which he received from his Bishops and from his wife, the devout Flaccilla, and also doubtless under the increasing intolerance of opinions different from his own which is wont to be engendered in the breast of the possessor of absolute power. Fifteen¹ stern edicts against heresy, one on an average for every year of his reign, were his contribution to the Imperial Statute-book.

Theodosius' legislation against heretics.

Already on the 10th of January, 381, Theodosius had launched the first of these imperial thunderbolts with an energy which one would have thought might have rendered it unnecessary for Gregory of Nazianzus to apologise for his too great moderation. 'Let there be no place left to the heretics for celebrating the mysteries of their faith, no opportunity to exhibit their stupid obstinacy. Let popular crowds be kept away from the assemblies, now pronounced unlawful, of all heretics. Let the name of one supreme God be everywhere glorified, let the observance of the Nicene faith, handed down to us from of old by our ancestors, be for ever confirmed. Let the contaminating plague of Photinus, the sacrilegious poison of Arius, the criminal misbelief of Eunomius, and the unutterable enormities of the other sects which are called after the monstrous names of their authors, be banished from our hearing. He is to be accounted an assertor of the Nicene faith and a true Catholic who confesses Almighty God and Christ the Son of God, one in name with the Father,

¹ Fifteen are enumerated by Gothofred. It is true that the last (Cod. Theod. xvi. 5. 23) is a relaxation of the law forbidding bequests by Arians. But on the other hand l. 15, which Gothofred attributes to Valentinian II, may surely be attributed with equal justice to Theodosius.

God of God, Light of Light: who does not by denying the existence of the Holy Ghost insult that Spirit through whom comes whatsoever we hope to receive from the great Father of us all: whose unstained faith holds fast that undivided substance of the Incorruptible Trinity which the Orthodox Greeks assert under the name of Ousia¹. These doctrines are abundantly proved to us: these are to be revered. Let all who do not obey them cease from those hypocritical wiles by which they claim for themselves the name—the alien name—of the true religion, and let them be branded with the shame of their manifested crimes. Let them be kept entirely away from even the thresholds of the churches, since we shall allow no heretics to hold their unlawful assemblies within the towns. If they attempt any outbreak, we order that their rage shall be quelled and that they shall be cast forth outside the walls of the cities, so that the Catholic Churches throughout the whole world be restored to the orthodox prelates who hold the Nicene faith².

So began the campaign which ended in the virtual extinction of Arianism in the Roman world, and the acceptance of the Nicene Creed as part of the fundamental constitution of the Empire. The contents of

¹ 'Being,' or 'Substance.' 'Homo-ousios' = 'of one Substance' [with the Father].

² Cod. Theod. xvi. 5. 6. It will be observed that Theodosius speaks of restoration of the Churches to the Nicenes 'toto orbe.' Yet, in the name of his colleague, Valentinian II, Justina, mother of that Emperor, was at this time contending, and for years after contended, on this very point, with St. Ambrose. The position of affairs suggests a doubt how far edicts of this kind, though issued in the names of *all* the Emperors, were tacitly recognised as having validity only in the dominions of one of them.

BOOK I. the fifteen edicts against heretics may be summarised
 CH. 6. thus. No Arians were to be at liberty to build a
 384. church either in city or country in which to celebrate
 the rites of their dire communion ; and houses devoted
 to this purpose in defiance of the law were to be con-
 fiscated by the State¹. Nor were they to be allowed
 to ordain priests ; and if they transgressed this com-
 mand ‘all who should dare to take the polluted name
 of priests among these sectaries and who pretended to
 teach that which it is disgraceful to learn, should be
 388. hunted without mercy out of the city of Constantinople,
 to live in other places apart from the intercourse of
 good men ².’ A few years later, the limits within which
 the Arians were suffered to live were yet further re-
 stricted. They were to be banished not from the capital
 only but from all the cities of the Empire. ‘Let them
 resort to places which may most effectually, as if with
 a rampart, shut them off from all human fellowship³.
 We add that they shall be altogether denied oppor-
 tunities of visiting and petitioning Our Serenity.’

In order to enforce the edicts for the suppression of
 heretical meetings, a series of laws were passed by
 Theodosius and his sons with the object of enlisting
 the instincts of the possessors of property on the side
 of orthodoxy, by making these ‘dens of wild beasts⁴’
 subject to confiscation either by the State, or, in the
 392. later legislation, by the Catholic Church. ‘The place

¹ l. c., 8, 12.

² l. c., 13.

³ ‘Adeant loca, quae hos potissimum quasi vallo, quodammodo ab humana communione secludant’ (l. 14).

⁴ ‘Aedificia quae non ecclesiae sed *antra* debent *feralia* nominari’ (l. 57). (This is a law not of Theodosius but of his son, A.D. 415.)

in which the forbidden rites are attempted shall, if the thing were done with the connivance of the owner, be added to the possessions of our treasury. If it can be proved that the owner of the house was ignorant of the transaction [he shall not forfeit his property, but] the tenant who allowed it to be so used shall pay 10 lbs. of gold [£400], or if poor and sprung from servile filth, shall be beaten with clubs and banished. We especially order that if the building in question form part of the Imperial property, the procurator who has let it and the tenant who has hired it be each fined 10 lbs. of gold. A similar fine is to be exacted from any who shall dare to usurp the name of clergyman and assist at the mysteries of heretics ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

Occasionally a gleam of mildness darts across the thundercloud of the Imperial anger. 'The Taxodrocitae,' says Theodosius, 'need not be turned out of their dwellings, but no crowd is to be permitted to assemble at any church of this heretical superstition; or if by chance it should come together there it is to be promptly dispersed.' The sect with this barbarous name, for which an Emperor of Rome condescended thus specially to legislate, was, we are told, a set of men who prayed with the forefinger held under the nose to give themselves an appearance of sadness and holiness.

391.

Upon the Manicheans the orthodox Emperor was especially severe, but this is not surprising since, as we have seen, even the tolerant Valentinian thought himself bound to suppress their teaching, as tending to the subversion of morality. Any bequest to or by a Manichean, male or female, was declared void, and the pro-

381.

¹ l. c., 21.

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

erty which it was attempted thus to pass lapsed to the treasury. But by a curious anticipation of the 'Irish Penal Laws' of the eighteenth century, it was ordered that any children of Manichean parents who might be found professing the true faith should escape the operation of this edict and, presumably, enter into the immediate possession of property for which they must otherwise have awaited their father's death. And then reverting to his former denunciation of the heretics: 'They shall not escape,' says the Imperial legislator, 'by taking other names which seem of more pious sound than that of Manichean. Such are they who call themselves the Continent ones¹, the World-renouncers², the Water-users³, and the Sackcloth-wearers⁴. All these, with whatever names they may seek to cloak themselves, are to be execrated as men branded with the crime of heresy⁵.'

382. In the next decree but one it seems to be ordered that the sectaries who bear these names of pretended holiness be capitally punished⁶; and it is added that all those who do not concur in the celebration of Easter at the usual time shall be considered equally guilty with the heretics at whom the law is expressly aimed.

Certainly there was no need to complain of Theodosius' lack of persecuting zeal. Whatever arguments

¹ Encratitae.

² Apotactitae.

³ Hydroparastatae (users of water instead of wine in the Communion).

⁴ Saccophori.

⁵ l. 7.

⁶ I do not see what other meaning we can attach to the words 'summo supplicio et inexpiabili poena jubemus affligi,' but there is perhaps some intentional vagueness in the language employed (l. 9).

might be alleged for the suppression of the awful doubt of the Manicheans, no such defence can be made for the desperate servility with which an Emperor of Rome placed all the vast powers of the State at the disposal of the Catholic Bishops, in order to enforce the observance of the festival of the Resurrection on a certain artificially calculated Sunday rather than on the 16th of Nisan. It was with an appearance of gracious liberality that Theodosius allowed freedom of worship to all who delighted in worshipping God in the beauty of holiness and with true and right observance¹; but it was clear that right observance meant compliance, in the minutest particular, with the commands of the Bishops who stood round the Imperial throne; and the very sentence which seemed to announce this tolerant maxim declared that all the members of the anathematised sects who should dare to come together in crowds, to fit up their houses in the likeness of churches, or to do any act public or private which could interfere with Catholic holiness, should be expelled [from the cities] by the concerted action of all good men.

383.

No doubt it was long before the theoretical severity of the persecution of heretics could be translated into fact in all the cities of the empire. The frequent repetition of almost identical edicts shows how easily they lapsed into disuse, either through the inherent difficulty of enforcing them or through the venality, the good-nature or the secret inclination to heresy of the provincial governors who were charged with their exe-

Were these
Edicts
actually
enforced?

¹ I would thus paraphrase, I can hardly translate, the words 'permissa omnibus facultate, quos rectae observantiae cultus et pulchritudo delectat' (l. 11).

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

cution. Indeed, we are expressly told by one of the Church historians¹ that 'great as were the punishments ordained by the laws against heretics, they were not always inflicted; for the Emperor had no wish to persecute his subjects; he only desired to enforce uniformity of religion by means of intimidation;'—an apology, it may be remarked in passing, which is as good for Diocletian or Galerius as it is for Theodosius. But none the less was the Theodosian religious legislation ultimately successful in the suppression of all teaching opposed to the creed of Nicaea, and the victory thus won exerted an immense and, in my view, a disastrous influence on the fortunes of the Empire, of Christianity, and even of Modern Europe.

Effect of
this legis-
lation on
the Em-
pire,

The Empire suffered alike from the strength and the weakness of the Imperial persecutor. Such edicts as those which we have been considering must have loosened the bonds of loyalty in many regions of the empire, must have sent many sectaries to the mountains and the wilderness, with savage hearts, ready to co-operate with the first barbarian invader who would avenge their cause upon the orthodox Augustus and his Bishops. But even the imperfect execution of the decrees must also have done harm to the State. The obligations of discipline were relaxed, the muscles of the administration lost their firmness, when edict after edict issued from the Imperial *secretum*, which could not be, or at any rate was not, literally obeyed by more than a small minority of the officials of the provinces.

on the
Church.

To Christianity there might seem to be a temporary gain in the cessation of the wearisome and profitless talk concerning the nature of the Godhead. But nothing

¹ Sozomen, vii. 12.

was further from the subtle intellect of the Grecian East than giving up the dispute as to the relation of Jesus Christ to the Father of whom He spoke, and setting to work to practise His precepts. Shut out henceforward from the Arian controversy, the Orientals plunged with all the more eagerness into the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies. The stream of interminable babble still flowed on, eddying now, not round the doctrine of the Trinity, but round the doctrine of the Person of Christ. Faith died and Theology was occupied in garnishing her sepulchre with elaborate and fantastic devices, when, from the burning plains of Arabia the harsh war-cry of another faith, narrow and poverty-stricken in comparison with the earlier faith of the Christians, but still a living Faith in the Unseen, was heard, and the Mosque of the Moslem, with its sublime motto 'Allah Wahdahu' (God Alone), replaced the Christian Church with its crosses and mosaics of the saints. Had the State not endeavoured to enforce one uniform creed in Constantinople, in Antioch, in Alexandria, it is possible that Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt might at this day be owning the teaching of Christ rather than that of Mohammed.

But most fatal of all was the direction given by so great an Emperor as Theodosius to the energies of European rulers during the period—not far short of a millennium and a half—during which the Roman empire was the model proposed for imitation by all the half-barbarous states which arose upon its ruins. Following the example which he had set, every European ruler during the Middle Ages deemed it one of his duties to enforce 'the Catholic unity' upon his subjects. It was a duty which no doubt was often

BOOK I.
CH. 6.

neglected, but still it was a duty, for the great Caesars of Rome had practised it; and therefore we have among these princes the same paradox which meets us in the case of the Roman Caesars, that the best sovereigns were often the most relentless persecutors. Sometimes however, especially in the later days of pre-revolutionary Europe, a king atoned for his own lax morality by zeal in the punishment of heretics. Almost into our own age the baneful influence lasted. Eight years after the accession to the throne of the grandfather of our present sovereign, an old Frenchwoman named Marie Durand was liberated from the Tour de Constance at Aigues Mortes, in which she had been imprisoned for thirty-eight years. The only crime which was alleged against her (and even that falsely) was that her marriage had been solemnised by her brother, a Huguenot minister, who, by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had been forbidden to exercise any religious function. This was the crime for which thirty-eight years of imprisonment were not considered too severe a punishment, and the monarch in whose name the sentence was inflicted was the eldest son of the Church, the most Christian and most Infamous Louis XV. The chain of causes and effects is a long one, but we shall probably be safe in asserting that if Theodosius had elected to follow the wise example of Valentinian, and had refused to enforce religious uniformity by the power of the State, that hapless daughter of Provence would not have languished for a lifetime in the dreary dungeon of Aquae Mortuae.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FALL OF GRATIAN.

Authorities.

Sources:—

Besides the sources enumerated in the previous chapters (the chief of whom, now that we have lost the help of Ammianus Marcellinus, is the unsatisfactory Zosimus), we get some assistance for the reign of Gratian from the work which often goes by the name of SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR 'De Vita et Moribus Imperatorum Romanorum,' but which is more safely quoted as 'Epitoma de Vita et Moribus Imperatorum,' its connection with Victor being doubtful. Victor was governor of Pannonia Secunda under Constantius, and Prefect of Rome under Theodosius. If the Epitoma does not come from his hand, it is nevertheless pretty clearly the work of a contemporary, and its notices though scanty are valuable.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

A good deal of information as to the reign of Gratian is derived from the writings of AUSONIUS (Consul, 379), whose position at the Court is described in the following chapter, and from the sermons and letters of AMBROSE.

BARBARIAN invasion and religious controversy have compelled us to devote a large share of attention to the fortunes of the Eastern Empire. The scene now shifts from Thrace to Gaul, from the sea which flowed like a river past the churches and palaces of Constantinople, to the river which widened into lakes under the vine-clad hills of Gallia Belgica. Here, on the banks of the beautiful Moselle, stands the 'August city of the

Gratian's
capital.
Trier.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

Treveri¹, now called by its German possessors, Trier, by its French neighbours, Trêves; a city which claims to have been founded by Assyrian emigrants at the time of the Call of Abraham, but which has more substantial titles to the veneration of the archaeologist, as possessing undoubtedly finer remains of Roman architecture than any other city north of the Alps. Here the traveller can still see the massive buttresses which once supported the Roman bridge over the Moselle,—the Amphitheatre in which the young Constantine made the Frankish kings, his captives, fight with the lions of Libya,—the massive walls of the building² which was once probably the Palace of the Praetorian Prefect, perhaps of the Emperor himself, when he resided at Augusta Treverorum. Here is the Basilica or Hall of Judgment of Constantine, now used as a Protestant Church, and here is another Basilica, begun probably by Valentinian and completed by Gratian himself, whose four gigantic columns, with the vast arches springing from them, formed the nucleus round which the cathedral of the Prince-Bishops of Trier has strangely crystallised. But beyond all other wonders of this most wonderful city is the huge mass of the Porta Nigra, a fortress-gateway, far surpassing in size any structure of the same kind at Rome itself, and probably built by Valentinian or by one of his immediate predecessors. This mighty pile, the lower stories of which were throughout the Middle Ages choked with rubbish, while its upper part was turned into a church, or rather into two churches, has now by the Prussian Government

¹ Augusta Treverorum.

² Formerly called the Roman Baths, but almost certainly a Palace.

been cleared of all these incongruous additions, and frowns down on the breweries and the gas-works as it frowned down on the Court, the Camp, and the Basilica in the days of Gratian¹.

Augusta Treverorum appears to have become the regular official residence of the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul towards the end of the third century. Constantine enriched it with many fine buildings, often abode in its palace, and as has been said, celebrated the games in its Amphitheatre. His son, Constantine II, Valentinian, and Gratian, all treated it as their chief capital city. Here then Gratian dwelt for the greater part of his seven years' reign, except when his presence was needed at Sirmium to direct the operations of his generals against the Goths during the sickness of Theodosius, or at Milan to guide the counsels of his impulsive step-mother, Justina. The beginning of his reign was full of promise. Besides the successes which his arms achieved against the Lentienses and the Visigoths, successes the glory of which of course rested chiefly with his generals, he had the more personal merit of mitigating the harshness of his father's policy and of punishing some of the chief instruments of his cruelty. Thus, as has been already said², both Maximin and his assessor Simplicius were, apparently at the outset of the reign of Gratian, handed over to the sword of the executioner.

Much of the credit of Gratian's early popularity is doubtless due to the two wise counsellors by whom his policy was chiefly guided. The first of these was

Gratian's
Coun-
sellors.
Mero-
baudes.

¹ The best description of Augusta Treverorum that we possess in English is contained in Freeman's Historical Essays, 3rd Series.

² See p. 213.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

Merobaudes the Frank, who for his surpassing military talents had been made Master of the Soldiery by Valentinian¹, and who had protected the interests of the family of the deceased Emperor in the stormy debates which followed that Emperor's death. He shared the honours of the consulship with Gratian in 377, and was probably his chief adviser in all military matters during the eight years of his reign². Notwithstanding a passage in one of the chroniclers³ which throws a doubt on his fidelity, there is reason to believe that the old general remained true to the house of Valentinian to the end, and perished because of that fidelity.

Ausonius.

A very different character from that of the martial Frank was borne by the other chief counsellor of the young prince, once his tutor, now his minister, Decimus Magnus Ausonius. This man's history was a good illustration of the way in which the profession of rhetoric might even under so autocratic a system of government as the Roman Empire, lead a person of modest birth and fortune to the most brilliant prizes of the civil service.

Ausonius was born at Bordeaux in the early years of the fourth century, and was the son of an eminent physician named Julius Ausonius. Decimus Ausonius studied rhetoric, taught grammar, and in middle life was appointed tutor to the young Gratian. The pupil seems to have truly loved his preceptor, who describes

(Between
364 and
367.)

¹ Zosimus, iv. 17.

² It seems to me far more probable that the 'two Nestors' to whom Themistius refers in his 13th Oration (p. 173, ed. Paris) are Merobaudes and Ausonius than Ausonius and Ambrose, as suggested in a note of Harduin's.

³ Prosper: see below.

himself as 'tranquil, indulgent, mild of eye, of voice, of countenance¹:' and the stern Valentinian respected him. Hence honours and emoluments flowed in upon himself and his family. His aged father was made Prefect of Illyricum: he himself was successively count, quaestor, and Praetorian Prefect, ruling in the latter capacity Gaul, Illyricum, and Italy. Prefectures and proconsulates were also bestowed on a son, a son-in-law, and a nephew of the favoured tutor, and in the year 379 he himself was raised to the supreme, the almost overwhelming honour of the consulship.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

To subsequent generations Ausonius has been chiefly interesting as representing the late autumn of Roman poetry. It is true that he cannot be classed above the third-rate poets, that many of his works are mere metrical conceits, of no literary value, that he has no striking thoughts nor especially melodious diction: but there is in this 'tranquil and indulgent man with his mild voice and eye' a certain gentle susceptibility to the beauties of Nature which makes him a not altogether unworthy successor of Virgil, a not entirely futile forerunner of our modern school of poetry. His most celebrated poem is an 'Idyll,' in which he sings the praises of the Moselle. The vine-covered hills above, reminding him of his native Garonne, the villas which lined both sides of the valley, the happy labourers at their harvest toil, the stream itself 'like the sea bearing mighty ships, like a river rushing along with whirling waters,' the white pebbles of its bed clearly seen through its transparent tide, and the grassy mounds reflected in its still pools: all these are described, if with rather too obvious a desire to imitate

Poetry of
Ausonius.

¹ 'Tranquillus, clemens, oculis, voce, ore serenus' (Idyll. ii. 43).

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

Virgil, still by one whose eye was open to behold the beauties of Nature. It must be admitted, however, that there is much vapid mythological allusion, even in this short poem, and that when the bard enumerates the various kinds of fish that might be caught in the Moselle, and the different streams that helped to swell its waters, he does not rise much above the level of a catalogue in verse.

A poem of more personal interest, but one of which we unfortunately possess only the beginning, is the *Ephemeris*, or story of a day in the author's life. The poet begins in soft Sapphics, calling his lazy slave Parmeno to awake :—

'Now the bright-eyed Morn re-illumes the window;
Now the wakeful swift in her nest is chirping;
You, my slave! as though it were scarcely midnight,
Parmeno! sleep still.

Dormice sleep, 'tis true for a livelong winter;
Sleep, but feed not. You, like a lazy glutton,
Drink deep drafts before you lie down to slumber;
Therefore you snore still.

Therefore voice of mine cannot pierce those ear-flaps,
Therefore slumber reigns in your vacant mind-place,
Therefore Light's bright beams with a vain endeavour
Play on your eye-lids.

Bards have told the tale of a youth whose slumbers
Lasted on, unbroken, a mortal twelvemonth,
Nights and days alike, while the Moon above him
Smiled on his sleeping.

Rise! you dawdler; rise! or this rod corrects you.
Rise! lest deeper sleep, when you least expect it,
Wrap your soul¹: your limbs from that couch of softness,
Parmeno! lift now.

¹ 'Surge ne longus tibi somnus unde
Non times detur.'

(Taken over from Horace, *Carm.* iii. 11.)

Ah! perhaps my gentle harmonious Sapphics
Soothe his brain and make but his sleep the sweeter.
Drop we then the Lesbian tune, and try the
 Sharper Iambus.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

Here: boy! Arise! My sandals bring
And fetch me water from the spring,
That I may wash hands, eyes and face;
And bring my muslin robe apace;
And any dress that's fit to wear
Bring quick, for I abroad would fare.
Then deck the chapel, where anon
I'll pay my morning orison.
No need of great equipments there,
But harmless thoughts and pious prayer;
No frankincense I need to burn;
The honeyed pastry-cake I spurn.
The altar of the living sod
I leave to others, while to God
The Father with coëqual Son
And Spirit, linked in unison,
I pray in this my morning hour.
I think upon the present Power:
My spirit trembles. He is here,
Yet what have Hope and Faith to fear?

Then follows a prayer consisting chiefly of 'an anxiously orthodox invocation of the Trinity¹,' but with something more than mere orthodoxy in its closing sentences. The poet desires to be kept in goodness and purity, to be neither truly accused nor falsely suspected of crime, to have the use of his faculties and the love of his friends preserved to him, and when the last hour comes, neither to fear death nor yet to long for it.

Here unfortunately the best part of the poem ends.

¹ I borrow this phrase from Mr. Simcox's *History of Latin Literature* (vol. ii. 346), to which I refer the reader who desires fuller information as to the poetry of Ausonius.

BOOK I. Ausonius has asked five guests to dine with him, and
 CH. 7. — gives some directions to the cook as to the preparation of the repast: but the dinner itself, the talk of the guests, the *siesta*, the games which might have followed it—all these are absent from this record of a day: and after a long break we have only a humorous description of the nightmare dreams which follow the too luxurious banquet. Knowing what caused the ruin of the poet's Imperial pupil, Gratian, we notice with some interest that one of the worst of these dreams is that in which Ausonius sees himself dragged away, helpless and unarmed, among bands of captive Alans¹.

Religious
 position of
 Ausonius.

At an epoch of transition such as that which we are studying, we look attentively to see what was the mental attitude of the chief writers of the day towards the religious questions which stirred the minds of the multitude and evoked the edicts of emperors. The general tone of Ausonius' poetry seems to be monotheistic but Pagan. He corresponds on intimate terms with Symmachus, the great supporter of Paganism at Rome: and the Professors of Rhetoric at Bordeaux, Toulouse, and other cities of Southern Gaul, whose fame he commemorates in a poem specially dedicated to their honour, seem to have been for the most part followers of the old religion. On the other hand, as we have seen, he is anxious to show himself not only a Christian, but an orthodox Trinitarian, in his *Ephemeris*. Probably the fact is that he was sprung from a family which was either heathen, or indifferent to religious controversy, that in his profession as a rhetorician he was brought into contact chiefly with the votaries of

¹ 'Cerno, triumphantes inter, me plaudere: rursum
 Inter captivos trahor exarmatus Alanos.'

the Olympian gods, but that in middle life he professed, and perhaps possessed, a sufficient amount of faith in Christianity to make it not unsuitable that he should be appointed tutor to a Christian Augustus. The important point to notice, and that which justifies us for having spent a few pages on the character and career of this third-rate poet, is that what is now called Culture was still for the most part loyal to the old gods of Greece and Rome. Christianity, such as it was, had conquered in the forum, in the army, and in the council-chamber; but it had not yet succeeded in establishing its dominion in the author's study or the professor's lecture-room.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

Very different from Ausonius in character, in mental fibre, and in his influence on his own and succeeding ages, was another adviser who, though not a minister of state like Merobaudes or Ausonius, still did much to mould the mind of Gratian. This was the far-famed bishop of Milan, St. Ambrose. Sprung from one of the great official families of the Empire, Ambrose passed the years of infancy in the palace of the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, for that was the high office (carrying with it dominion over Britain, Gaul, and Spain), which was wielded by his father and namesake. We are not informed where the elder Ambrose was dwelling when his son was born to him; but it is at least a plausible conjecture that it was at Augusta Treverorum; and if so the ruined pile on the outskirts of Trier, which went till lately by the name of the 'Roman Baths,' is probably the building in which the child, who was to be one day the greatest theologian of the West, first saw the light, and through the open windows of which, according to his biographer's story, the swarm

St. Ambrose.

Circa 340.

BOOK I. of bees came flying, which crept in and out of the
 CH. 7. open mouth of the slumbering infant—a presage of his
 future sweet and golden eloquence.

Like his father, Ambrose seemed destined to be a great Imperial official. He pleaded as an advocate in the Court of the Praetorian Prefect of Italy¹, and (probably about the 30th year of his age) was advanced to the dignity of *Clarissimus Consularis Liguriae et Aemiliae*². Here while he was discharging the duties of his office with impartial industry, and thus winning the esteem of the provincials to whom a just governor was not one of the ordinary blessings of life, he was
 374. one day summoned to the great Basilica of Mediolanum in order to quell what seemed likely to be a bloody tumult arising out of a disputed episcopal election. Auxentius, the just deceased Bishop, had been an Arian. A strong and clamorous party wished to give him an Arian successor; but other voices, probably more numerous, shouted for the election of one who would uphold the creed of Nicaea. While Ambrose, surrounded by his guards, was addressing the excited multitude, and seeking to persuade or awe them into stillness, suddenly a voice was heard—the voice of a little child said the poetic imagination of those who had after-

¹ Probus, the same whom we have seen presiding, not very successfully, over the Prefecture of Illyricum.

² 'Liguria' at this time was the official designation of the province on the left bank of the upper course of the Padus, corresponding to Northern Piedmont, and part of Western Lombardy, and Aemilia marked the rest of the course of the river on its southern bank. The junction of these two seems to make a somewhat awkward and straggling province to be allotted to one governor. 'Consular' was the title of the ordinary Governor of a province and had no reference to his tenure of a Consulship.

wards to tell the story—clear and distinct, through the eloquent speech of the young Consular: ‘Ambrose is Bishop.’ The voice was hailed as an omen from heaven. Probably as Ambrose was still but a catechumen, each party hoped that he might be persuaded to enlist under its banner. The determination of the people to have Ambrose for their Bishop was only increased by the strange and repulsive expedients to which he resorted in order to give force to what was perhaps in his case a genuine utterance ‘*Nolo episcopari.*’ After an attempted flight he surrendered himself to the will of the people, was baptised as a Christian, and on the eighth day sat in the marble chair of the Basilica, a consecrated Bishop.

Not for long were the two parties left in doubt which of them Ambrose would join. He soon showed himself an earnest, an eloquent, and a somewhat high-handed votary of the faith of Nicaea, to the final victory of which creed he contributed as effectually in the West as Basil and Gregory had done in the East. It was he who in the year 381 procured the assembling of a Council at Aquileia for the deposition of Palladius and Secundianus, two aged semi-Arian Bishops. He conducted the bitter cross-examination which preceded their condemnation, refusing their appeals to a General Council, taking them point by point through all the heresies of Arius, and calling upon them either to anathematise, or to prove the theses of the arch-heretic¹. Finally it was Ambrose who, reciting the ‘blasphemies’ of the two defendants, obtained the unanimous anathemas of the Bishops (collected chiefly from the cities of Northern Italy, and Gaul) who were assembled

BOOK 1.
CH. 7.

Orthodoxy
of Ambrose.

¹ ‘Aut damna hodie Arium aut defende.’

BOOK I. in the Aquileian Basilica, and it was Ambrose who
 CH. 7. drew up the report of the Council addressed to the Emperors, praying that the deposed prelates might be kept from entering the churches, and that holy men might be appointed in their places¹.

Treatise
De Fide.

378.

Upon the young and ardent mind of Gratian, St. Ambrose, in the fervour of his zeal for Nicene orthodoxy, and with that wealth of experience which he had collected both from his political and his ecclesiastical career, seems to have exercised an extraordinary influence. When the Emperor was moving his troops eastward to help his ill-fated uncle against the Goths, he besought the Bishop of Milan to give him some treatise concerning the Catholic Faith, by which he might strengthen his heart for the combat. Probably Gratian was thinking of the apparently inevitable discussions with the Arian Valens and the Bishops who surrounded him, but Ambrose understood him to allude to the battle with the Goths, and in the treatise *De Fide* which he composed in answer to the request, remarked that victory was often won rather by the faith of the general than by the valour of the soldiers. 'Abraham with only 318 trained servants had conquered an innumerable multitude of his enemies [in his pursuit of Chedorlaomer]: and as the same number of prelates, the 318 fathers of Nicaea, had erected an eternal monument of divine truth, it should be his business

¹ The acts of the Council of Aquileia are included among the letters of St. Ambrose (787-810, vol. ii. part i. 915-944, ed. Migne). They are especially important because our best account of Ulfilas is contained in some angry comments upon these Acta from the hand of some Arian sympathiser, apparently a certain Bishop Maximin. See Waitz, 'Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila.'

to set up the trophy thus erected in the mind of his Imperial disciple.

These then were the manifold influences that had helped to form the character of the young Augustus of the West, for whom both friends and flatterers might not unreasonably anticipate a long and brilliant tenure of 'the rule of the universe.' In order to see him thus in the splendour of his prime, it may be worth our while to accompany two of his professed panegyrists into his presence and listen to their praises, fulsome indeed, but not devoid of some traces of truthful portraiture.

It was perhaps in the early part of 376¹ that the orator Themistius, who had been despatched by Valens on an embassy to his nephew, and who had visited his court in Gaul, returning with him as far as Rome, pronounced there a solemn panegyric in presence of the Emperor and the Senate. The title of the oration was 'A Love-speech, concerning the Beauty of the Emperor.' Striking the key-note by a reference to the discussion on Love in the 'Banquet' of Plato, Themistius declares that he never could understand, aforetime, Socrates' description of the pleasing torments endured by the lover; but all is now made plain to him, now in his old age, since he has fallen in love with the beauty of Gratian. 'Oh! so rare a being do I behold before me: a fair mind in a fair body, and a promise of greater loveliness to come. I sought my ideal of beauty and virtue in the dwellings of the poor, and found it not. Then I turned again to the "Phaedrus" of Plato, and learned from it that beauty has in it something

¹ According to the Theodosian Code, Gratian would seem to have been in Rome on the 16th April, 376.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

376.

divine, and I bethought me that it was to be looked for amongst kings and emperors who are likest gods on earth. So I went, in my quest of beauty, to the palaces of the Augusti. Constantius was beautiful, and beautiful too was Julian; but neither of them entirely satisfied my longings. But now I am come to see thee, oh boy-emperor, boy-father, boy who surpassest hoary virtue; oh blessed prize of my long pilgrimage from one end of the earth to the other; and all my heart rejoices.'

Mindful of the jealous master whom he serves, Themistius here inserts a little laudation of Valens who has wedded Philosophy to Power, and has made barbarians civilised: he praises his care for the supply of the Eastern capital with corn, and the labour with which he has constructed the aqueduct which from a distance of 120 miles brought water over hill and dale to Constantinople¹. Then he touches on a more delicate theme of praise, the contrast between Gratian and his father. 'It was not indeed my fortune ever to behold the savage beauty of Valentinian, but I now see it softened and made loveable in the heavenly face of his son. The evil that was done by the harsh counsellors of his father, Gratian cannot entirely undo, for he cannot raise the dead, but—an almost greater marvel—he repays the sums unjustly exacted by their oppressions. The Treasury was formerly a very lion's den, with all the footsteps pointing towards the home of the king of beasts, and none emerging from it: but now, far more splendid because more righteous, are the marks of the gold that issues from the Treasury than of that

¹ Part of this aqueduct is yet visible and is one of the finest bits of Roman Constantinople still in existence.

which enters it. Titus thought that day lost in which he had done good to no one. Gratian misses not one hour from his benevolent labours. Entering into his *secretum* at the beginning of the day he asks himself, 'Whom to-day shall I rescue from death? To whom shall I grant a pardon? To whom can I preserve his paternal abode?'

'The character of the Prince transmits itself through all the ranks of his subordinates. As the satraps of Alexander the Great imitated the slight deformity of his person (his neck inclining somewhat more to the left shoulder than to the right), so the Prefects of Gratian have their minds turned to noble deeds by the example of their lord. Groans are no longer heard in the court-house. The rack, unused, is falling to pieces with age. Those calculators of ruin, those sleuth-hounds of the Treasury who hunted up its long-forgotten claims, have all disappeared, and the records which they left behind them, the fire has destroyed.'

Themistius then proceeds to praise the young Emperor's love of peace and his power of fascinating the barbarians. 'Not philosophers only but barbarians love this beautiful Emperor; they gladly bow their heads before him, vanquished by his genius. Not the horse and his rider covered with complete mail ever fought so powerfully for Rome against the barbarians, as the beauty of Gratian and his symmetry of soul. Those who used to ravage our fields are now crossing the Rhine in multitudes, only to sue for his favour. They bring gifts who used to plunder, and their fierce spirit melts away under the magic charm of this young man's attractiveness.'

After some more compliments of this kind to the

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

376.

Emperor, the orator, reverting to his first thought, declares that his quest of beauty ends in that vast, that infinite sea of beauty, Rome. With some words of real eloquence he praises her Senate, her effigies of the gods, her nation of sculptured heroes, and with no obscure allusion to the ascendancy of the heathen party in Rome he declares, ‘To you we owe it, oh ye happiest of men, that the gods have not yet left this world of ours. It is you who have till now successfully resisted the attempt to sever the human nature from the divine. Let us then rejoice in white garments on this whitest of days. Come, oh Senators! invite your young warriors to return from their tents. Let not Rhine, or Tigris, or Euphrates delay their homeward march. Rome delights in the return of her sons, bearing gory spoils, but bearing also the holier, bloodless trophies of gentleness and love of man. May the father of gods and men, Jupiter founder and preserver of Rome, and may Minerva our mother, and Quirinus the divine guardian of the Roman dominion, grant to me and mine ever to love this sacred City, and to be loved by her in return.’

Consulship of
Ausonius.

End of 379.

Such was the panegyric pronounced by the Byzantine orator upon the young Emperor of the West, in the Senate-house at Rome. Nearly four years later, when Valens had lain for more than a year in his undistinguished Thracian grave, and when Gratian was holding the first place in the Imperial partnership, his old tutor, Ausonius, stood before him in the palace at Trier to express his thanks for an honour (still the highest which any but an emperor could hold), the consulship which he had received at the hands of his Imperial pupil. About a twelvemonth before, when

Gratian was at Sirmium, anxiously watching the movements of the triumphant Goths, and arranging for the association of Theodosius in the Imperial dignity, he still found leisure to remember his former preceptor by the banks of the Moselle, to ordain that he should be Consul for the year, first in dignity of the two¹, and to send him, in order to lend glory to his installation, the very same robe, adorned with embroidered palm-branches, which Constantine the Great had worn when he bore the office of Consul². With the same courteous condescension to the wishes, we may perhaps say to the vanity of his elderly preceptor, Gratian arranged to return by forced marches from Thrace to Gaul, in order to hear the oration which he uttered on divesting himself of the much-prized dignity. With a droll mixture of abject veneration for his Imperial pupil and delight in having attained the supreme honour of a consulship, Ausonius tells over again the story of Gratian's epistle, in which he announced that 'he was

¹ The words of Gratian, in conferring the office, were 'te consulem designavi et declaravi et priorem nuncupavi.' As Gratian was at this time Emperor both of East and West, and as both Ausonius and Olybrius his colleague were Western officials, it was necessary that the Emperor should settle the question of precedence between them. The general rule at this time seems to have been that one Consul should be nominated by the Eastern and one by the Western Augustus, and that each should have precedence in the Fasti of his own half of the Empire.

² 'Namque iste habitus, [palmata vestis] ut in pace consulis est, sic in victoria triumphantis. Parum est, si qualis ad me trabea mittatur, interrogas, te coram promi jubes. Nec satis habes ut largitionum ministri ex more fungantur. Eligis ipse de multis, et cum elegeris, munera tua verborum honore persequeris. "Palmatam," inquis, "tibi misi in qua divus Constantinus parens noster intextus est." It was Gratian's marriage to the daughter of Constantius which entitled him to speak of relationship with Constantine.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

379.

going to pay a long-due debt and still remain a debtor.' 'Thus you wrote, "When I was revolving in my mind, alone, the question of the creation of consuls for the year, according to my usual custom, with which you are acquainted, I asked counsel of God, and following his guidance I have designated and declared you as consul, and have announced you as foremost in rank."' These words are commented upon by the grateful poet through a whole paragraph of adoring adulation. But we may pass over these painful self-prostrations and need not follow Ausonius in the comparison which he institutes between himself and other Imperial tutors¹ who had been honoured with consulships. It is more to our purpose to enquire what hints the orator lets fall of the character of him whom, with a natural play upon the words, he delights to call the 'gracious,' the 'grateful,' and the 'gratitude-inspiring' Gratian. Ausonius, like Themistius, contrasts the rule of the son with that of the father. 'The Palace,' says he, 'which you received so terrible, you have rendered loveable. . . . You, the son of Valentinian, whose goodness was so exalted, whose affability so ready' (this sounds almost like satire), 'whose severity so restrained; you, having established the welfare of the State, have understood that it is possible to be most gentle without any injury to discipline.' Ausonius commemorates the destruction of the taxing-registers, 'those trees of ancient fraud, those seeds of future injustice².' He too, like the Eastern orator, reminds his hearers of the celebrated saying of Titus about his 'lost day,' and declares that

¹ Seneca, Quintilian, Titianus, Fronto.

² A similar conflagration by order of Trajan is depicted on a bas-relief in the Roman Forum.

every moment of Gratian's time is devoted to alleviating the pressure on his subjects. In words which recall the opening of his own *Ephemeris* he sketches the daily life of the young sovereign, who from his boyhood has never begun the day without a prayer to Almighty God, and then with cleansed hands and a pure heart has gone forth to his business or his pleasure. 'Whose gait was ever seen more modest than yours? Whose familiar intercourse with his friends more condescending, or whose attitude on parade more erect? In athletics who ever showed himself so swift a runner, so lithe a wrestler, so lofty a leaper? No one has hurled the javelin further, or showered his darts more thickly or more certainly reached his mark.' 'We have seen you like the Numidian cavalry, at the same time stretching the bow and relaxing the reins of your steed, with one and the same blow urging on the lazy horse and correcting the restless one. But then what restraint you exercise over yourself! At the table what priest is more abstinent? In the use of wine what grey-beard is more sparing? Your chamber is holy as the altar of Vesta, your couch is chaste as the couch of a Pontifex.' 'We have heard much of the affability of Trajan who was wont to visit his friends in sickness. You not only visit but heal: you procure nurses, you make ready the food, you administer the fomentations, you pay for the drugs, you comfort those who are stricken, you rejoice with those who are convalescent. Often, if anything untoward had happened in war, I have seen you going round the tents of a whole legion, asking each man how he fared¹, examining the soldiers' wounds and urging the prompt and

¹ 'Satin' salve quaerere, = asking them 'Are you pretty well?'

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

379.

continuous application of the proper remedies. I have seen some who had no appetite for food take it when you commended it to them. I have heard you utter the words which gave courage for recovery. I have seen you conveying this man's baggage by the mules of the court, giving that one a horse for his special accommodation; making up to one for the services of a missing horse-boy, filling at your own charges the empty purse of another, or covering his nakedness with raiment. All was done kindly and unweariedly with the greatest sympathy, but with no ostentation. You gave up everything to the sick: you never reproached with your benefits those who had recovered.' 'In discharge of an Emperor's duty you gave easy access to your person to those who invoked your aid: but you did more than this, for you never even complained of the interruption.'

Declining
popularity
of Gratian.

The picture which is drawn by the two orators of the young and brilliant Emperor, beautiful in person, affable in manners, generous with his purse and excelling in all manly exercises, is one which has certainly many lines of truth; but there were other elements in Gratian's character, other causes tending to overcloud the early brightness of his popularity, which we can learn from no panegyric and only dimly infer from the tragedy of his fall.

Strength
of the
heathen
party at
Rome.

At Rome, which though it had ceased to be the main residence of the Emperors could yet exercise some influence on their fate, Gratian's uncompromising Christianity lost him the favour of many powerful citizens. Heathenism died hard under the shadow of the Capitol. Intertwined as it was with all the traditions of the world-conquering City from Numa to

Augustus, it seemed, to many a Roman patriot that the preservation of the worship of Jupiter and Mars, of Rhea and Vesta and Ceres, was absolutely essential to the safety of the State. While the Pagans were at this time a small and discredited remnant in the new Christian city¹ by the Bosphorus, they were probably an actual majority in the Senate of Old Rome : at any rate they were numerous enough to make a formidable resistance to the policy of suppression, which Gratian, admonished by Ambrose and fired by the example of Theodosius, was eager to apply to the ancient religion.

A striking proof of the ascendancy of Ambrose was afforded by the young Emperor's action in reference to the Altar of Victory. After the battle of Actium, Augustus, now sole master of the Roman world, erected in the Senate-house an altar, above which stood a statue brought originally from Tarentum, representing Victory in her usual attitude of eager forth-reaching speed, standing on a globe. On this altar, for nearly four hundred years, the senators had been wont, before commencing their deliberations, to burn incense to the goddess whose faithful companionship had borne the standards of the legions from the little city by the Tiber to the Atlantic and the Euphrates. Constantius, an Arian, but strong in his zeal against heathenism, removed the altar on the occasion of his visit to Rome. Julian, of course, replaced it; and the tolerant Valentinian appears to have suffered it to remain. Fresh from his communings with Ambrose, and with the treatise *De Fide* accompanying him on his journeys, the young Gratian ordered the removal of the idolatrous

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

Altar of
Victory in
the Senate-
house.

357.

¹ 'Constantinopolim immo vero Christianopolim' (Maximin apud Waitz, 'Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila,' p. 16).

BOOK I. altar¹. A further proof of his zeal for Christianity
 CH. 7. was afforded by an edict which appeared in the year
 382, forbidding the people to contribute to the expenses of the heathen sacrifices and confiscating to the use of the Imperial treasury the rich revenues which were appropriated to the service of the temples, and even to the support of the noble maidens, whose duty it was to tend the sacred fire of Vesta².

These successive blows aimed at the ancient religion, roused the indignation of the Roman senators. A deputation, headed by the orator Symmachus, set forth to wait upon the Emperor and remonstrate against the recent edicts. Pope Damasus of Rome, however, sent a counter-petition, which professed to utter the sentiments of many Christian senators and innumerable other private citizens, and which disavowed the prayer of the heathen remonstrants. This counter-petition, backed by the powerful word of Ambrose of Milan, attained its end, and the young Emperor sent away unheard the members of the ancient nobility of Rome who had travelled from the Tiber to the Moselle for the sake of an audience³.

Title
 'Pontifex
 Maximus.'

This rebuff to the heathen senators may perhaps

¹ Gothofred makes the date of this order of Gratian 376, but Seeck with more probability assigns it to 382.

² This decree is not in the Theodosian Code, but it is quoted by Honorius (Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 20), and we get the date (approximately) from Ambrose, Epist. i. 17. 10, 'Nam et ante biennium ferme,' etc. This letter was written in 384.

³ It is perhaps doubtful whether the abortive embassy of the Senate went as far as Trier. The words of Ambrose, 'Nunc libellum ego [Gratiano] direxi,' seem to imply that Gratian was not at Milan; but the Theodosian Code shows that he was in the middle of August, 382, at Verona, and that is not an unlikely place for the deputation to have visited.

have occurred about the same time with an equally conspicuous proof of Gratian's zeal for Christianity, given to the College of Priests. The emperors of the family of Constantine, though presiding in the councils of Bishops and settling disputed points of Christian doctrine, had yet on some occasions 'bowed themselves in the house of Rimmon,' and had humoured the heathenism of Old Rome by accepting some of the titles, and perhaps even performing some of the sacrifices which marked the semi-religious character of the Pagan emperors. Not so, however, the young and enthusiastic Gratian. He had never donned the pontifical robe, nor had he ever, since he assumed the reins of power, allowed himself to be described as Pontifex Maximus¹. It was perhaps with a faint hope of inducing him to reconsider his decision against Paganism that the College of Pontifices now² appeared before him, beseeching him to accept from their hands the long white linen robe with purple border which belonged to him of right, and like one of the old Caesars of conquering Rome, to appear before the people as the greatest of the priestly order, the Pontifex Maximus. Their prayers were vain: Gratian utterly refused to receive the robe, saying emphatically that it was unlawful for a Christian to wear such a garment. The priests retired, but he who was first in rank among them was heard to mutter, 'If the Emperor does not

¹ Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 762 and 1054) notices one inscription in which Gratian bears the title P. M., but it dates from 370, five years before the death of his father.

² We have really no authority for placing this story of the rejection of the robe at so late a period of Gratian's reign. But it seems to fit in well with the other events of 382.

BOOK I. choose to be called Pontifex, there will nevertheless
 CH. 7. very speedily be a Pontifex, Maximus.' There was perhaps a pause between the last two words, and men not long after thought they discovered in them somewhat of the nature of a prophecy¹.

Other
 causes of
 unpopu-
 larity.

The discontent of the fossil Pagan Conservatives of Rome would perhaps not have greatly endangered the throne of Gratian had his administrative qualities and his popularity with the army fulfilled the promise of the earlier years of his reign. Unfortunately this was not the case. There are signs that the counsellors who surrounded him, and who had advised the punishment of the ministers of Valentinian, were themselves wanting in firmness, perhaps in integrity, and that under their lax rule the exchequer was becoming exhausted and the judgment-seat corrupt. Gratian himself, with all his amiable and admirable qualities, with his personal beauty, his eloquence, and even his poetical gifts, his courage, his frugality, and his unspotted chastity, lacked the one virtue indispensable to the ruler of an autocratic empire, diligence. Men saw him with dismay at a time when the defence of the tottering realm would

The Pope
 as Pontifex
 Maximus.

¹ Zosimus, iv. 36. This priestly pun or prophecy had a meaning which reached further on into the future than the author himself knew. It was true indeed that if the Emperor refused the mysterious title of Greatest Pontifex, with its accumulated sanctity of ages, that title would not be lost. Another race of men, another dynasty, one of priests, even now emerging from persecution through popularity into power was ready to assume the dropped dignity. Theodosius apparently never called himself Pontifex Maximus, but in the year 417 (if the letter be authentic) Zosimus (the pope, not the historian) already speaks of himself quite naturally as *Summus Pontifex*. (*Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, pp. 938, 971; ed. Coustant. Paris, 1721.) When the change from *Summus* back to the more familiar *Maximus* was made does not seem to be clearly ascertained.

have well-nigh over-taxed the industry of Marcus Aurelius, imitating instead the athletic frivolities,—
 certainly not the cruelty of the unworthy son of Aurelius, Commodus. His vast game preserves (*vivaria*), rather than the camp or the judgment-hall, were the almost constant resort of the young Augustus. Night and day his thoughts were engrossed with splendid shots, made or to be made, and his success herein seemed to him sometimes to be the result of divine assistance¹. The statesmen in his councils may have mourned over this degeneration of an able commander into a skilful marksman; but a more powerful cause of unpopularity with the rank and file of his army existed in the favour with which he viewed the barbarians, formerly his enemies, now his allies. Doubtless he saw that both in stature, in valour, and in loyalty, the Teutonic antagonists of Rome were superior to her effete offspring; and surrounding himself with a guard selected from the nation of the Alani, whose prowess he had tested as an enemy in his Pannonian campaign of 380, he bestowed on them rich presents, entrusted to them confidential commands, and even condescended to imitate the barbarous magnificence of their attire.

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 10. 18-19. Epitoma de Vita et Moribus Imperatorum, xlvii. The latter author says that Gratian 'Cunctis fuisset plenus bonis, si ad cognoscendam Reipublicae gerendae scientiam animum intendisset, a quâ prope alienus non modo ingenio sed etiam exercitio fuit.' It is interesting to observe the complete accordance as to Gratian's character of two independent sources like Ammianus and the Epitomist, and their confirmation both by the speech and by the silence of the Panegyrists. Eunapius, as we might expect, tends towards a harsh judgment, and says that 'being young and having been bred in the purple, he had never learned what it is to rule, and what to be ruled' (Frag. 48, p. 84, ed. Bonn).

BOOK I.
CH. 7.Discontent
of soldiers
in Britain.

The preference of 'these few Alani to the so-called Roman soldiery' (themselves perhaps, if the truth were known, the sons and grandsons of barbarians) alienated from the Emperor the hearts of his old comrades. The fire of discontent went smouldering through the army of Gaul, and at length reached the legions of Britain, who, doubtless in a state of chronic discontent at their exile to a misty and savage island, where the sun warmed them not nor could wine be purchased out of the pay of a legionary, surrounded also by that abiding atmosphere of anarchy, in which it is the delight of a Celtic population to live, were always ready on the slightest provocation to forswear the oaths which bound them to the reigning Augustus and proclaim a new Emperor, under whose standards they might march to pleasure and the South.

Maximus
the
Spaniard.

The aspiring officer who made the discontent of the army the lever of his own ambition, was a certain Maximus, a Spaniard, like Theodosius, variously represented to us as the comrade¹ and as the butler² of that Emperor. It has been already said that certain detachments of Spanish troops were regularly detailed for service in Britain: for instance, the camps of Cendercum and Cilurnum in Northumberland were garrisoned by the first and second 'ala' of the Asturians respectively. It is possible that Maximus may have originally entered the island as a private soldier in one of these detachments; may have held some inconspicuous place in the military household of the elder Theodosius, and having recommended himself to that

¹ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ . . . συστρατεύσάμενος (Zosimus, iv. 35).

² 'Ille quondam domus tuae [Theodosie] negligentissimus vernula, mensularumque servilium statarius lixa' (Pacatus, Panegyric, xxxi.).

general by some deed of daring, may have been promoted by him to the place of tribune or centurion. However this may be, he appears at the time of the mutiny to have borne the reputation of an able and trustworthy officer. By repeating and magnifying the calumnies against Gratian, and by the adroit use of hints which were perhaps not quite unfounded, that Theodosius had not forgiven the house of Valentinian for his father's death, and would behold its downfall and his fellow-countryman's elevation with pleasure, he seems to have persuaded the mutinous soldiers to invest him with the Imperial purple. There was, however, some show of reluctance on his part, and it is possible that he was rather the instrument than the author of the mutiny¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

383.

Maximus, at the head of his army, consisting probably of the greater part of three legions stationed in Britain, crossed over into Gaul, and landed at the mouth of the Rhine. Gratian, who was engaged in hostile operations against the Alamanni², found on his return to headquarters that many of his soldiers had gone over to the standards of his rival. He had still however a considerable army, and his veteran counsellor and general, Merobaudes, remained faithful, as did another loyal and brave barbarian officer, Count Vallio. The armies met in the neighbourhood of Paris, but there was no pitched battle. For five days there

Maximus
enters
Gaul.

¹ One has to speak thus doubtfully because of the strong assertion of Orosius, 'Maximus, vir quidem strenuus et probus, atque Augusto dignus nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset, in Britannio *invitus* propemodum ab exercitu imperator creatus' (Hist. vii. 34).

² So says Socrates, H. E. v. 11.

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

383.

were slight and indecisive skirmishes, but during all this time Maximus and his right-hand man Andragathius, the commander of his cavalry, were tampering with the fidelity of Gratian's troops, recounting, doubtless, and aggravating the grievances of the Roman soldiers, postponed as they were to the pampered Alani, magnifying the frivolity and the incapacity of the new Commodus, and insisting that this young Emperor of barbarians must be displaced to make way for one who was loyal to the genius of Rome.

Gratian
deserted
by his
soldiers.

Too late the unhappy Gratian found that his soldiers' fidelity was a broken reed, that battle with the enemy was out of the question, and that his only safety lay in flight. This fatal termination of the struggle was partly due to his own generosity and improvidence, which had so exhausted the Imperial treasury that he had no power of winning back the lost affections of the soldiery by a lavish donative. When he saw the Mauritanian cavalry crossing the plain with loud shouts of acclamation to 'Maximus Augustus,' and other legions and squadrons preparing to follow their example, he knew that the game was lost, and with three hundred horsemen he hurried from the field.

Gratian's
flight.

Andragathius pursued the Imperial fugitive with a picked body of horsemen. Gratian hurried southward, hoping to reach the friendly shelter of his brother's court at Milan. No city would open her gates to the hunted wayfarer, who but yesterday was 'lord of the universe.' We have a pathetic picture of his journey from the hand of Ambrose, the friend whose name was constantly on his lips in these melancholy days, and

the thought of whose grief for him made his own grief more bitter¹. Deserted by all those on whose devotion he had a hereditary claim, with no friend to share the dangers of the way, the splendours of the Imperial table replaced by the hardships of actual hunger and thirst, Gratian still found comfort and support in that Christian faith, the reality of which in him was far more powerfully attested by the help which he drew from it in his hour of ruin, than by all the edicts for the repression of heresy which he had launched in the day of his prosperity². 'Surely,' said he, 'my soul waiteth upon God. My enemies can slay my body, but they cannot extinguish the life of my soul.' His flight was at length arrested by a cruel stratagem. As he drew near to Lyons he perceived a litter being borne, apparently by unarmed domestics, along the opposite bank of the Rhone. It was reported that the litter contained his newly-wedded wife³, and the eager husband hastened across the river to welcome her. Forth from the litter stepped, not the longed-for wife, but the traitor Andragathius, who carried Gratian a prisoner within the walls of Lyons. Some show of outward respect was paid to the unhappy captive, who was even pressed to resume the Imperial purple, and was invited to a sumptuous banquet. His apprehensions of danger were soothed by a solemn oath that no harm should happen to him; and then, apparently in the midst of the feasting, the purple-robed Emperor was

BOOK I.
CH. 7.

383.

Death of
Gratian.

¹ 'Tu me inter tua pericula requirebas, tu in tuis extremis me appellabas, meum de te plus dolebas dolorem' (De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio, 79).

² This thought is admirably expressed by Richter (p. 573).

³ Laeta, his second wife, Constantia having died some years before.

BOOK I. struck down by the hand of an assassin. With his last
 CH. 7. breath the victim called upon Ambrose ¹.

25 Aug.
 383.

¹ For the details of Gratian's murder we are chiefly indebted to St. Ambrose, an unimpeachable authority, but whose account is rendered somewhat obscure by being thrown into the shape of a Commentary on the 61st (in our Version 62nd) Psalm, and by the parallel which the preacher seeks to draw between the sufferings of Gratian and those of Christ. (In Psalm lxi. Enarratio.) The story of the litter rests on the authority of Socrates (v. 11) and Sozomen (vii. 13), and may perhaps be reconciled with that of Ambrose in the manner suggested above, especially as Jerome (Ep. ad Praesidium) speaks of 'foeda captivitas' as preceding 'miserabilis interitus' ('Necdum annus completus est, quo principem Gratianum procedente exercitu suo, ante foeda captivitas, dehinc miserabiliter oppressit interitus'). This shows that Sozomen is wrong in making the murder follow immediately on his capture by Andragathius. Zosimus apparently has confused Lugdunum (*Lyons*) and Singidunum (*Belgrade*), and goes wildly astray in his geography in consequence.

NOTE D. THE ALTAR OF VICTORY.

It may be a convenience to the reader to have the chief events of the long and stubborn controversy in reference to the Altar of Victory presented in the form of a summary. NOTE D.

Altar of Victory placed in the Senate-house by Augustus after the battle of Actium, B.C. 29; removed by Constantius during his visit to Rome, A.D. 357; replaced by Julian, 360–363; removed by Gratian, possibly in 376, but more probably in 382; embassy of Symmachus and other Roman nobles to remonstrate against the removal; influenced by Pope Damasus, Gratian refuses them an audience, 382; petition of the Senate for the restoration of altar, 384; first letter of St. Ambrose to Valentinian II against this petition; *Relatio* of Symmachus, pleading with Theodosius for the restoration of the altar; second letter of St. Ambrose replying to the *Relatio*, 384; renewed embassies of the Senate to Theodosius and Valentinian II (Ambrose, Epistol. 57, 4), circa 391 and 392; the altar restored by Eugenius, 393 (Paulinus, Vita Ambrosii, 26); doubtless finally removed by Theodosius after the overthrow of Eugenius, 395. But this is not expressly stated by the historians.

NOTE E. ST. CHRYSOSTOM ON THE DEATHS OF EMPERORS.

A passage in a letter of St. Chrysostom addressed 'to a young widow,' throws an interesting light on the state of the Empire, and on the anxiety with which the career of Gratian was observed by his contemporaries:—'And to leave old matters, of those who have reigned over our generation, nine in all, two only have died by a common death. But of the rest, one by an usurper, one in a war, one by a conspiracy of his household guards, one by the very man who raised him to the throne and put the purple robe upon him.' NOTE E.

Apparently St. Chrysostom's list of nine Emperors reaches from

NOTE E. Constantine the Great to Valens. The two who died by a natural death are Constantine I and Constantius II. Then come four violent deaths: Constans by order of the usurper Magnentius, Constantine II in the war with his brother, Jovian by the treachery of his guards (St. Chrysostom must have accepted some version of that story which has not found favour with historians), and Gallus by order of his cousin Constantius, who had raised him to the throne. St. Chrysostom then proceeds:—‘Julian fell in battle with the Persians, Valentinian died in a fit of rage, and Valens, together with his retinue, was burnt in a house to which the Goths set fire. Of the wives whom these Emperors married, some, they say, died of poison, and others of very despair. And of those widows who yet survive, one, having an orphan child, fears and trembles lest any of the rulers through fear of the future should destroy it; and the other, with difficulty, by the entreaty of many persons, has been recalled from the banishment to which the former Emperor had sentenced her.’

The first of these widows is pretty clearly the widow of Jovian, who trembles for the safety of her son, Varronianus; the second may, perhaps, be Faustina, the widow of Constantius II, who, as having been to a certain extent involved in the usurpation of Procopius, might easily incur the resentment of Valens.

Chrysostom continues:—‘Of the wives of the reigning Emperors, one is racked by constant anxiety on account of the youth and inexperience of her husband; the other is subject to no less anxiety for her husband’s safety, inasmuch as ever since his elevation to the throne he has been engaged in constant warfare with the Goths.’ The first of these ladies is evidently Constantia, wife of Gratian; the second Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius.

I owe this interesting quotation to the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens’ *St. Chrysostom, his Life and Times* (p. 94), and I have in the main followed his interpretation of the passage.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAXIMUS AND AMBROSE.

Authorities.

Sources :—

FOR most of the ecclesiastical events recorded in this Chapter, BOOK I.
CH. 8. we have valuable contemporary evidence in the letters of AMBROSE, especially Letter 24, containing the report of his embassies to Maximus, 20 (to his sister), describing the struggle with Justina, and 17 and 18, arguing the question as to the demolition of the Altar of Victory. On the other side of the latter controversy we have the *Relatio* of SYMMACHUS. The edition of the letters and speeches of Symmachus, by Otto Seeck in the *Auctores Antiquissimi* (a portion of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), is a monument of patient and accurate research.

For the persecution of the Priscillianists, and the life of St. Martin, the chief authority is SULPICIUS SEVERUS, an ecclesiastical historian of Aquitaine (*circa* 353–429). His Latin style is much above the average of the writers of his age, and though himself orthodox, he is able to speak of heretics with fairness, and abhors sanguinary persecution.

For the civil events of the period our chief authority (and a very unsatisfactory one) is the *Panegyric* on Theodosius, pronounced in his presence at Rome (389) by PACATUS, which has been already described (p. 281). ZOSIMUS and the ecclesiastical historians supply the remainder of our information.

Guides :—

Richter, *Das West-römische Reich*, which ends with the fall of Maximus, is particularly helpful for all this period. The

BOOK I. great work of Cardinal *Baronius*, '*Annales Ecclesiastici*,' is
 CH. 8. very useful here, where the affairs of Church and State are so closely blended. *Tillemont*, in his '*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*,' gives us a very good '*Mémoire*' on the Priscillianists, but the division between the history of the Emperors and the history of the Church operates rather disadvantageously on this part of his work.

Fate of
 two of
 Gratian's
 followers.

THE short but eventful life of Gratian had ended in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and Magnus Maximus the Spaniard, 'a man worthy of the purple if he had not broken his plighted oath in order to obtain it ¹,' ruled the three Western countries of Europe from the Cheviots to the Straits of Gibraltar, and Morocco as far as the slopes of the Atlas. After the murder of Gratian there does not seem to have been any extensive proscription of his friends. Merobaudes, who held the high dignity of Consul in the very year of his master's ruin, was compelled to put himself to death ². Count Vallio, a man of great renown as a warrior, saw his house surrounded by some of the British soldiers of the usurper. They twisted a cord round his neck and hung him, and then spread abroad the rumour that he had perished by his own hands, and had chosen 'this womanly form of death,' a fiction which imposed upon none who knew the stout old soldier as 'ever a lover of the steel blade,' and who were persuaded that had his death been self-sought the sword, not the halter, would have been its

¹ Orosius, vii. 34.

² '*Vita sese abdicare compulsus est*' (*Pacatus*, xxviii). *Tillemont* seems justified in vindicating the memory of Merobaudes from the charge of treason to his master, apparently brought against him by Prosper: '*Gratianus Parisiis Merobaudis magistri militum proditione superatus*,' a charge which is perhaps due to a corruption of Prosper's text.

instrument. After these two deaths capital punishment of the adherents of the lost cause seems to have ceased; and now began between the Imperial Courts the game of mutual menace and intrigue, to decide whether Maximus should add Italy and Africa to his dominions, or should lose the Gauls, which he had won with scarce a sword-stroke.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
383.

There was of course consternation as well as grief in the palace at Milan when the boy-Emperor, his mother, and their faithful adviser, Bauto the Frank, heard of the death of Gratian, and conjectured that soon the great and warlike army of the West would be marching southward to sweep the dynasty of Valentinian from the earth. The common danger drew the Arian Empress and the orthodox Bishop of Milan together. While Bauto sent soldiers to guard the passes of the Alps, Ambrose generously undertook the labours and discomforts of an embassy to the Court of the usurper to plead for peace, a hard and humiliating commission truly for the polished and eloquent ex-governor of Liguria to have to stand as a suppliant before the upstart Spanish boor, who had wrapped himself in the Imperial purple, and to receive the kiss of peace from the brutal lips which had ordered the murder of his own dearly-loved pupil, Gratian.

Ambrose
sent as an-
bassador
from Milan
to Trier.

Instead of being admitted, as his rank and character gave him a right to expect that he would be, into the *secretum* of the new Emperor, Ambrose was received in full consistory, courteously but coldly, and told to declare his errand. He asked for the return of the dead body of the murdered Emperor: this was firmly denied. He expressed the willingness of Valentinian and his mother that there should be peace: this was

Ambrose's
interview
with
Maximus.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
383-4.

made in some measure dependent on the answer to be brought back by Count Victor, an envoy whom Maximus had despatched to the Court of Milan. Then the usurper took up the discourse, and strongly urged that the child-Emperor should come himself and consult with him 'as with a father' concerning the welfare of the State. But hardly by such an easy crime as the murder or imprisonment of a confiding child was Maximus to gain a second share of the mighty heritage. Ambrose remarked that he had no authority to treat concerning the visit of Valentinian, but only concerning peace, nor did it seem reasonable that in that bitter winter weather, a little boy with his widowed mother should cross the Alps to seek an interview with a hardy soldier.

The embassy led to no immediate result. Ambrose waited in Gaul for Victor's return, passing the winter at Trier, but refusing all approach to intimacy on the part of Maximus¹. The invasion of Italy, if ever seriously thought of by the usurper, was postponed for the present—probably Count Bauto's soldiers, garrisoning the passes, interposed a serious obstacle—and meanwhile all eyes were turned towards the East, where lay the true key of the position ; and that key was in the hands of Theodosius.

Associa-
tion of
Arcadius
in the
Empire,
16 or 19
Jan. 383.

The Eastern Emperor had in the beginning of the year associated with himself as Augustus his little six year old son Arcadius, thus following the example of Valentinian in his association of Gratian. In fact, from this time forward this device for turning an elec-

¹ The first and second embassies of Ambrose to Maximus are both described in a letter of his to Valentinian (Ep. xxiv. p. 888), but it is not easy to disentangle the two.

tive into a hereditary monarchy became almost the rule in the Roman state. Eight months after the soldiers had acclaimed 'Arcadius Augustus,' came the terrible news of the dethronement, the captivity, the death of Gratian. We can well believe that it was with somewhat mingled emotions that Theodosius heard the tidings. His benefactor and his colleague had fallen, the victim of calumny and foul treason, and Theodosius might feel himself called upon by the loud voices of gratitude and honour to avenge his death. On the other hand, the house of Valentinian had done grievous wrong on that melancholy day at Carthage to the house of Theodosius, and the ruin of the Illyrian dynasty by a Spanish usurper might seem heaven's chastisement for the unjust execution of the Spanish general. The effect of the recent revolution was to give Theodosius increased rank and precedence in the Imperial partnership, in some degree to smooth the way for the eventual appropriation of the sovereignty of the universe as the appanage of his family. These were the ignoble arguments dissuading Theodosius from avenging the blood that had been shed in the banquet-hall at Lyons ; but there were others on the same side more worthy of being listened to and obeyed by a Roman Emperor. Thrace and Moesia needed rest after the long agony of the Gothic campaigns. The Persian king was beginning to move uneasily on the other side of the Euphrates. The Saracens—some tribe known by that indefinite appellation—had appeared in arms on the south-east corner of the Euxine. The Ephthalite Huns were invading Mesopotamia, and had reached Edessa. Perhaps, too, within the limits of the Empire itself, the stern edicts against Arianism

BOOK I.

CH. 8.

383.

Theodosius
receives the
news of
Gratian's
murder.

BOOK I. were not being enforced without trouble and commotion.

CH. 8.

383-4.

All these considerations seemed to counsel peace, and a courteous reception of the ambassador whom Maximus sent, about the end of 383 or the beginning of 384, to the Court of Constantinople.

Embassy of
Maximus
to Theo-
dosius.

The envoy of Maximus was his Grand Chamberlain¹, an old and trusty comrade of the Emperor, contrasting favourably with the eunuchs¹ who, since the days of Constantius, had generally held the office of Chamberlain in the Eastern Court. The message which he bore was no humble deprecation of the Eastern Emperor's anger. Maximus tendered no apology for Gratian's murder (the guilt of which he probably threw off on over-zealous subordinates), but he offered to Theodosius firm friendship, and an alliance offensive and defensive against all the enemies of the Roman name. This, if he were willing to accept it; if not, hatred and war to the bitter end. Theodosius listened to the ambassador; and moved by some or all of the considerations which have been referred to, accepted openly the proffered alliance, though perhaps in his secret heart only postponing the day of vengeance.

Maximus
recognised
as legiti-
mate Em-
peror.

It was agreed that the name of Maximus should be mentioned in the edicts of the Emperors, and that his statues should be erected side by side with those of the already recognised Augusti, throughout the Empire. Cynegius, the Praetorian Prefect, who was just starting on a mission to Egypt, in order to close all the temples that were dedicated to heathen

¹ 'Ο τοὺς βασιλικοὺς φυλάττειν ἐπιτεταγμένος κοιτῶνας (Zosimus, iv. 37): the equivalent no doubt of 'Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi.' Zosimus is the only authority who mentions this important embassy.

worship, received an additional charge to raise a statue to Maximus in the city of Alexandria, and to make a formal harangue to the citizens, announcing that he was received as full partner in the Empire¹.

BOOK I
CH. 8.
384.

Whether formally stated or not, it was evidently one of the conditions of the peace thus arranged between Theodosius and Maximus, that the boy Valentinian should be left in the undisturbed possession of Italy and Africa. From this time forward Theodosius assumed towards the young prince that position of elder brother, counsellor, and friend, which had been hitherto held by Gratian. The relation was indeed complicated by theological differences, Justina being as keen in her partisanship for the Arians, as Theodosius was resolute in his defence of orthodoxy, but in the end it might safely be predicted that in all important matters Constantinople would give the law to Milan.

Valentinian rules under the patronage of Theodosius.

Such scanty details as we possess concerning the character of Maximus as a civil ruler, will be best reserved for the close of his five years' reign. It happens that the events by which the attention of men was most attracted during this time were ecclesiastical

¹ It does not seem possible to reconcile the language of the historians with any actual hostile movement of Theodosius against Maximus in 383, much less with one which should have gone as far as Gaul. Yet what else can be the meaning of these words of Themistius (Or. xviii. p. 220)? Οἷα πον ἡ πρώτη ἦν ἐγκράτεια [ἐκστρατεία] τε καὶ ὁρμή ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ρῆνον' ἔργον μὲν αὐτῇ οὐκ ἠκολούθησεν ἐμφανὲς τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ διάνοια δὲ ἡ ὑπερήφανος καὶ βασιλική, τιμωρῆσαι τῷ ἀρχηγέτῃ πρὸ ὄρας ἀνηρπασμένῳ, καὶ τὸ λείψανον ἐκείνης περισῶσαι τῆς γενεᾶς. Themistius goes on to say that by the very intention the audacity of the Western Emperor was repressed, even as Achilles' shout frightened back the Trojan host. This probably shows in how very rhetorical a sense we must understand ὁρμή ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ρῆνον.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

rather than political. They related to the conflict between old and new religions, the struggle of the priest for supremacy, the unsheathing of the sword of the civil ruler for the extirpation of religious error, rather than to the march of armies, or the invasions of barbarians. In almost all of these debates Ambrose took a conspicuous part, and it may safely be said that in the minds of contemporaries as of posterity, the figures of the coarse soldier-Emperor of the Gauls and the boy-Emperor of Italy, were dwarfed beside the mighty personality of the eloquent Bishop of Milan.

Renewal of
the discus-
sion about
the Altar
of Victory.

Scarcely had the excitement caused by the news of the death of Gratian subsided, when the heathen party in the Roman Senate began to agitate for the repeal of his legislation against the old faith of Rome, and for the replacement of the Altar of Victory in the Senate-house. Not unnaturally they pointed to the untimely end of the young enemy of the gods as a proof that the deities of the Capitol were still mighty to avenge their wrongs, and to add emphasis to this argument, they reminded the listeners of the dwindled crops which had been reaped throughout Italy in the summer after the impious edicts had been passed.

Leaders of
the heathen
party.

The chief advocates of the old religion in the Senate were the two men who in the year 384 held the highest civil offices in Italy, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Praetorian Prefect of Italy, and Q. Aurelius Symmachus, Prefect of the City of Rome. We have met with the former official in the reign of Valentinian interposing successfully to save some of

Praetex-
tatus.

‘The fair humanities of old religion,’
for the Nature-worshipping sons of Hellas¹. He was

¹ See p. 202.

a fine specimen of the heathen Senators of Rome¹, a man able to rule with firmness yet without undue severity, honest and upright, and not without a pleasant vein of humour, which he often showed in cheerful banter with Pope Damasus. An Illustrious Prefect might still please rather than offend the Bishop of Rome by condescending to banter with him. 'Yes, truly, oh Damasus,' said he, 'I too will become a Christian if you will make me Pope.' So much had Praetextatus seen in his official career of the power and splendour which now surrounded the chair of St. Peter, and so keen was the competition between rival claimants for its possession, a competition which in the disputed election of Damasus and Ursinus led to riot and bloodshed in the streets, and the very churches of Rome. Praetextatus was named as Consul for the year 385, but died before he had assumed the Consular robe, in the midst of the discussion which is about to be described.

Much fuller ought to be our information concerning Symmachus, the other champion of the religion of Jupiter. This high official of the Empire, Proconsul, Prefect, Consul, an orator and a historian, of high birth, vast wealth, and untarnished character, has left about 950 letters, many of them addressed to the chief statesmen and authors of the day. These letters ought to be a mine of information as to the social life of Rome in the fifth century: they should reveal to us the inmost thoughts of the dying Paganism of the Empire: they should help us to understand how the last men of that antediluvian world looked upon the

¹ See his character in Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii. 9. 8.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

wild barbarian flood which was everywhere rising around them. Unhappily for us, though there are some grains of gold in this correspondence, they are scanty and widely scattered. It would perhaps not be too much to say, that half of them are filled with excuses for not writing earlier or oftener to his correspondents. The word which perpetually rises to the lips of the impatient reader as he turns over page after page of the letters of Symmachus is 'vapid.' It is in comparing the utter moral sterility of the correspondence of this most respectable and on the whole amiable Pagan with

'The questings and the guessings
Of the soul's own soul within',¹

revealed to us in the marvellous 'Confessions' of his young contemporary and fellow-orator, Augustine, that we feel most strongly why Paganism was bound to die, and why Christianity was sure to succeed to its vacant inheritance.

Relatio of
Sym-
machus.

384-5.

The least uninteresting part of the correspondence of Symmachus is the tenth book, which consists chiefly of the *Relationes* or Official Reports to the Emperors, made during his tenure of office as Prefect of the city. The most celebrated of these Reports is that in which he pleads the cause of the dismantled Altar of Victory. The Report is addressed to our 'Lords Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius ever August².' They are approached with every epithet of deferential homage. They are 'the glory of our times,' and 'my renowned Princes': they are addressed as 'Your Clemency,' and

¹ Poems by A. H. Clough.

² 'DDDNNN Valentiniano Theodosio et Arcadio semper AVGGG,' a letter for each Emperor.

‘Your Eternity’; but when Rome herself is personified as appearing before them pleading her grey hairs as a reason why she should be exempted from insult, and begs ‘these best of Princes, these Fathers of the Republic,’ to reverence her years, it seems hard not to suppose that some feeling of the inappropriateness of the designation must have crossed the soul of the orator. For, of these renowned Princes and Fathers of the State, one indeed was a stout soldier of thirty-eight, but the others were a boy of thirteen¹ and a little child of seven², strange recipients of the solemn compliments of the elderly Senator. The most eloquent passage in the Report is the following paragraph in which Rome personified makes her appeal :

‘Reverence my many years, to which I have attained by these holy rites; let me use these ancestral ceremonies, for I have no desire to change them. Let me live after my own manner, for I am free. It is this worship which has brought the whole world under my sway; it was these sacrifices which repelled Hannibal from my walls, the Gaulish host from the rock of the Capitol. Have I been preserved through all these centuries only that I should now be insulted in my old age?’ Then, dropping the figure of suppliant Rome, the orator pleads for toleration on broader and more philosophical grounds : ‘We ask for a quiet life, for the indigenous gods, the gods of our fatherland. It is right to believe that that which all men worship is *the One*. We look forth upon the same stars, the sky above us is common to us all, the same universe encloses us. What matters it by what exact method each one seeks for Truth? It

¹ Valentinian II.

² Arcadius.

BOOK I. is not by one road only that you will arrive at that so
 CH. 8. mighty Secret.'

384

The confiscation
 of the
 revenues of
 the Vestal
 Virgins.

Arguments more personal to the Emperors are dwelt on at some length. It is for their interest that the sanctity of the oath should be upheld; but who will have any fear of perjury now that the venerable altar on which the Senators were wont to swear is removed? Then the orator passes on to another grievance, the withdrawal of the subsidies from the priestly Colleges and from the sisterhood of the Vestal Virgins. Here the excavations of recent years give a new emphasis to his words. Under the shadow of the Imperial Palatine, and within a few yards from the Arch of Titus, we have seen the long inviolate Atrium of the Vestals laid bare to view. The site of the innermost shrine, where in all probability the mysterious Palladium was guarded, the chambers of the six recluses, the round temple in which the eternal fire was preserved, the statues of two of the Virgins, one of whom, a woman of sweet and noble countenance, was the Vestalis Maxima, the Mother Superior of this heathen convent—all these recently disinterred relics of the past help us to reconstruct the life of dignified seclusion led by these women, who were chosen from among the noblest and most austere families in Rome for the guardianship of the sacred fire. What lends especial interest to this discovery is, that the statue of Vettius Agorius Prætextatus—the only male who even in sculptured semblance was suffered to enter that chaste abode—has been also found in the Atrium Vestæ. Both he and his wife, Fabia Aconia Paullina, were zealous patrons of the Vestals, who erected this statue in their hall to show forth their gratitude. As has been said, he

seems not to have lived to see the end of the controversy; possibly his indignation at the contempt poured on the holy maidens, may have hurried the old Senator to his grave¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
384.

The arguments employed by Symmachus in defence of his venerable clients, strongly resemble those which have been used in later ages by the orators who have deprecated the spoliation of convents. 'The ruler should be ashamed to eke out the poverty of his treasury by such unjust gains as these. The will of the "pious founder" should be respected. Who will have any confidence in bequeathing property to public objects if such clear and manifest testamentary dispositions as those by which the Vestals hold their funds are set aside? It is not true that they give no return for the revenues which they receive. They dedicate their bodies to chastity; they support the eternity of the Empire by the heavenly succours which they implore; they lend the friendly aid of their virtue to the arms and the eagles of your legions. You have taken the money of these holy maidens, the ministers of the gods, and bestowed it on degenerate money-changers², who have squandered on the hire of miserable porters the endowments sacred to chastity. And well have you been punished, for the crops of whole provinces have failed, and vast populations have had to live, as the first race of men lived, on the acorns of Dodona.'

¹ For these details I am indebted to S. Lanciani's chapter on the Vestals, in his delightful book, 'Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries' (1889), to which I would refer for the inscription recording Praetextatus' devotion to the Vestals.

² 'Stetit muneris hujus integritas usque ad degeneres trapezitas, qui ad mercedem vilium bajulorum sacra castitatis alimenta verterunt.' I am unable to explain the allusion.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

384

'Finally,' says the orator, 'do not be ensnared by the argument that because you are Christians, it is your duty to withhold pecuniary support from every faith but your own. It is not really *you* who give these allowances to the Virgins. The dedication of the funds took place long ago, and all that you are asked to do is to respect as rulers the rights of private property. Your late brother Gratian erred through ignorance, for the evil counsellors who surrounded him would not suffer him to hear of the Senate's disapprobation of his proceedings; but now that you are fully informed, we call upon you with confidence to remedy that which has been unjustly ordered.' So, without any more distinct allusion to the fate of Gratian, ends the *Relatio* of Symmachus.

Letters of
Ambrose.

The Bishop of Milan had heard some rumour of the renewed attempts of the heathen party, and must have feared that through the weakness of Justina, or the policy of Bauto, they were likely to prove successful. He addressed 'to the most blessed Prince and most Christian Emperor Valentinian' a letter, not so much of counsel as of menace, denouncing the wrath of God and of all Christian Bishops if the petitions of the Senators were complied with. He demanded a copy of the *Relatio*, that he might reply to it. He insisted that in this, as in other matters, Valentinian should seek the advice of his 'father' Theodosius. He declared that if, without waiting for his own advice and that of Theodosius, the Emperor allowed the altar to be restored, 'the Bishops would not be able calmly to accept the fact, and to dissimulate their indignation. You may come to church if you please, but you will find no priests there, or only priests who resist your

entrance, and scornfully refuse your gifts, tainted with idolatry.' The whole tone of the letter, addressed as it is by a mature man of the world, and dignitary of the Church, to a helpless boy on whom an evil fate has laid the burden of an empire, is harsh and ungenerous ; and with rulers of a high spirit it would probably have brought about the very concession to the opposite party which he desired to avert. But Ambrose probably knew well the natures with which he had to deal, and felt that in any case the appeal to Theodosius would ensure the obedience of the young Prince and his advisers. The *Relatio* was sent to the Bishop, and he replied to it in a long letter, less fiery but much duller than that which he had first written. There is no need to go point by point through his reply to the arguments of Symmachus. Perhaps his best parry is that which he makes to the allegation that the gods of the elder faith had saved Rome from Hannibal, and the Capitol from the Gauls. 'Indeed! Yet Hannibal came close up to the walls of the city, and long insulted it by the presence of his army in its neighbourhood. Why did the gods suffer that, if they were so mighty? And the Gauls, as we have always heard, were repelled not by divine aid, but by the cackling of the geese of the Capitol. Pray did Jupiter Capitolinus speak through the goose's gullet?'

But whatever might be the faults of taste, or the deficiencies of argument in St. Ambrose's letters, they produced the desired effect on the mind of the young Emperor and his mother. When the deputation from the Senate¹ preferred their request to the Imperial

Valentinian refuses to replace the Altar.

¹ ' Miserat propter recuperanda templorum jura, sacerdotiorum profana privilegia, cultus sacrorum suorum, Roma legatos: et, quod est

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

384.

Consistory, all the members of that body, Christians as well as Pagans, gave their vote for the restoration of the altar and the priestly revenues. Valentinian alone (so we are assured) opposed the prevailing current. His one stock argument was, 'Why should I restore what my brother took away? I should thus injure the memory of my brother as well as the cause of religion, and I do not wish to be surpassed in piety by him.' Then the politic ministers suggested that he might follow the example of his father, who had left the altar untouched. 'No,' said the boy, 'the cases are not parallel. My father did not remove the altar: neither am I removing anything. But there was nothing to restore, and he did not restore aught: neither will I restore it. Both my father and my brother were Augusti, and as far as may be I will follow the example of both, but if there be anything to choose I will rather be an imitator of my brother than of my father. Let our great Mother Rome ask anything else that she may desire. I owe a duty to her, but I owe a yet heavier duty to the Author of our Salvation.'

Whether he spoke his own opinions, or those which had been instilled into him by his mother, it must be admitted that the youthful wearer of the purple showed some trace of Caesarian dignity and self-possession in the manner in which he imposed his will (even if it were in truth the will of Ambrose) on the grey-headed soldiers and ministers of State who stood around his throne. The discussion was at an end. Symmachus

gravius Senatus nomine nitebantur' (De Obitu Valentiniani, 19). There was therefore an embassy from the Senate besides the *Relatio* of Symmachus.

was defeated. The Altar and Statue of Victory were left in some dusty hiding-place¹, from which they have probably been long ago drawn forth to feed the insatiable lime-kilns of Rome; and the Vestal Virgins, pacing up and down their stately Atrium, and looking with wistful faces on the statue of the friendly Prætextatus, bewailed the decay of their fortunes, and looked forward with well-grounded fear to the impending extinction of their order.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

384.

The hand of Ambrose, so heavy in this affair on the party of heathenism in Rome, was next to be felt pressing with equal weight on the Arian Empress at Milan.

When Justina had somewhat recovered from the first terror of the threatened invasion of Maximus, and felt the support of Ambrose less necessary to the safety of her son's throne, she began once more to urge the

Justina
claims a
Basilica at
Milan for
the Arians.
385.

claims of the Arians to some measure of toleration. Milan had been, not many years ago, pretty evenly divided between the Arians and the maintainers of the Nicene Creed; many of the courtiers still professed the faith which Justina's example rendered fashionable; the Gothic troops, of whom there was a large number in the Imperial city, perhaps sent by Theodosius for the defence of his young colleague, followed as a matter of course the Arian (or at least the Homoean) standard, which had been raised among them by the venerable Ulfilas. It was not perhaps unreasonable, in these circumstances, to ask that one out of the many Basilicas of Milan should be handed over to the Empress and her co-religionists, that they might there celebrate with the rites of an Arian communion the Easter of 385. To us, with our ideas of religious toleration, Ambrose's

¹ Except during the short heathen interregnum of Eugenius.

BOOK I. stubborn refusal to comply with Justina's request
 CH. 8. savours of priestly intolerance. On the other hand,
 385. we must remember that the Nicene faith was only just emerging from a life and death struggle with Arianism, which certainly had shown little tolerance or liberality in its hour of triumph ; that under Constantius and Valens the eunuch-chamberlains of the Courts, playing on the fretful vanity of theologising Emperors, had wrought unspeakable mischief to the cause of Christianity ; that Ambrose had the voice of the multitude with him, and all that was most living in the Church on his side ; that if the faith of Christendom was not absolutely to die of the logomachy which Arius had commenced in the baths and *fora* of Alexandria, it was perhaps necessary that the sentence of the Fathers of Nicaea should be accepted as the closing word in the controversy.

Ambrose
 refuses to
 comply.

But more than the theological propositions of Arius and Athanasius was at issue in the contest. The whole question of the relations between the Spiritual and Temporal powers, a question which was logically bound to arise as soon as a Roman Augustus sought admission into the Christian Church, but which had been perhaps somewhat shirked both by Constantine and his Bishops, now began to demand a logical answer. Valentinian II. (or his mother Justina for him) said virtually, 'All the edifices for the public worship of the Almighty belong to me as head of the Roman Republic. In my clemency I leave to the Nicenes all the other Basilicas in Mediolanum, but I claim this one for myself and those who hold with me to worship in.' Such was the theory by virtue of which Gratian and Theodosius had actually wrested multitudes of churches, both in Italy and in Thrace, from

the Arian communion, and had handed them over to Bishops like-minded with Gregory and Ambrose; and such was also the theory on which Valentinian himself, acting under Ambrose's advice, had just been confirming the confiscation of the revenues of the Vestal Virgins and the priests of Jupiter¹. But not deterred by any logical difficulty of this sort, the uncompromising Bishop of Milan said, 'Let the Emperor take my private property, I offer no resistance. Let him take my life, I gladly offer it for the safety of my flock. But the churches of this city are God's, and neither I nor any one else can or shall surrender one of them to the Emperor to be polluted by the worship of the Arians.' It is clear that we have here already formulated the whole question by which the Middle Ages were tormented, under the name of the question of Investitures. Ambrose opens the pleadings which Anselm, Hildebrand, Becket, Innocent will urge, through long centuries, with all the energy that is in them. Nor can it be said that either the Middle Ages, or the ages that have followed them, have truly solved the problem. Perhaps the formula of Ricasoli, 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato,' may prove to be at least one root of the difficult equation. But at any rate it is clear that in the Fifth Century after Christ men's minds were not yet ripe for this solution.

The first request, or demand, made by the Court party was that the Porcian Basilica, which was in the suburbs of Milan, should be handed over for Arian worship. This was refused: then 'the new Basilica,' a larger building within the walls, was demanded. The populace began to show signs of irritation: and the 'Counts of the Consistory,' in other words, the Cabinet Ministers of the

BOOK 1.
CH. 8.
385.

The
Porcian
Basilica
seized.

¹ Well brought out by Richter, p. 607.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

385.

Emperor, falling back on their old position, entreated Ambrose to use his influence with his flock to secure the peaceable surrender of the Porcian Basilica, which, as being outside the walls, might be given up without admitting the Arians to full equality with the orthodox party. This, however, the Bishop steadfastly refused to do. On the following day, which was Palm Sunday, while Ambrose was administering the Communion, tidings came that the servants of the Palace¹ were hanging round the Porcian Basilica the strips of purple cloth, which (like the Broad Arrow on a Bonded Warehouse in England) implied that it was the property of the Sovereign. At these tidings the Catholic population of Milan grew frantic with rage. A certain Castulus, who was pointed at as an Arian, was seized in the great square by an angry mob, and was haled violently through the streets of the city. With genuine earnestness Ambrose prayed that no blood might be shed in the cause of Christ, and by a deputation of priests and deacons, rescued Castulus from the hands of the mob.

The merchants in favour of Ambrose.

It was not, however, only the lower orders who sympathised with the eloquent Bishop. The merchants of Milan made some manifestation in his favour, which was met by the Court party with sentences of fine and imprisonment. 'The gaols,' says Ambrose, doubtless with some exaggeration, 'were full of merchants,' and the fine imposed on their guild was 200 lbs. of gold (£8,000), to be paid within three days. They answered that they would gladly pay twice or thrice that amount

¹ Decani, apparently one of the lowest orders of civil servants, subordinate to the 'Agentes in rebus' (Cod. Theod. vi. 33, and Gothofred's note).

if only they might keep their faith untainted. At the same time, so little dependance could the government place on the loyalty of its own subordinates, that the whole throng of Court messengers, and what we should call sheriff's officers, were ordered to suspend for a time the execution of civil process, in order to withdraw them from the streets, and prevent their mingling with the mob¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
385.

The next step taken by the Court was to send a band of soldiers to occupy the church. The tension of men's minds was growing tighter, and Ambrose tells us that he began to fear that there would be bloodshed and perhaps civil war. His national pride as a Roman, as well as his pride of orthodoxy, was wounded by the proceedings of the Empress, for the officers, probably many of the privates in the detachment of troops by which the church was garrisoned, were Arian Goths. 'Wherever that woman [the Empress] goes,' he said, in writing to his sister, 'she drags about with her a train of followers, who dare not shew themselves in the streets alone. These Goths used to live in waggons: now they are making our church into their waggon and their home.' To the Gothic officers who came to exhort him to yield obedience to the Emperor, and to persuade the people to acquiesce in the surrender of the Basilica, he said, angrily, 'Was it for this that the Roman State received you into its bosom, that you should make yourselves the ministers of public discord? Whither will you go next when you have ruined Italy?'

Gothic
soldiers
in the
Church.

¹ I think this, which is Richter's explanation, must be the interpretation of 'Palatina omnia officia . . . temperare a processu jubentur, specie qua seditioni interesse prohibebantur' (Ambrose, Epist. I. xx. p. 854).

BOOK I.

CH. 8.

385.

In such scenes the days of Holy Week wore on. Ambrose spent all day in the great Basilica, preaching, exhorting, receiving conciliatory messages from the Court, and returning answers of haughty defiance. The Gothic soldiers lived in the Porcian Basilica 'as in a waggon,' surrounded by a weeping, groaning, excited multitude. A crowd also assembled in the 'new' intramural Basilica, and there, apparently on Maundy Thursday, occurred one of the most exciting scenes of the drama. Some soldiers appeared in the sacred building. They were known to be of those who had occupied the Porcian Basilica, and it was believed that they had come for bloodshed. The women-worshippers raised an outcry, and one rushed out of the church. It was soon seen, however, that the soldiers were come, not for fighting, but for prayer. Ambrose had sent a deputation of Presbyters to warn them that if they continued to occupy the Porcian Basilica for the Emperor, he should exclude them from the ceremonies of the Church; and, terrified by the threat, they had come to make their peace with the orthodox party and to share in their worship. In fact—and this seems to have been the turning point of the crisis—the soldiers had deserted the Emperor and enlisted under the Bishop.

The great
Sermon.

A great cry arose in the church for the presence of Ambrose, and he accordingly proceeded thither¹ and preached a sermon on the lesson for the day, which was contained in the Book of Job. He told his hearers that they had all imitated the patience of the patriarch of

¹ I think the narrative implies that the sermon was preached in the new Basilica; but Ambrose, with all his eloquence, tells his story very badly, and it is exceedingly difficult to understand the exact order of events. The point is one of no great importance.

Uz. As for himself, he too had been tempted, like Job, by a woman. 'Ye see how many things are suddenly set in motion against us, Goths, arms, the Gentiles, the fine of the merchants, the punishment of the saints. Ye understand the meaning of the command "Hand over the Basilica;" that is, "Curse God, and die."' Ambrose then proceeded to remark that all the worst temptations to which human nature is subject come through woman, and gently reminded them that Justina belonged to the same sex which had already produced an Eve for the ruin of mankind, a Jezebel, and an Herodias for the persecution of the Church. 'Finally, I am thus commanded, "Surrender the Basilica." I answer, "It is not lawful for me to surrender it, nor is it for thy advantage, oh Emperor, to receive it. By no right canst thou violate the house of a private man, and dost thou think that thou mayest take away the house of God?" It is alleged that all things are lawful for the Emperor, that he is master of the universe¹. I answer, "Do not magnify thy power, oh Emperor, so as to think that thou hast any imperial power over the things which are divine. Do not lift thyself up, but if thou wishest for a long reign, be subject to God." It is written "Render unto God the things which are God's, and to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." Palaces belong to the Emperor, Churches to the Priest. To thee is committed the guardianship of public buildings, not of sacred ones. Again, we are told that the Emperor says, "I too ought to have one Basilica." I answer "No, it is not lawful for thee to have that one. What hast thou to do with the adulteress? And an

¹ 'Allegatur imperatori licere omnia, ipsius esse universa.' The last words seem to correspond with ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχή of Zosimus.

BOOK I. adulteress is that Church which is not joined to Christ
 CH. 8. in lawful union.”’

385.

Again, there came a messenger from the Court, commanding Ambrose to yield to the Emperor's will, and calling him to account for the message which he had sent by the Presbyters to the Porcian Basilica. ‘If you are setting up for Emperor, let me know it plainly, that I may consider how to prepare myself against you ¹.’ Ambrose answered, somewhat ineptly, that Christ fled lest the people should make Him a king, and that it was commonly reported that Emperors coveted the Priesthood more than Priests coveted the Empire. He continued with more justice, ‘Maximus would not have said that there was any danger of my setting up as a rival to Valentinian, when he complained that it was my embassy which prevented his crossing over into Italy to rob Valentinian of his throne.’

‘All that day,’ says Ambrose, ‘was passed by us in sorrow: but the Imperial curtains were cut to pieces by boys at their play. I was unable to return home, because all round us were the soldiers who guarded the Basilica. We recited Psalms with our brethren in the Lesser ² Basilica.’

Victory of
 Ambrose.

Next day, Good Friday, the battle was ended. Ambrose was preaching, again from the lesson for the day, which happened to be the Book of the prophet Jonah. Scarcely had he reached the words which told how, in God's compassion, the threatened destruction had been averted from the city of Nineveh, when news was brought that the soldiers had been ordered to depart

¹ ‘Si tyrannus es scire volo; ut sciam quemadmodum me adversus
 ,raeparem.’

² ‘In ecclesiae basilica minore,’ perhaps the ‘new Basilica.’

from the Porcian Basilica, and that the fines of the merchants were remitted; in fact, that the Court party had surrendered the whole position. The soldiers themselves came emulously into the church to announce these joyful tidings; they rushed to the altars, they gave the kiss of peace to the worshippers. Thanks to God, and the eager plaudits of the multitude, resounded through the church. The suspense of the last terrible six days was over; the hated Arians were defeated; and Ambrose was triumphant.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
385.

As high, however, as was the exultation in the Basilica, so deep was the depression in the purple chambers of the Palace. The Counts of the Consistory besought the Emperor to go forth to the church, in order to give a visible token of his reconciliation with the orthodox party, and they represented that this petition was made at the request of the soldiers. The vexed and worried youth who called himself Augustus, fretfully answered, 'I believe you would hand me over bound to Ambrose, if such were his orders.' The eunuch Calligonus, who held the high office of 'Superintendent of the Sacred Cubicle,' said angrily to Ambrose, 'While I am alive dost thou dare to scorn Valentinian? I will take off thy head.' To whom Ambrose proudly answered, 'God may suffer thee to fulfil thy threats. Thou wilt do what eunuchs are wont to do [deeds of cruelty], and I shall suffer what Bishops suffer.'

Depression
in the
Palace.

It was a truce only, not a solid peace, which had been thus concluded between the diadem and the mitre; and in the following year (386) the dispute broke out afresh. An Arian priest, named Mercurinus, from the shores of the Black Sea, was brought to Milan,

The strife
breaks out
afresh.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

386.

took the venerated name of Auxentius, and was consecrated as Bishop of the Arian community. On the 23rd of January an edict was promulgated, bearing as a matter of form the orthodox names of Theodosius and Arcadius, as well as of Valentinian, but really the sole work of the boy-monarch, or rather of his mother. By this decree liberty of assembling was granted 'to those who hold the doctrines put forth by the Council of Ariminum, the doctrines which were afterwards confirmed at Constantinople, and which shall eternally endure.' 'Those who think that they are to monopolise the right of public assembly' [that is, of course, the Nicene party, and preeminently Ambrose] 'are warned that if they attempt anything against this precept of Our Tranquillity, they will be treated as movers of sedition, and capitally punished for their offences against the peace of the Church and against Our Imperial Majesty¹.'

The reference to the Council of Ariminum, the only one in which the orthodox party had been persuaded to abandon the stronghold of the word 'Homoöusion,' the Council after which, as St. Jerome said, 'The whole world groaned in astonishment to find itself Arian²,' was a clever, but shallow artifice. The day for such attempts to bridge over the yawning chasm which separated the Athanasian from the Arian had long passed by. Meanwhile, however, it must be observed in fairness to Justina and her ministers, that it was toleration only, not supremacy, that they sought to obtain for their co-religionists. In this very year a letter went forth from the Emperor for the rebuilding

¹ Cod. Theod. xvi. 1. 4.

² 'Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est.'

and enlargement of the stately Basilica of St. Paul outside of the Ostian gate of Rome, a Basilica which was in the hands of the Catholics and owned the sway of the orthodox Pope Damasus¹. Perhaps we may say that the situation was not unlike that which prevailed in England in 1688. At Milan, as at Windsor, the sovereign, in the interests of a small and unpopular Church, strove to secure toleration by an exercise of his princely prerogative. In both countries the Edict of Toleration was profoundly disliked by the people: in Italy one Bishop, and in England seven Bishops, headed the popular opposition; and the tumults which followed, in one case shook, and in the other overturned, the throne of the monarch, who, whatever were his ulterior designs, fought under the standard of religious liberty.

The next step taken by Valentinian was to summon Ambrose to appear in the Consistory, there to conduct an argument with Auxentius on the points in controversy between them. The judges were to be laymen, perhaps an equal number chosen on either side, and the Emperor was to be the final umpire. The prize of this ecclesiastical wrestling-match was doubtless to be the episcopal throne of Milan. If Ambrose refused the summons he was, as a disobedient subject, at once to quit the country. In a letter full of splendid scorn Ambrose refused either to accept the challenge or to enter upon a life of exile. The Emperor was young yet. All his subjects prayed that he might one day attain to years of discretion: and he would then know how utterly unsuitable it was for laymen to judge in

Ambrose
summoned
to the
Consistory.

¹ The letter is given by Baronius, s. a. 386, 30, 31. The road by the river Tiber was, with the Senate's consent, to be included in the new church-building. I owe this reference to Richter, p. 613.

BOOK I.

CH. 8.

386.

matters relating to the Church. Not thus had the elder Valentinian acted, who had expressly left the decision as to all points of doctrine to ecclesiastics. As for Ambrose's bishopric, that was not in dispute; it had been conferred upon him by the unanimous voice of the people, and confirmed by Valentinian I., who had promised that he should have undisturbed possession of the dignity if he would, in spite of his reluctance, accept the office to which he had been chosen. For the judges who were to decide in this wonderful debate, Auxentius showed a prudent silence as to their names. Ambrose strongly suspected that if the day of the trial dawned, they would be found to be all Jews or heathens, who would equally delight to favour the Arian heretic by depreciating the divinity of Christ. The whole proceeding was of a piece with the recent Edict of the Emperor. 'The Edict is entirely in the interest of the Council of Ariminum. That Council I abhor: and I follow unflinchingly the decisions of the Council of Nicaea, from which neither death nor the sword shall ever separate me. This faith also the most blessed Emperor Theodosius, the colleague of your Clemency, follows and approves. This faith Gaul holds fast, this both the Hither and the Further Spain, and they will guard it safely in pious dependence on the Holy Spirit's help.'

Psalmody
by day and
night in
the
Basilica.

The immediate answer of the Court to this bold harangue of the Bishop's is not recorded. There does not seem any clear proof that the Empress either resorted, or intended to resort, to violence: but it was enough that a belief spread through the city that the next step would be the forcible removal of Ambrose. He took up his abode as before, or even more con-

tinuously, in the great Basilica, and a great multitude thronged its portals prepared to die with their Bishop. How long this strange blockade may have lasted we are not informed. The court seems to have abstained from the high-handed action to which it had resorted in the previous struggle and to have pursued a somewhat Fabian policy. Ambrose, perceiving that the spirits of his adherents were flagging, and that there was a danger of their giving up the strife from weariness, occupied their minds and braced their nerves by frequent psalmody. A poet as well as an orator, he expressed in beautiful words some of the aspirations of the human soul after God, and marrying them to simple, but sweet melody, bade his ecclesiastical garrison sing them antiphonically after the manner of the Eastern Church. A young African teacher of rhetoric named Augustine, who was at this time being strongly attracted to Christianity by the magnetic influence of Ambrose, has preserved to us two of the verses which he especially admired.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
386.

‘Deus, Creator omnium
Polique rector, vestiens
Diem decoro lumine,
Noctem sopore gratia.
Artus solutos ut quies
Reddat laboris usui,
Mentesque fessas adlevet
Luctusque solvat anxios!’

‘Oh God! who mad’st this wondrous Whole,
Upholder of the starry Pole,
Thou clothest Day with comely light,
Thou draw’st the soothing veil of Night.
Thus, our tired limbs sweet Slumber’s peace
Prepares for toil, through toil’s surcease,
To wearied souls brings hope again,
And dulls the edge of sorrow’s pain.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

386.

Discovery
of the
bodies of
Gervasius
and Pro-
tasius.

But in time even the new psalmody probably began to pall upon the worshippers, as they spent day after day in the beleaguered church. Then came that well-known event, which has perhaps given rise to more discussion than anything in the history of Milan, the finding of the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius. The new Basilica, of which we have already heard, was ready for consecration, and there was a general request that it should be consecrated 'after the Roman custom.' 'I will do so,' said Ambrose, 'if I find any relics of martyrs to place in it.' Warned in a dream, or else guided to the place by some unaccountable instinct¹, he ordered excavations to be made in front of the lattice-work which separated nave from chancel in the church of SS. Felix and Nabor. Mysterious heavings of the earth followed; and soon the diggers came on two bodies 'of men of wonderful stature, such as the olden age gave birth to².' The bones were perfect, and there was a quantity of blood in the grave. The bodies were removed in the evening to the Basilica of Fausta, where they were watched through the night by a crowd of worshippers. On the following day they were transferred to the new Basilica, which, perhaps, now received the name of Ambrosiana. There Ambrose preached a sermon to the

Many hymns are attributed to Ambrose, but the only ones which are quite certainly his appear to be 'Deus, Creator omnium,' 'Aeterne rerum conditor,' 'Jam surgit hora tertia,' and 'Veni, redemptor gentium' (Simcox, *Hist. of Latin Literature*, ii. 395). We get a better account, though brief, of this stage of the dispute from Augustine (*Confessions*, ix. 7) than from Ambrose.

¹ Augustine mentions the dream: Ambrose only speaks of 'cujusdam ardor praesagii.'

² 'Invenimus mirae magnitudinis viros duos ut prisca aetas ferebat' (*Epistola Ambrosii*, I. xxii.).

excited multitude, in which he informed them that old men remembered to have read an inscription on the stone under which the bodies were found, recording that there lay buried Gervasius and Protasius, sons of Vitalis, who had suffered martyrdom (at Ravenna, some said) in the reign of Domitian. Miracles followed the miraculous discovery. Evil spirits were cast out, crying as they went, to the martyrs, 'Why have you come to torment us?' and a blind man, named Severus, a butcher by trade, received his sight on touching the fringe of the martyrs' shroud.

The Arians laughed at the newly-discovered saints, and denied the miracles wrought at their shrine: but in their hearts they felt that the victory was won. The eloquent sermons, the crowded Basilica, the chaunted antiphones had done much, but the bodies larger than the ordinary stature of men, and the blood preserved through three centuries, completed the victory. Henceforth Valentinian and his mother meekly bore the Ambrosian yoke, and nothing more was heard of an Arian Basilica in Milan.

After all the dull folios that have been printed on the subject of the discovery of the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius it is still difficult, perhaps impossible, to arrive at a conclusion as to the real nature of that event. The attempts to rationalise away the marvel are not very satisfactory, and we seem shut up to one of two alternatives, miracle or fraud, either of which is almost equally unacceptable. Without attempting to decide so thorny a question here, this one observation may be made, that in the Bishop of Milan we are dealing, not with a Teuton knight of the Middle Ages, nor with a trained and scrupulous student of Nature in the 19th

BOOK I. century. Though a noble representative of his class,
 CH. 8. Ambrose was after all a Roman official of the Empire.
 386. Even under the republic the Romans had more than
 once shown themselves 'splendidly mendacious' (the
 very phrase came from a Latin poet) on behalf of their
 country. Centuries of despotism had not, probably,
 strengthened the moral fibre of the Roman official
 classes. In the strife with 'principalities and powers'
 in which Ambrose was engaged, his mind was so en-
 tirely engrossed with the nobility and holiness of his
 ends that he may have been—I will not venture to say
 that he was—something less than scrupulous as to his
 means¹.

¹ In discussing this strange and difficult question, to which I feel it extremely difficult to find an answer that satisfies all the moral conditions of the problem, it is important to remember what was the predisposition of men's minds at that time, since even a great and strong intellect like that of Ambrose does not entirely escape from the influence of the 'Zeitgeist.' Now, at the close of the fourth century there was a perfect mania for the discovery of relics. Two or three years after the date that we have now reached, the severed head of John the Baptist was found in Cilicia: a few years afterwards, on the borders of the country of the Philistines, the bodies of Habakkuk and Micah; in the same neighbourhood a generation later, the bodies of Zachariah and Stephen (Sozomen, H. E. vii. 21, 29, ix. 17). These conspicuous instances doubtless represent a great multitude of other humbler discoveries or imaginations of the same kind. If the comparison be not thought unworthy of the dignity of the subject, I would suggest that our own attitude of mind with reference to spots commemorated in fiction and poetry is somewhat similar. How many of the imaginary scenes described by Sir Walter Scott are already without any deliberate deception provided with appropriate memorials by popular fancy and tradition! 'Populus vult decipi et decipiatur' is a dangerous saying, but if it be ever applicable it is to such harmless illusions as these. I must confess for myself that I would rather some little pious fraud (of which I was ignorant) should be practised, than that the blood of Rizzio should utterly disappear from the floor of Holyrood.

In connection with these miracles allusion has been made to one name which was to be even greater and of more world-historical importance than that of Ambrose, the name of Augustine. Though Church History is not our present concern, we may observe in passing that it was in 383, the year of Gratian's death, that he who was one day to be the greatest father of the Latin Church crossed the sea from Carthage to Rome. Still a Manichean by creed, and a teacher of rhetoric by profession, he came to the capital chiefly in order to find a more peaceable set of students than those who at Carthage turned his class-room into a Babel of confusion. The students at Rome, though more orderly, behaved more shabbily than their African contemporaries. It was a frequent practice with them to migrate from one professor to another just as the fees of the first were falling due, and thus Augustine discovered that though his existence was peaceful, his means of support were likely to be somewhat precarious. Soon however, on the receipt of a petition from the people of Milan for a State-appointed teacher of rhetoric, he was sent to that city. The Prefect of Rome who made this appointment, and who gave him his free pass at the public expense to Mediolanum, was none other than Symmachus, greatest and most eloquent of the advocates of heathenism. It was a strange coincidence that such a man should set the wheels in motion which brought about the conversion to Christianity of her mightiest champion in the western world. But so it proved: Augustine at Milan soon came under the magnetic influence of Ambrose. He had already dropped Manicheism: he now embraced Christianity. He was doubtless in the Basilica when the enthusiastic multitude sang their nightly hymns in

BOOK 1.
CH. 8.
Early
history of
Augustine.

BOOK I. the ears of the blockading Gothic soldiers. In that
 CH. 8. year (386) he was baptized. In the following year came the memorable parting scene at Ostia with his mother Monica, who uttered her 'Nunc dimittis' as she looked across the peaceful Tyrrhene Sea. Thenceforward Augustine's life was passed in Africa, where, after many memorable years, we shall see his sun set amid the storm and stress of the great Vandal invasion.

Character
 of the
 reign of
 Maximus.

From Mediolanum we turn to Augusta Treverorum, where Maximus reigned by the banks of the Moselle. Of that reign we possess scarcely any account except that contained in the Panegyric of Pacatus. This oration, pronounced not many months after his death in the presence of his destroyer, is of course one long diatribe against the fallen tyrant. 'We, in Gaul,' he says, 'first felt the onset of that raging beast. We glutted his cruelty with the blood of our innocents, his avarice by the sacrifice of our all. . . . We saw our consulars stripped of their robes of office, our old men compelled to survive children and property and all that makes life desirable. In the midst of our miseries we were forced to wear smiling faces, for some hideous informer was ever at our side. You would hear them saying, "Why is that man so sad-seeming? Is it because he is reduced to poverty from wealth? He ought to be thankful that he is allowed to live. What does that fellow wear mourning for? I suppose he is grieving for his brother. But he has a son left." And so we did not dare to mourn our murdered relatives for the sake of the survivors. . . . We saw that tyrant clad in purple stand, himself, at the balances, gaping greedily at the spoil of provinces which was weighed out before him. There was gold forced from the hands of matrons,

there were the trinkets of childhood, there was plate still tarnished with the blood of its last possessor. All was weighed, counted, carted away into the monster's home. That home seemed to us not the palace of an Emperor, but a robber's cave.' And so on through many loud paragraphs.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
383-388.

It is difficult to deal with such rhetoric as this, so evidently instinct with the very bitterness of hate. But probably the fact is that Maximus was neither better nor worse than the majority of those who have been before described as the Barrack-Emperors; like them making the goodwill of the soldiery the sheet-anchor of his policy, like them willing to sacrifice law and justice and the happiness of all other classes of his subjects, not precisely to his own avarice, but to the daily and terrible necessity of feeding and pampering the 'Frankenstein' monster, an army whom he himself had taught to mutiny¹.

Strangely enough, even here we find ourselves again brought face to face with the problems of ecclesiastical

¹ Richter (pp. 620-626) draws an ingenious though covert parallel between Maximus and Napoleon III. He never mentions the name of the latter, but when (writing in 1865) he speaks of 'the Gallic Emperor' whose one desire was to found a dynasty, and to be succeeded by his only son, to attach Italy to himself, to make his name heard of on the shores of the Euxine; who would have been even a good man if it had suited his plans, who always glossed over his wars of ambition with grand-sounding names (he almost says 'who never went to war except for an idea'), who succeeded in attaching to himself the Bureaucracy, the Army, and the Clergy (though the latter could never quite forgive him for his deposition of the legitimate sovereign),—we know quite well whom Richter is aiming at. It is cleverly done, and interesting as a comment on recent history; but I think the result of it is to insert some features in the portrait of Maximus which we do not find in the contemporary authorities.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

history. The one event in Maximus' reign which is described to us in some little detail is his persecution of the sect of the Priscillianists, a persecution which excited the horror even of orthodox Christians, and which was apparently, notwithstanding the growlings of Imperial legislators and their threats of what they would do unless their subjects conformed to their rule of faith, the first real and serious attempt to amputate heresy by the sword of the executioner.

Sect of
the Pris-
cillianists.

In the later years of the reign of Gratian, the Spanish Church had been agitated by the uprising of the heresy of the Priscillianists. A strange and enthusiastic sect, they had received from the East some of those wild theories by which the Manicheans strove to explain the riddle of this intricate world, more especially the origin of evil, and they had based upon these theories some of those ascetic practices as to which the Catholic Church seemed to hesitate whether she should revere or should denounce them. Like persons who had been present at the making of the world, they talked with the utmost confidence of the shares which God and the Evil One had respectively borne in its formation ; and they told a romantic story of the existence of certain happy, but over-bold spirits in heaven, who promised the Almighty that they would descend into the hostile realm of Matter, take bodily shape and fight for Him. Once having descended through all the spheres they came under the fatal influence of the malign spirits of the air, forgot or only partially remembered their vow of combat, and became estranged from the Lord of Light. These deserters from the Heavenly armament are we or our progenitors.

To these Manichean speculations they joined an

absolute belief in the astrologer's creed of the influence of the stars upon human fortunes. And, discouraging or prohibiting marriage, they also forbade the eating of flesh, and fasted rigorously on the great feast-days of the Church, Christmas and Easter, in order to signify that these days, in which the Saviour by his birth and resurrection entered and re-entered the world of Matter, were no days of joy to the enlightened soul¹.

The most famous expounder, though not the original propagator, of these doctrines was a man of high birth, large wealth, and considerable mental endowments, named Priscillian. From him the new sect took its name, and he was in course of time consecrated one of its Bishops. The doctrines which the Priscillianists professed, seem to have exerted a peculiar fascination on men and women of literary culture and high social position. Several Bishops joined them, one of whom—Hyginus of Cordova,—was an aged and venerable man who had begun by denouncing them. When, in the course of a few years, the new heresy crossed the Pyrenees it found one of its most earnest adherents in Eucrocia, the widow of Delphidius, a celebrated poet

¹ Since this chapter was in type I have met with Schepss's recently published *Fragments of Priscillian* (1889) and *Essay thereon* (1886). The writings of Priscillian are very curious, containing an anxious assertion of his orthodoxy, anathemas on the worshippers of animals and of uncouthly-named demons, and a perfect cataract of Scripture-texts: but it does not seem to me that they add much to our knowledge of the real tenets of the Priscillianists, which were perhaps reserved for more esoteric teaching. As Lord Acton has pointed out (in his recent article on Döllinger in the *Historical Review*), Priscillian himself advocates capital punishment against the disciples of Manes, 'cujus peculiariter turpitudines persequentes gladio, si fieri posset, ad inferos mitteremus.'

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

and professor of rhetoric at Bordeaux, who possessed large landed estates in the neighbourhood of that capital¹.

Opponents
of Priscillian.

Such were the kind of persons who accepted the Priscillianist teaching. On the other hand, its chief opponents were, by the confession of an orthodox historian², two coarse, selfish and worldly ecclesiastics. Their names were Ithacius, Bishop of Sossuba (in the south of Lusitania), and Idatius, Bishop of Merida, men of like names and like despicable natures³. Idatius was a narrow and passionate bigot: Ithacius was a preacher of some eloquence, but he was coarse and sensual, and his gluttonous devotion to the pleasures of the table was an open scandal to the Church. The motives of such a man's dislike to the self-renunciation of the pale-faced and studious Priscillianists could easily be read by all men, while on the other hand the lives of such priests as this gave emphasis to the pleadings of Priscillian for a further purification of the Church.

380.

With the earlier ecclesiastical phases of the controversy we need not concern ourselves. The Priscillianists

¹ Ausonius, in his poem on the Professors of Bordeaux, commemorates the talents and career of Delphidius, a man of pleasant wit and brilliant accomplishments, who sang the praises of Jupiter in his boyhood, an Epic poet and orator, who held in turn all the offices of the State, but whose advancement was checked by the misfortunes of his father. Happy in this, however, he is pronounced, that he did not live to see the error of his daughter and the punishment of his wife.

² Sulpicius Severus.

³ These two so similar names may suggest the need of caution to the *a priori* school of historical criticism. Were we dealing with an earlier age we should undoubtedly be asked to see in them one and the same persecutor, doubled by the uncertainty of tradition or by an error in orthography.

had been condemned by the Council of Saragossa, and the civil power had been invoked to accomplish their banishment from Spain. In vain had they visited Italy to obtain the intervention of Damasus and Ambrose in their favour. Both the Pope and the Bishop of Milan had refused even to grant them an interview. With Gratian however they had been more successful, owing, as their opponents averred, to the bribes which they successfully administered to Macedonius, the young Emperor's 'Master of the Offices'; and one of the last acts of the unfortunate young Emperor had been an Edict of Restitution in their favour. With the accession of Maximus another change came over the scene. A council was by his order summoned to Bordeaux, and at this council matters were going ill with the adherents of the new doctrines, when Priscillian took the bold step of appealing, like Paul, from the Council to Cæsar. Cæsar in this case being the butler-Emperor Maximus of Trier.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

383.

Maximus, surrounded by a throng of sycophantic prelates, and anxious to win the favour of the Catholic Church for his usurping dynasty, perhaps also sharing some of the orthodox Spaniard's dislike for these strange, austere Oriental heretics, was willing to make short work of the trial and condemnation of the Priscillianists. But at this point the greatest of the saints of Gaul appeared in the Imperial Capital and raised his powerful voice in favour of toleration.

The Priscillianists at the tribunal of Maximus.

Saint Martin, born at Sabaria in Paunonia, one of the great men whom in various capacities Illyricum in this century sent forth to govern and regenerate the world, was the son of a heathen officer in the Imperial army, and was destined by his father for the career of a

St. Martin of Tours.

BOOK I.
CH 8.

soldier, notwithstanding his own strong desire to follow the life of a hermit. It was while he was serving as a young officer with his legion at Amiens that the well-known incident occurred of his dividing with his sword his military cloak and bestowing half of it on a shivering beggar. In the visions of the night he saw the Saviour arrayed in his divided *chlamys*, and learned that he had performed that act of charity to Christ. Before long, having dared to say to the young Julian in the crisis of a campaign against the barbarians, 'I am a Christian and cannot fight,' and having by a display of moral courage, which showed what a soldier the legions lost in him, won from the reluctant Emperor his discharge from the army, Martin entered a hermit's cell, from which in the course of years he was drawn by the entreaties and the gentle compulsion of the people to fill the episcopal throne of Tours. But whether in the cell or in the palace, Martin remained a hermit at heart. Or perhaps we should rather say, like one of the preaching friars of nine centuries later, he wandered on a perpetual mission-tour through the villages of Gaul, waging fierce war on the remnants of idolatry, working miracles, casting out devils, and, so said his awe-struck followers, even raising the dead. He had hitherto steadfastly refused to share with the rest of the obsequious Gaulish Bishops the hospitality of Maximus. He appeared at the court from time to time to command, rather than to sue for, forgiveness for the hunted adherents of Gratian: but even on these occasions he refused to sit down at the Imperial banquet, saying that he would not be partaker at the table of the man who had murdered one Emperor and was seeking to dethrone another. It was perhaps during one of

these semi-hostile visits to Trier that the wife of Maximus, who professed unbounded devotion for the holy man, obtained her husband's permission to wait upon him while he took his solitary meal. The Roman Augusta brought to the shaggy-haired, meanly clothed ecclesiastic water to wash his hands. She spread the table, arranged his seat, served him with the food which her own hands had cooked, stood behind his chair with downcast eyes, imitating the submissive demeanour of a slave; and when all was over she collected his broken victuals and feasted upon them herself, preferring them to all the dainties of the Imperial table.

Though he permitted this self-abasement of the Empress, and firmly asserted the dignity of his Episcopal office, St. Martin was upon the whole untouched by either the pride or the bigotry which were becoming the besetting sins of the great churchmen of the age. When still a lad, in the Roman army, he had insisted on treating the one servant whom his position required him to employ, rather as an equal than an inferior; nay, he had often himself pulled off that servant's shoes, and cleaned them from the mud of Picardy. And fervent as was his zeal against idols, he did not revel in the thought of the eternal perdition, even of a demon. In one of those strange colloquies with the Evil One which were beginning to be a characteristic of the hermit's life, when the Accuser of the brethren taunted him with receiving back into Communion some who had fallen from the faith, he said to the Tempter, 'They are absolved by God's mercy: and if even thou, oh wretched one, wouldest cease from hunting the souls of men, and wouldest repent of thy evil deeds, now that the Day of Judgment is at hand, I, truly trusting

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

in the Lord, would dare to promise thee the compassion of Christ.' A daring word truly, and one more in harmony with the genius of our own, than with that of the fourth, or of many intervening centuries.

Execution
and banish-
ment of
the Pris-
cillianists.

385.

When St. Martin appeared at the Court of Maximus he exacted from the Emperor a promise that the Priscillianists should suffer no punishment in life or limb. But when the awe of the holy man's presence was removed and when the servile herd of Bishops began again clamouring for blood, Maximus, unmindful of his promise, granted their request. Priscillian himself, the generous and enthusiastic student, the dreamer of strange dreams, and framer of wild cosmogonies, was sent by the sword of the executioner into that other world whose mysteries he had so confidently unravelled. Eucrocia, the rhetorician's widow, and five other persons, chiefly clerics in high position, were beheaded. Instantius, a Bishop and one of the most conspicuous of the sect, was banished to the Scilly Islands¹. Thither also, after suffering confiscation of all his property, was sent Tiberianus, perhaps a wealthy lay-disciple. Such an exile seemed probably, to those who heard the sentence pronounced, little better than death: but one who has seen the sun set over that beautiful bay of islands, and who has gazed on the luxuriant vegetation that is fostered by the

'Summer in alien months and constant spring'²

which reigns at Tresco, may doubt whether after all Instantius and Tiberianus had not a happier lot than their persecutors who remained behind amid the baking

¹ 'In Syllinam insulam quae ultra Britanniam sita est deportatus' (Sulp. Severus, *Sacra Hist.* Lib. II.).

² 'Ver adsidium atque alienis mensibus aestas.'

summers and fierce winters of Gaul to see their country BOOK I.
CH. 8.
wasted by the desolating inrush of the Vandal and the
Sueve¹.

Thus then had the first blood been deliberately shed St. Martin
at the
Court of
Maximus.
in the persecution of heretics by a Christian Emperor.
It was an evil deed and one which the most orthodox
prelates of the Church, Ambrose and Martin, condemned
as loudly as any heretic. In justice to Maximus,
however, it should be remembered that they were
accused as Manicheans, a sect upon whom even the
tolerant Valentinian had been bitterly severe, and
that the offences laid to their charge, however un-
justly, were immoralities rather than misbeliefs². This
was the kind of defence urged with stammering lips 386.
by Maximus when the terrible saint of Tours shortly
afterwards appeared at Trier to demand an explana-
tion of the violation of the Imperial promise. The
guilty Bishops earnestly besought the Emperor to
forbid Martin to enter the capital, and the glutton
Ithacius had the audacity to accuse the saint himself
of heresy. But mud flung by such hands as his
could not stain the white robe which had once been
shared with Christ Himself, and Martin, who had
forced his way years before into the unwilling presence

¹ One of the Scilly Islands is named after St. Martin, and contains a church dedicated to him, with a window (modern) representing the incident of the beggar and the cloak. It would be interesting to enquire if the fame of St. Martin was first brought to these islands by the banished Priscillianists.

² The chief charges against Priscillian are thus enumerated by Severus: 'Convictum maleficii, nec diffitentem obscenis se studuisse doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium seminarum egisse conventus, nudumque orare solitum': the last, a strange article of accusation. Doubtless the confessions were obtained under torture.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

386.

of Valentinian¹, was not likely to be kept at a distance by the mandate of Maximus. He appeared in the Emperor's presence, he denounced his cruelty and his breach of faith; he would gladly have shaken the dust of the palace from his feet, but one thing restrained him, a self-imposed commission of mercy. He had come to beg for the lives of two of Gratian's followers, Count Narses and Leucadius, late Praeses of one of the Gaulish provinces, whom Maximus seemed bent on hunting to their doom. Moreover, further measures of severity were about to be taken against the proscribed heretics. Officers of the army were to be sent to Spain with a commission to torture, to confiscate, to kill. Maximus, to whom it was of the utmost importance to be visibly in communion with the great saint of Gaul, gave him to understand that there was one means, and one only, of preventing all these severities, and that was that Martin should accept an invitation to an Imperial banquet.

In sore doubt and perplexity, to stop the further effusion of human blood, the saint consented. Maximus took care to make the banquet a notable one. Men of 'illustrious' rank, the cabinet-ministers of the Emperor, were there: the uncle and brother of Maximus, Counts in high office were also there, and there too was the Consul Euodius, a man of stern temperament, but who generally bore a high repute for the justice of his

¹ As described in the second dialogue of Sulpicius Severus (vi, vii). Under the influence of Justina, Valentinian at first refused the saint an audience, and when after a week's delay he forced his way in, the indignant Emperor declined to rise or in any way acknowledge his presence, till a miraculous conflagration caused him to start from his chair. The interview thus strangely begun led to the concession of all St. Martin's demands.

decisions. Yet the sight of that official cannot have been a pleasant one to St. Martin, since to him in the last resort had been committed the trial of Priscillian and his friends. However, the stately feast went on with no apparent interruption to its harmony. Half-way through it a servant, according to custom, handed the great chalice of wine to the Emperor, who waved it aside and ordered it to be first presented to St. Martin, hoping himself then to receive it from those hallowed fingers. The Bishop, however, when he had tasted it, handed the loving-cup to a Presbyter who accompanied him, signifying by this action that Illustres and Counts and Consuls, nay, even the Emperor himself, were lower in rank than the meanest of the ministers of the Church. Maximus meekly accepted the rebuff, though all marvelled at conduct so unlike that of the other Bishops who thronged the palace of Augusta Treverorum¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
386.

Yet, notwithstanding his bold demeanour, and the excellence of the motives which had prompted his compliance, the spirit of St. Martin sank within him when, on his homeward journey, he mused over the past, and reflected that he had, after all, accepted the hospitality of the man of blood, and had received the kiss of peace from the murderer of Gratian, and the slaughterer of the Priscillianists. Deep depression seized his spirit, and as he was journeying through the vast and gloomy forest of Andethanum² he sent his

¹ Sulpicius Severus does not distinctly tell us that this incident of the cup occurred at the banquet which was the subject of the negotiations between Maximus and Martin, but the mention of the Consul Euodius makes it almost certain that it occurred at this time.

² May we take this for another form of Arduenna, the forest of Ardennes?

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

386.

companions forward a little space and sat down to brood over the perpetually recurring questions, 'Have I done right?' 'Have I done wrong?' Thus musing he thought he saw an Angel standing by him who said, 'Rightly, oh Martin, does thy conscience trouble thee, yet other way of escape hadst thou none. Up now! and resume thy old constancy, lest, not thy power of working miracles, but thy soul's salvation, be in danger.' Then he arose and went on his way, yet thenceforward sedulously avoided the communion of Ithacius and his crew. Even so, he was for long conscious of a diminution in his miraculous powers, and in all the remaining sixteen years of his life he never again went near a Synod of Bishops.

Before he left the Imperial court Martin had uttered these words of prophecy, 'Oh Emperor! if thou goest, as thou desirest to do, unto Italy, thou wilt be victorious in thy first on-rushing, but soon after thou wilt perish miserably.' The events thus foretold rapidly came to pass.

386.

Maximus
begins to
threaten
Valen-
tinian.

Three years had passed since Maximus had won without a sword-stroke, by menace and intrigue, the three great countries of the West. He felt that the time was now come for him to win by like arts the realms of Italy and Africa, and he began to assume a menacing attitude towards Justina and Valentinian. Little difficulty had the wolf of Trier in finding grounds of accusation against the trembling lamb of Milan. The decree of toleration for the Arians, the attempt to obtain a basilica in the capital for their worship shocked the pious soul of Maximus. His hospitable invitation to the young Emperor and his mother to visit him in his palace at Trier had not been accepted. There had been

trouble with the barbarians in Raetia and Pannonia, trouble which the friends of Valentinian believed to have been fomented by Maximus, but as in the course of the campaign Bauto, Valentinian's military adviser, had brought the Huns and Alans (whom he was employing to repel the inroads of the Juthungi) near to the frontiers of the Roman province of Germany, that was enough to justify the shrill expostulation of Maximus, 'You are bringing barbarians into the Empire to attack me.'

It seems to have been towards the end of 386, or early in 387, that Justina, alarmed by the threatening tone of Maximus, humbled herself before her triumphant antagonist, Ambrose, and begged him to undertake a second embassy to the usurper. Of his proceedings on this occasion the great prelate has left us a spirited account in the report addressed by him to Valentinian II¹.

'When I had reached Treveri,' says Ambrose, 'I went on the next day to the palace. The chamberlain, a man of Gaulish birth and an eunuch of the palace, came forth to meet me. I requested an audience, and he asked in reply whether I had any commission from your Clemency. When I said that I had, he answered that I could not have an audience except in full Consistory. I said that this was not the way in which priests were usually treated, and that there were certain matters on which I wished to confer in secret with his master. He went in and brought back the same answer which had evidently been at first dictated by Maximus. I then said that in your interests and in the cause of fraternal piety' (part of the Bishop's commission was to plead for the restoration of Gratian's

¹ Epist. Ambrosii i. 24 (pp. 888-891).

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

386-7.

body) 'I would waive what was due to my rank and accept the proffered humiliation.

'When he had taken his seat in the Consistory and I had entered, he rose up to give me the kiss of peace. I stood still among the members of the Consistory. They began to exhort me to go up to the Emperor's seat, and he also called me thither. I answered, "Why should you kiss one whom you do not recognise? For if you recognised me you would give me audience not here but in your *Secretum*." "Bishop," said he, "you are losing your temper." "No," I answered, "I am not angry, but I blush for your want of courtesy in receiving me in an unsuitable place." "But in the first embassy you appeared in the Consistory." "Not my fault," said I: "the fault lay with him who invited me thither. Besides, then I was asking for peace from an inferior, now from an equal¹." "Ah, yes," said he, "and whom has he to thank for that equality?" "Almighty God," I answered, "who has reserved for Valentinian that realm which He has given him."

We need not follow in detail the rest of the discussion. Ambrose defended himself from the charge of having outwitted Maximus in the previous embassy, he reiterated his statement of the unreasonableness of expecting the widow and her child to cross the Alps in order to visit the stout soldier at Trier, he vindicated

¹ 'Quia, inquam, tunc ut inferiori pacem petebam, nunc ut aequali.' I think grammar requires us to understand 'inferiori' and 'aequali,' not of Valentinian but of Maximus. And the sense of the passage also requires this construction, for the only change that had taken place was in Maximus' position, who had in the interval between the two embassies been accepted as a regular colleague of the other Emperors. This recognition, St. Ambrose seems to argue, brings with it obligations of courtesy which a colleague should not disregard.

Bauto from the accusation of having sent barbarians into Roman Germany, and again asked for the body of his murdered pupil, Gratian, reminding the usurper that *his* brother, who was even then standing at his right hand, had been sent back, safe and with an escort of honour, by Valentinian, when the young Emperor might have avenged his brother's death upon him. All was in vain. Maximus utterly refused to surrender the body of Gratian (of whose death he again protested his innocence), alleging that the sight of that corpse would 'stir up' the soldiers 'to some sudden act of mutiny.' He complained that the friends of the late Emperor were flocking to the Court of Theodosius, which, as Ambrose remarked, was no wonder, when they remembered the fate of Vallio, that noble soldier, sacrificed for his fidelity to the murdered prince. The mention of Vallio's name led to an incoherent outburst of rage on the part of Maximus. He had never ordered him to be killed, but if Vallio had fallen into his hand he would have sent him to Cabillonum¹, and had him burned alive. With this the conference ended, and St. Ambrose, who had certainly achieved no diplomatic success,—perhaps diplomatic success was impossible—concluded his report of his mission with these words, 'Farewell, oh Emperor, and be on your guard against a man who is hiding war under the cloak of peace.'

BOOK I.
CH. 8.
386-7.

It was important for Maximus to get rid of Ambrose from his Court, for the invasion which he was now meditating was nominally in the interest of orthodoxy, and it would have been too flagrant an absurdity to commence such an enterprise under the ban of excommunication from the greatest champion of orthodoxy

Ostentatious piety of Maximus.

¹ Chalons sur Saone.

BOOK I. in Italy. Already the usurper had addressed a letter
 CH. 8.
 Cir. 386. to Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus, boasting
 of his great deeds in the suppression of the Priscillianist heresy, protesting his zeal for the true faith, and declaring that the ruin of the Church had been averted by his timely and providential elevation to the throne, and by the measures which he had taken to correct the disorders which had crept in under his predecessor¹. Now the ground thus prepared was utilised by another letter addressed to the young Valentinian, and no doubt widely circulated through his dominions. In this letter 'Our Clemency' expresses to 'Your Serenity' the concern with which 'we have heard that you are mad enough to make war upon God and His saints.' 'What is this that we hear, of priests besieged in their basilicas, of fines inflicted, of capital punishment threatened, of the most holy law of God overturned under the pretext of I know not what principle [of toleration]. Italy and Africa, Spain and Gaul, agree in the faith which you are seeking to overturn : only Illyricum, I blush to say it, wavers, and the judgments of God are falling on that Illyrian city of Margus, which has been the stronghold of Arianism². Yet your Serene Youth is trying to overturn the faith of the whole world, and is making perilous innovations in the things of God. If Our Serenity hated you we should rejoice to see you thus acting ; but we hope you

¹ Maximi ad Siricium Epistola ap. Baronium, 387, 65.

² Maximus alludes probably to those barbarian invasions of Pannonia, of which we have dim rumours. 'Utinam illud columnen Arianæ legis, Margense oppidum permaneret et non ad iudicium quoddam erroris miseri concidisset,' &c. Margus was about thirty miles east of Belgrade, at the confluence of the Morava and the Danube. (Maximi Epist. ap. Baronium, 387, 33-36.)

will believe that we are speaking to you in love and for your own interest, when we call upon you to restore Italy, and venerable Rome, and all your provinces to their own Churches and their own priests, and not to meddle yourself in these matters at all, since it is obviously more becoming that Arian sectaries should conform to the Catholic faith than that they should seek to instil their wickedness into the minds of those who now think rightly.'

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

387.

The trembling Valentinian, who seems to have already removed from Milan to Aquileia¹, in order to be further from his Imperial adviser, sent, perhaps in answer to this letter, another embassy to the Court of Trier. The envoy chosen was Domninus, a Syrian, loyal to Valentinian and intimately acquainted with the secrets of the policy of Justina. This embassy offered to the crafty Maximus a means of overcoming the difficulty presented by those well-guarded Alpine passes which had foiled his previous endeavours. And here it may be noticed in passing, that though we speak with approximate correctness of the Alps as separating Italy from Europe, it is really the Western and Central Alps of which this is especially true. Piedmont and Lombardy are closed in from the West and North by mighty snow-clad ranges, the passes of which it has needed the skill of the best generals of the ancient and modern world to traverse with an army. But on the North-East of Italy the Julian Alps, though rising to the height of 3000 or 4000 feet, interpose no such almost

Embassy
of Dom-
ninus.

¹ Τοῦ δὲ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ πρεσβεΐαις ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυληΐας χρωμένον (Zosimus, iv. 42). But Clinton points out that according to the Theodosian Code, Valentinian was at Milan till September 8th, and certainly the return of Domninus, followed by Maximus through the passes of the Cottian Alps, favours the theory that his master was still at Milan.

BOOK I. impenetrable barrier, and in the course of this history
 CH. 8. we shall see these mountains often crossed by large
 387. armies with comparative ease.

When Domninus arrived at Augusta Treverorum he received a very different welcome from that which had been given to Ambrose. Costly gifts were pressed upon his acceptance; he was treated with every mark of respect and even of effusive affection; the Emperor had ever on his lips his love for his young, if somewhat misguided colleague, and soon Domninus was convinced that Valentinian had in all the world no truer friend than Magnus Clemens Maximus. As a substantial token of his friendship, Maximus, though doubtless somewhat pressed himself by the barbarians in Gaul, would spare some of his best troops to assist Valentinian in the war against the barbarians in Pannonia, and these troops should escort his excellent friend Domninus across the Alps. The generous offer was accepted. Maximus himself moved slowly forward with the bulk of his army. The passes were carefully watched to prevent any tidings of military operations reaching the ears of Valentinian's generals. As soon as the ridge of the Alps was crossed¹ and the difficult marshy land at their feet over-passed, all disguise was thrown off, the main body of the army hastened over the passes now held entirely by the partisans of Maximus. That able negotiator, Domninus, had simply introduced into Italy the vanguard of the army which had come to upset his master's throne².

¹ We learn from Pacatus (xxx) that it was through the passes of the Cottian Alps (*Col. de Genève*) that Maximus descended into Italy.

² We get this story of the outwitting of Domninus only from Zosimus (iv. 42). Baronius, comparing the embassy of Domninus with that of Ambrose, makes some reflections, natural to a Cardinal of

At Aquileia all seems to have been confusion and alarm when the news of the invasion was received. The stout and wary soldier, Bauto the Frank, was probably dead, as we hear no mention of his name : and the position which he had held as chief counsellor of the Augusta may perhaps have been taken up by the wealthy and timid Probus, whom we last saw on the point of surrendering Sirmium and who was now again holding the office of Praetorian Prefect¹. Maximus marched with all speed to Aquileia, but when he arrived there he found that the young colleague who was so dear to him had already departed. Justina with Valentinian and his sisters, accompanied by Probus, had taken ship in the port of Aquileia and sailed round Greece to Thessalonica, from whence they sent an embassy to Theodosius, beseeching him now at length to avenge all the wrong which had been done to the house of Valentinian.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.387.
Invasion of
Maximus.

Meanwhile the troops of Maximus, like an overflowing and scarcely resisted flood, were pouring over Italy. It is possible that some of the cities on the Po may have offered sufficient resistance to afford the invader a pretext for abandoning them to the wild rapine of his soldiers². There was trepidation and alarm at Milan, where the soothing eloquence of St. Ambrose was needed the sixteenth century, on the superiority of ecclesiastics to laymen as diplomatists.

¹ Sozomen vii. 13.

² St. Ambrose, in a letter to Faustinus (i. 39) to console him for the death of his sister, speaks of the corpses of so many half-ruined cities on the Aemilian way : Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Placentia and others. But the whole passage, which is evidently modelled on Cicero's celebrated letter to Sulpicius, and about equally consolatory with that epistle, is too rhetorical to entitle it to much credence as history.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

387.

to prevent the citizens from abandoning their city in terror¹. But upon the whole there does not appear to have been much bloodshed, nor anything really amounting to civil war in Italy. Maximus, having thus easily glided into supreme authority over two-thirds of the Roman world, does not seem to have used his usurped power tyrannically. It is significant that the worst crime which is imputed to him at this period of his career, is the issuing of an order for the rebuilding of a Jewish synagogue which had been destroyed by the populace of Rome. Hereupon, we are told, the Christian population shook their heads ominously. 'No good,' said they, 'will befall this man. The Emperor has turned Jew².'

Maximus
in Rome.

In Rome itself however, among the old Senatorial party, any disposition towards toleration on the part of the late fierce assertor of orthodoxy would be a welcome relief. The Emperor seems to have visited Rome in person, and (possibly on New Year's Day 388) to have listened to an elaborate harangue pronounced by the heathen orator Symmachus in his honour. This oration, which in after years nearly cost the author his life, was prudently suppressed and does not appear among his published speeches³.

Meeting of
Justina
and Theo-
dosius.

It was in the autumn, probably in the month of September or October, that the invasion of Maximus and

¹ Ambrose, Serm. 85 (quoted by Baronius).

² Ambrose, Ep. i. 40.

³ After the death of Maximus, Symmachus, having reason to believe that he was about to be proceeded against on a charge of *laesa majestas* (high treason), took refuge in a Novatian church. Leontius, the Bishop of the Novatians, interceded for the eloquent Pagan, and Theodosius showed his regard for the sect by respecting the sanctity of the asylum and pardoning Symmachus, who early in 379 pronounced a panegyric upon him. This oration, like that in praise of Maximus, is lost (Socrates, H. E. v. 14).

the flight of Valentinian took place. Notwithstanding the pleadings of Justina, nearly a year elapsed before her wrongs and those of the house of Valentinian were avenged. At the call of the Empress, Theodosius repaired to Thessalonica, being accompanied by some of the most eminent members of the Senate of Constantinople. A debate ensued, in which it appeared that the universal opinion was that the murderer of Gratian and the despoiler of Valentinian must be at once called upon to justify his conduct before the tribunal of War. The counsel was not acceptable to Theodosius, who, to the surprise of all, proposed that ambassadors should be sent and negotiations should be entered into, to induce Maximus to restore the heritage of Valentinian. Historians hostile to his fame¹ see in this lukewarmness only another evidence of the demoralisation which years of palace-luxury had wrought in the character of Theodosius. Even an impartial critic may suspect that some remembrance of the terrible wrong which the house of Theodosius had once suffered from the house of Valentinian still rankled in the breast of the Eastern Emperor. But there were, as has been already hinted, worthier motives for inaction; the recent danger from the Goths, the ever-present danger from the Persians, the exhaustion of the Empire, the petulant Arianism of Justina, the loudly asserted orthodoxy of Maximus, above all, the terrible shock to 'the Roman Republic' when its Eastern and Western halves should meet in deadly combat on some Illyrian plain, as they had met when Constantine fought with Licinius, when his son fought with Magnentius, as they would, but for a timely death, have met when Constantius warred against Julian.

388.

¹ Such as Zosimus (iv. 44).

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

388.

Theodosius
marries
Galla.

All these considerations justified delay. Perhaps delay would have glided on into abandonment of all thoughts of revenge, and truce into cordial alliance with the usurper, but for one personal argument which destroyed the even balance of the scales of Peace and War. Justina, the widow of two Emperors, and one of the most beautiful women of her time, had a daughter, Galla, even lovelier than herself. Theodosius was a widower, his wife Flaccilla having died in the preceding year; and when the beautiful Galla clasped his knees as a suppliant and with streaming eyes besought him to avenge the murder of one brother, and the spoliation of another, Theodosius could no longer resist. Overmastered by her beauty, he sought and obtained her hand in marriage, the one condition imposed by Justina being that he should strike down the murderous usurper and restore his kingdom to Valentinian¹.

Prepara-
tions for
war.

Many preparations were needed; and perhaps also the winter and spring were employed in shaping the pliant mind of Valentinian in the mould of Nicene orthodoxy². Embassies passed to and fro between Constantinople and Milan, but it was probably clear to the ambassadors themselves that there was no reality in their messages. Theodosius may have been indirectly helped by a burst of Franks and Saxons over the

¹ In the Atmeidan or Hippodrome of Constantinople are to be seen, surrounding the base of the obelisk of Thothmes, which was raised there by order of Theodosius, some interesting bas-reliefs which appear to represent the reception of Valentinian by the Emperor and his sons, and his marriage with Galla. The appearance of the two little boys in the first relief, and the addition of the (once) stately step-mother in the second, are full of quaint interest.

² As suggested by Richter, p. 653. I do not think, however, that we have any proof that the conversion took place at this time.

Gaulish frontier, threatening Cologne and Mayence, and overstraining the energies of the generals whom Maximus had left to guard the throne of his young son and associated colleague Victor¹. Not less was the relief afforded by the conclusion of peace with Persia², which enabled Theodosius to muster all the hosts of his realm for the westward march, free from anxiety as to the long and weak frontier of the Euphrates.

On the other hand the Arians, even in Constantinople, were restless and still numerous enough to be an element of danger³. And great as was the popularity of the Emperor with the Gothic *foederati*, it remained to be seen how that popularity would stand the strain of war. Indeed Maximus, whose one idea of strategy seems to have been to bribe the soldiers of his opponent, had actually entered into negotiations with some of the barbarians, offering them large sums of money if they would betray their master. The negotiations, however, were discovered on the eve of the opening of the campaign, and the barbarians implicated, fleeing to the lakes

¹ St. Ambrose, who thinks that all these calamities came upon Maximus as a punishment for the rebuilding of the Jewish synagogue, says (Ep. i. 40): 'Ille igitur a Francis, a Saxonum gente, in Sicilia, Sisciac, Petavione, ubique terrarum victus est.' The interesting details of the Frankish victories are given in a fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, curiously embalmed in Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, ii. 9.

² 'Fidem regum quibus limes Orientis ambitur, datâ acceptâque dexterâ firmas' (Pacatus, xxxii).

³ On a rumour of the defeat of Theodosius and the slaughter of a large part of his army, the Arians broke out into sedition, and set the house of Nectarius, the orthodox Bishop, on fire. But the insurrection seems to have been easily suppressed, probably died down at once, when it was discovered that Theodosius was still alive (Sozomen, vii. 14).

BOOK I. and forests of Macedonia, were hunted down and
CH. 8. destroyed before the war began.

388.
Westward
march of
Theodo-
sius.

At last all the necessary preparations were completed, and about the month of June (388) Theodosius, having divided his army into three bands, marched down the valley of the Morava and entered the Western Empire at Belgrade¹. Justina and her daughters had been sent by sea to Rome², where already the cause of Maximus had become unpopular. For some reason not explained to us Maximus had concluded that Theodosius would make his attack by sea, and Andragathias, his accomplice in the murder of Gratian and his chief military adviser, with a large part of his army was cruising about the narrow seas, hoping to intercept either Theodosius, who never set sail, or Justina, who was already safe in port.

The two chief generals on Theodosius' side were Promotus, Master of Cavalry, and Timasius, Master of Infantry. The two Teutons, Richomer and Arbogast, also held high commands. All depended on rapid movement, and the Eastern army, inspirited probably and roused to emulation by the warlike spirit of the Gothic *foederati* among them, responded admirably to the call made upon them by their leaders. By forced marches they reached Siscia, now the Croatian town of Siszek, on the Save. The dusty, panting soldiers pushed their steeds into the river, swam across, and successfully charged the enemy. In another more

¹ This is the most probable route, as the Theodosian Code fixes Theodosius at Stobi, in Macedonia, 16th June, 388, and at Scupi, 21st June, and as the first battle takes place at Siscia.

² And Valentinian, too, according to Zosimus; but it seems more probable that Theodosius took Valentinian with him.

stubbornly contested battle at Pettau¹, where the hostile army was commanded by Marcellinus, brother of the usurper, the fiery valour of the Goths, tempered and directed by the Theodosian discipline, again triumphed. Aemona (*Laybach*) opened her gates with rejoicing, and welcomed the liberating host to her streets, hung with carpets and bright with flowers. With an army swollen by numerous desertions from the demoralised ranks of his rival, Theodosius pressed on, over the spurs of the Julian Alps, to Aquileia, where Maximus, whose soldierly qualities seem to have been melted out of him by five years of reigning, cowered behind the walls, awaiting his approach. Aquileia had the reputation of being a virgin fortress, the Metz of Italy, but the forces of the usurper were now too few to form a sufficient garrison. A small body of Moorish soldiers, belonging perhaps to the same legion which had first revolted to him in Gaul, still remained faithful, yet Maximus did not rely too confidently even on their unbribed fidelity. When the troops of Theodosius, with brisk impetuous onset, streamed over the loosely-guarded walls, they found the usurper sitting on his throne, distributing money to his soldiers. They tore off with violent gestures his purple robe, they knocked the diadem from his head, they made him doff his purple sandals, and then, with his hands tied behind him like a slave's, they dragged the trembling tyrant before his judges. At the third milestone from Aquileia, Theodosius and the young lad, his brother-in-law, had erected their tribunal. 'Is it true,' said the Emperor of

BOOK I.

CH. 8.

388.

¹ The mention of Pettau leads to the conjecture that one of the three bands of Theodosius' army may have moved up the valley of the Drave, while the other two kept to the line of the Save.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

388.

Execution
of Maxi-
mus.

28 July
(Socrates).
27 August
(Idatius).

the East, 'that it was with my consent that Gratian was murdered, and that you usurped the crown?' 'It is not true,' Maximus is said to have faltered out, 'but without that pretext I could never have persuaded the soldiers to join in the rebellion.' Theodosius looked upon the fallen potentate, once his comrade, with eyes in which there was some gleam of pity. But if he had any thoughts of clemency, they were not shared by his army, who, perhaps for their own safety, thought it necessary to destroy the man whose fallen majesty they had derided. Countless eager hands dragged him off to the place of punishment, where he was put to death by the common executioner. His son Victor, the young Augustus at Trier, was put to death by Arbogast, who was sent into Gaul on this errand, unworthy of a brave soldier. Andragathius, hearing that his master's cause was lost, leaped into the Adriatic, 'preferring to trust himself to it, rather than to his enemies¹.'

So fell the usurper Maximus after five years' wearing of the purple, and now at last the body of the murdered Gratian found a resting-place in his brother's capital of Milan².

Theodosius, with splendid generosity, handed over to

¹ The Panegyric of Pacatus is practically the only source—and a most unsatisfactory one—from which we derive any details as to the campaign against Maximus. Orosius (vii. 35) represents the army of Maximus as greatly superior in numbers, but says that owing to his leaving the Alpine passes unguarded, and directing all his energies to defence against the expected attack by sea, Theodosius won an almost bloodless victory. It seems probable that surprise played a large part in the campaign, and that the victory was due rather to clever strategy and rapid marching than to hard fighting. If this be so, probably Pacatus' battle-pieces are greatly over-coloured.

² This does not seem to be expressly stated, but, as Tillemont says, may be inferred from the authorities.

Valentinian not only the young Emperor's own previous share of the Empire, but also his brother Gratian's¹, remaining content with the Eastern provinces which he had ruled from the beginning. It was clearly understood however, and in fact resulted from the necessity of the case, that the great soldier who had won back the heritage of Valentinian was supreme over the whole Empire. This supremacy involved the complete victory of the Nicene Creed in the West as well as the East, a victory which was aided by the conversion of Valentinian and the timely death of Justina, who had scarcely returned to her son's palace at Milan when she ended her troubled life². The next three years after the overthrow of Maximus were spent by Theodosius in Italy, at Milan, at Rome, at Verona, in setting in order those affairs of Church and State, which in his judgment had gone wrong since the firm hand of the elder Valentinian had failed from the helm³.

BOOK I.
CH. 8.

388.

The
Western
provinces
restored to
Valen-
tinian II.

388-391.

¹ Τὴν μὲν οὖν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν Οὐαλεντινιανῷ παρέδωκεν, ὅσην ἔτυχεν ἔχων ὁ τοῦτου πατήρ says Zosimus; but we have a better authority in St. Augustine (De Civitate Dei, v. 26), 'Mox tyranni Maximi extincor [Theodosius] Valentinianum puerum imperii sui partibus unde fugatus fuerat cum misericordissimâ veneratione restituit.' It is true that there is no express mention made here of Gratian's share, but it may be understood that this is St. Augustine's meaning.

² Zosimus (iv. 47) says that Justina 'dwelt with her son after his restoration, supplying by her prudence, as far as a woman might, the deficiencies of his youth.' Prosper Tiro says that 'she was prevented by death from recovering the kingdom with her son.' It is probable that she died soon after the restoration.

³ The Theodosian Code shows Theodosius at Aquileia, after his victory, on the 22nd September, 388; and again at the same place on his homeward route to Constantinople, 16th June, 391.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INSURRECTION OF ANTIOCH.

Authorities.

Sources :—

BOOK I. For the events narrated in the following chapter we have
CH. 9. two invaluable contemporary authorities, Libanius and Chrysostom.

LIBANIUS, professor of rhetoric, was born at Antioch in the year 314. He lost his father when he was ten years old, and the care of his education devolved on his mother, a gentle and loveable woman, who after her husband's death lived only for her children. All the traditions of his family, and the influences which were brought to bear upon him in childhood, breathed the spirit of Hellenism; and a worshipper of the old gods of Greece Libanius remained through life, notwithstanding the ever-increasing number of the votaries of Christianity in Antioch. In his fifteenth year Libanius solemnly dedicated himself to the pursuit of knowledge, a pursuit, however, which according to the ideas of the time meant chiefly the reading of the Greek poets and the rather profitless toil of a student of rhetoric. After visiting Greece and spending several years of middle life at Constantinople and Nicomedia, he returned to his native city about the year 354, and there spent the remainder of his days. As a State-paid professor of rhetoric he received the *Ateleia* or immunity from all political and fiscal claims, and thus escaped the dangerous honour of a seat in the Senate to which many of his friends were entitled. As a heathen he hailed with joy the accession of Julian (361), praised enthusiastically his measures for the restoration of the

ancient faith, and wrote a mournful monody on his death, bitterly reproaching the gods for allowing their votary to be cut off before his prime. Libanius was seventy-three years old at the time of the insurrection of Antioch, which was the last public event in which he took a prominent part. He composed five orations on the subject, two addressed (or supposed to be addressed) to Theodosius, one aimed at the fugitives from the city, and one addressed to each of the two Commissioners, Caesarius and Hellebichus. Zosimus represents him as sent on an embassy from the citizens of Antioch to the Imperial Court, but this is certainly an error, probably derived from the fact that in his first oration to Theodosius, Libanius represents himself, by a rhetorical fiction, as having undertaken the long and difficult journey to the capital in order to plead for his fellow-citizens.

The orations themselves, though they supply us with some valuable information, are tedious and vapid in the extreme. There is no orderly grouping of facts, no steady march in the argument. The orator darts from one obscurity to another without plan or method; and one cannot but feel that it was fortunate for the citizens of Antioch that the irritable Emperor was spared the annoyance of listening to such an intercessor. Libanius had suffered all his life from weak health, and perhaps the utter poverty of these speeches may be partly excused by the fact that he was sinking into his dotage.

The year of Libanius' death is uncertain, but it is possible that he survived to the accession of Arcadius (395). It is said that on his death-bed he was asked who should succeed him in his professor's chair, and that he answered, 'It should have been Chrysostom if the Christians had not stolen him from us.'

For John surnamed CHRYSOSTOM (the golden-mouthed) was in his youth one of the pupils of Libanius. He was born at Antioch about 346, the son of an 'illustrious' Master of the Soldiery, who died when Chrysostom was an infant. At the age of twenty he began to attend the school of Libanius, where he soon gave indications of his future eminence as an orator. At this time he was intending to practise as an advocate in the law-courts, thus entering upon a career which would probably have led a man of his abilities to the highest civil dignities of the Empire. But under the influence of a friend of his named

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

Basil (not the great Cappadocian St. Basil) Chrysostom became more and more dissatisfied with his chosen profession, and cherished with increasing affection the thought of devoting himself along with Basil and two other young men (one of whom was the celebrated Theodore of Mopsuestia) to what he called 'the true philosophy,' a life of monastic self-seclusion from the world. The earnest entreaties of his mother, who had set her heart on seeing him pursue a brilliant career in the Prefect's Court, prevailed upon him for a time to forego this design; but at length about the year 374 (possibly after his mother's death), he finally quitted the bar and retired to a monastery in the mountains south of Antioch, which was governed by the rule of the Egyptian Pachomius. After four years he left his cell in the monastery for a solitary cave, or in the technical language of monasticism, he exchanged the life of a coenobite for that of an anchorite. Here his austerities were so great that he was able to continue this mode of life for only two years. With a prematurely wasted frame and health permanently injured, he returned to Antioch, where in the year 381 he was ordained as a deacon by Meletius shortly before the departure of that prelate to the Council of Constantinople. In 386 he received the office of presbyter from the hands of Flavian, the successor of Meletius, and at once began to make his mark as the greatest preacher of his city, and (as was soon discovered) the greatest preacher of the Christian world. He had been thus engaged for about a year, when the insurrection of Antioch broke out, and 'the Homilies on the Statues,' twenty in number, were preached by him. Though too diffuse, these homilies are models of grave, well-sustained, and earnest eloquence (incomparably superior to the obscure platitudes of Libanius), and we are indebted to them for some of our most vivid impressions of the Imperial City of Antioch in her varying moods of insolence and terror.

The precise order of the Homilies on the Statues cannot perhaps now be clearly ascertained. In spite of Clinton's defence (*Fasti Romani*, i. 515) it does not seem possible to uphold the order in which they are now arranged. The following is the chronology of the period between the insurrection and the pardon according to Dr. Arnold Hug, whose monograph on the subject is alluded to below:—

March 4,	Outbreak of the Sedition.			BOOK I.
„ 6-13,	1st week of Lent	}	Homily 2. Departure of Fla-	CH. 9.
„ 13-20,	2nd „ „		vian. Homilies 3-8, 15.	387.
„ 20-27,	3rd „ „		Homilies 16 (The Prefect in the Church), 9, 20.	
			March 29 (Monday) Arrival of the Commissioners.	
			„ 30 (Tuesday) Preliminary enquiry.	
„ 27-Apr. 3,	4th „ „	}	„ 31 (Wednesday) Day of judgment. Postponement of sentence.	
			April 1 (Thursday) Departure of Caesarius.	
April 3-10,	5th „ „		Homilies 11, 12, 13 (Wednesday), 17, 14, 18 (half of Lent over: not yet 20 days since the first edict of the Emperor). Towards the end of the week, arrival of Caesarius at Constantinople, and pardon of the Antiochenes.	
„ 10-17,	6th „ „		Homily 20 (10 days before Easter).	
„ 17-24,	7th „ „		(Beginning of this week or end of the previous one.) Arrival of the decree of pardon. Rejoicings in the city.	
„ 25,	Easter Sunday.		Homily 21. The Christians celebrate at the same time the return of Flavian.	

Some of the chief events in the later career of Chrysostom will come under our notice in a subsequent chapter.

The ecclesiastical historians, especially THEODORET, supply some few further particulars, but are not very accurate in their dates.

Guides :—

The careful little Essay of Dr. Arnold Hug, 'Antiochia und der Aufstand des Jahres 387 n. Chr.' (Winterthur, 1863), deals

BOOK I. exhaustively with the subject of this chapter. But in order to
 CH. 9. understand the historical framework of the story, it will be
 387. well to consult Dr. G. R. Sievers, 'Das Leben des Libanius' (Berlin, 1868), published after the death of its author, and a truly admirable specimen of a German monograph, laborious but clear, often even graphic, and above all furnished with a very complete index.

The life of St. John Chrysostom, by the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens (London, 1883: 3rd edition), will also be found very helpful.

Defects in
the finan-
cial policy
of Theo-
dosius.

It has been already hinted that Theodosius was not an economical ruler of the Empire. Both his policy and his pleasures compelled him to make large demands on the purses of his subjects. The chiefs of the *foederati*, who doubtless thought the wealth of the great Empire boundless, could not be kept in good humour without rich presents for themselves and frequent largesse for their followers. And, whether we accept or partially reject the accusations of Zosimus, who never tires of inveighing against the luxury, the extravagance, the prodigality of Theodosius, it is clear he had no tendency towards parsimony, and that he had very high notions of the state which a Roman Augustus ought to maintain. Possibly a liberal expenditure was a wise policy for the Empire; certainly frugality like that of Valens had proved in the end disastrously expensive: but, whether wise or unwise, the heavy demands which it necessitated upon the resources of the tax-payers caused, doubtless, many a muttered execration against this spendthrift Spaniard, his barbarians, and his chamberlains, execrations of which we not only hear the distant echo in the words of Zosimus, but can listen to their turbulent explosion in the story of the insurrection of Antioch.

In the beginning of the year 387 (before Maximus had openly declared war upon Valentinian), Theodosius determined to celebrate the expiration of eight years of his own government and four of the conjoint rule of himself and his young son Arcadius¹, or in more technical language his own Decennalia and his son's Quinquennalia. The festival of the Quinquennalia, instituted in imitation of the Greek Olympiads, recurred every fifth year, that is, at the expiration of the fourth, the ninth, and the fourteenth years of the ruler's reign, and so on. It consisted of games, chariot-races, and musical contests; but above all, in the present state of the Empire, and with the ever-growing demands of the German *foederati*, it was an occasion for increased largesse to the soldiery. Letters were accordingly written by the Emperor, commanding the provinces to furnish extraordinary contributions for these Quinquennalia². These letters caused probably in most cities of the already over-burdened East, such domestic scenes as are vividly described to us by the great preacher of Antioch³: 'When we hear that gold is required of us by the Emperor, every one goes to his house and calls together his wife, his children, and his slaves, that he may consult with them from what source

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

Quinquennalia of
Arcadius.

¹ The four years of Arcadius' reign ended on the 16th January, and the eight of his father's on the 19th January, 387. It was a year too soon for the Decennalia of Theodosius, but the union of the two festivals seems to have been represented as an act of consideration for the tax-payer.

² I do not think that we are informed either of the name or of the amount of the contributions thus ordered; but it seems probable that they would be of the nature of *aurum coronarium*: and the above quotation from Chrysostom seems to confirm this suggestion.

³ Chrysostom, Ad Populum Antiochenum, Homil. 3.

BOOK I.
(H. 9.)

387.

Exacting
disposition
of the
citizens of
Antioch.

he shall raise that contribution.' But though we hear rumours of seditious movements at Alexandria¹ and Beyrout, it was only at Antioch that the discontent caused by these unwelcome letters burst into a flame.

For the special irritation displayed by the citizens of Antioch there were several reasons. The great capital of the East, situated in the delightful valley of the Orontes, with her massive walls boldly climbing the picturesque heights of Mount Silpius, her long colonnade, the work of Herod, her Royal Palace, her Forum, her Hippodrome; the city which had been for near three centuries the seat of the mighty kingdom of the Seleucidae, the city which now prided herself yet more on having been the birthplace of the name 'Christian,' was disposed to be somewhat exacting in her demeanour towards her Roman rulers. Julian's slovenly attire and unkempt beard had moved the scorn of the citizens of Antioch, a scorn so openly displayed as to provoke him to the undignified retaliation of the satire *Misopogon*². Jovian, whose abandonment of Nisibis filled the people of Antioch with fears lest they should be the next victims, was assailed in scurrilous libels³, and had Helen's bitter taunt to Paris hurled in his face—

'Back you are come from the fight: I would you had died on the war-plain⁴.'

¹ At Alexandria the people in the Theatre broke out into invectives against Theodosius, and publicly expressed their wish that the over-turner of the Western throne (Maximus) would come thither also (Libanius, Orat. xii. Ad Theodosium).

² Beard-hater.

³ *Toîs καλουμένοις φημώσσοις* (famosis), Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 181, ap. Müller, vol. iv.

⁴ *Iliad* iii. 428. The story is told by Suidas s. v. 'Ιοβιανός. I owe these two quotations to Hug.

But the dark and suspicious Valens, so little loved in the rest of the Empire, seems to have been generally popular in Antioch, on account of his having preferred it to Constantinople as his chief place of abode. Now, however, this new Spanish Emperor, who was approaching the Decennalia of his reign, had not once favoured the dwellers by the Orontes with a sight of his comely countenance. Antioch, therefore, was already sore at heart with her sovereign as well as overburdened with the expenses of his administration, when these letters of his came (probably in the early days of March 387) to turn the mob's dislike into hatred and the tax-payer's perplexity into despair.

The story of the insurrection which now broke forth, brings into strong relief the character of the two classes which together made up the bulk of the free population of Antioch as of the other cities of the Empire. There was first the Middle Class, as we should now call it, timid, unenterprising, still perhaps wealthy, though groaning under the heavy burdens imposed upon it by the financial necessities of the sinking Empire. From this class, centuries ago, had emerged the citizens who, with eager emulation, had contended with one another for the honour of a seat in the *Curia* or Senate of their native city, and the glory of being addressed as *Decurio*. That state of things had now long passed away. Though the *Curia* had still some power (of the kind recently possessed in England by 'Quarter Sessions' and now by the 'County Council'), it was well understood among all classes, that the responsibility attached to the office of *Decurio* so largely outweighed the power, that no reasonable being would covet a seat in the local Senate for its own sake. Instead of a

The Senatorial class at Antioch.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

coveted honour, therefore, it had become a dreaded, but hereditary, burden imposed on the infant son of a Decurio at birth and (for the most part) only to be escaped from by death. Above these Curial families stood a small privileged class of functionaries, Prefects, Counts, Consulars, and their children, the most highly prized of whose immunities consisted in this, that they could no longer be called upon to discharge 'Curial obligations.' Below them lay the great sensual, swinish mass of Forum-loungers. All that was onerous in public life, fell with ever-increasing weight on the middle class of Decurions. The collection of the revenue, the responsibility for the corn-rations, the care of the prisons, even the heating of the baths, devolved on these men; and whoever else might by jobbery and peculation defraud the public revenue, it seems clear that the Decurion had no chance of plundering, but only the dreary necessity of making good the deficiency caused by the plundering of others.

It is no wonder that a class thus heavily burdened was ever dwindling both in numbers and in wealth. The Senate of Antioch, which had once consisted of 600 members, had so far fallen away that the Emperor Julian took credit to himself for having raised its number to 200; yet, notwithstanding this temporary increase, that number had again fallen to 60 in 386, and in 388 (the year following the insurrection), it was only 12¹. The same attenuation was evidently going on throughout the Empire. The governor of Cilicia, at the period of which we are now treating, found the Senate of the city of Alexandria in that province

¹ See Libanius (ed. Reiske), ii. 575 and 528. Julian Misopogon, p. 106. I owe these references to Sievers, p. 7 n. 36.

reduced to one lame man, but raised it to 15 without violence, but merely by kind words and the assurance that the agents of the centralised despotism at Constantinople should not be permitted to plunder the new Senators, who might even make some profit out of their administrative functions. These fair words drew the desired Senators from their hiding-places under beds and couches or in the caves of the mountains, to undertake, even with alacrity, 'Curial obligations.' Once, too, when the first Valentinian, in one of his cruel moods, issued a decree that for the punishment of some disorders in one of the provinces, three Decurions in each of its cities should be put to death, the Prefect to whom this order was addressed replied pleasantly, 'What is to be done if a town have not so many as three Decurions in it? You ought to add these words to the Edict, "(Let them be killed) if they can be found¹."'

Such then was the burdened, sorely pressed life of the comparatively wealthy citizens of the Middle Class who were left in the cities of the Empire. It is easy to see that it reproduces the so-called 'liturgies' (obligations to undertake certain services to the State), which formed so marked a feature in the life of ancient Athens, and it is indeed under this term that the Curial obligations are constantly spoken of by contemporary orators²; but the means to discharge these liturgies had grown smaller, the command to perform them harsher and more irresistible, the inducement which had once been the desire to earn the favour of one's fellow citizens,

¹ Libanius, *Ad Celsum*, Ep. 608 (ed. Wolf), and Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii. 7. 7 (both quoted by Kuhn, *Verf. des Röm. Reichs*, i. 248).

² Especially Libanius.

BOOK I. and to be by them raised to the high places of the
CH. 9. State, had vanished altogether.

387.
Privileges
of the mob. But as the rich liturgy-performing aristocracy, so also the pampered liturgy-enjoying democracy of the cities of the Empire, carries us back in remembrance to the days of Aristophanes. The idea of the Roman Empire was in the main urban, as was that of the Athenian Empire, and not only were they both urban, but both were in a certain sense socialistic. To keep the populace of the capital cities of the Empire in good humour was one of the chief cares of a Roman Augustus, and almost of equal importance with the other two, the maintenance of the loyalty of the army and the repulse of the incursions of the barbarians. At Antioch, as at Rome, at Constantinople, and at Alexandria, the citizens enjoyed a free distribution of corn or rather of bread, at the expense of the State. The precise amount of this daily ration does not seem to be handed down to us, but there can be no doubt that it was sufficient to support life for the receiver and his family, and to obviate the necessity of work. The bath—that luxury which is almost a necessity under a Syrian sky—was also open, either gratuitously or at an exceedingly small charge, to all classes of the community; and when the water was not heated hot enough, Demos in the Theatre howled his disapprobation and even threw stones at the governor who had been so slack in enforcing the ministrations of the richer citizens to his comfort¹. Twice (in 382 and 384) an unfavourable season raised the price of corn. The people in the Theatre cried out for larger loaves, cheaper loaves. In

¹ Libanius, ii. 93-95 (Sievers, 164). The governor was Icarus, Comes Orientis, 384.

spite of the opposition of certain members of the Senate, who had some dim previsions of the science now known as Political Economy, a governor was each time found who issued a decree lowering the price of the loaf. Unable to comply with the decree the bakers left the city and fled to the mountains. Naturally the famine in the city was not lessened by their departure. The law was withdrawn and the bakers returned but led a precarious existence, always liable to be arrested, and flogged through the streets of Antioch if a governor wished to curry favour with the people, and to repel by this easy demonstration the charge of having himself shared in the profits of the unpopular class¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

We have glanced at the condition of the urban population, of which we always hear most; but we must not forget that there was in the rural districts of Syria a large peasant-class, which is comparatively mute in Imperial history. A sermon of St. Chrysostom² brings before us the patient, toilful lives of these men, strangers to the language, to the pleasures, and to the vices of the city-populace, but united to them in faith; and in their temperate and frugal existence illustrating the spirit of Christianity far better than the noisy theological disputants of Antioch. The yoke of the Imperial government pressed heavily on these men, who could not shout applause in the Hippodrome, or hurl stones and taunts at the Prefect in the Theatre, and who therefore, as representative government was unknown, had no means of influencing the administration of affairs. Thus, when the populace were raging at the high price of bread, an edict was issued, forbidding any

The Aramaic-speaking rural population.

¹ Sievers, 155, 165.

² Homily 19 (τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς Ἐπισωζομένης).

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

peasant to carry more than two loaves out of the city, and soldiers were stationed at the gates to enforce the observance of this decree. Thus also, by a yet more vexatious enactment, it was provided that every rustic who brought hay or straw into the city should carry out of it a certain quantity of the *débris* of houses shattered by earthquakes, or falling into decay, and this provision was stringently enforced even when the rain-swollen torrents and miry roads of winter made obedience to it most burdensome¹. It is by slight hints like these as to the condition of the rural population, that we are enabled to understand the rapid success of the Saracens in Syria, two centuries and a half after the period with which we are now dealing. These simple-hearted country folk with their Aramaic speech are in the year 387 still Christian by religious profession, but they are out of sympathy with Greek civilisation and are hardly dealt with by Roman functionaries. Bitter controversies and stern persecutions in the fifth and sixth centuries will alienate many of them from the form of faith dominant at Constantinople; and when in the seventh century a great Semitic prophet shall arise to reassert the principle of the unity of God and to declare a religious war against the Roman Empire, they will offer scanty resistance to the sword of Khalid, and will after the lapse of one generation be counted among the most obedient followers of Islam.

Arrival of
the taxation edict
at Antioch.

Such then was the condition of the people in and around Antioch when, in the beginning of 387, the letters arrived from Theodosius ordering a levy of *aurum coronarium* for his son's Quinquennalia. It

¹ Libanius, *περὶ τῶν ἀγγαριῶν* (quoted by Sievers, p. 167).

was felt that this was too much ; and an angry growl was heard through all the ranks of the citizens. Men rushed up to one another in the market-place, saying, 'Our life is become unliveable; the city is quite ruined; no one will be able to bear such a weight of tribute.' So did the 'grave and reverend signors,' the men on whom the weight of taxation would fall most heavily, utter their discontent ; and in their exasperation they probably used many a word bordering on treason. Meanwhile the mob, among whom there were many boys, and all of whom had the spirit of boyish mischief in their hearts, proceeded from words to deeds. Streaming along the great colonnade which ran past the judgment-hall, having thrown off their upper garments to show that they meant work, they lifted their right arms menacingly in the air calling on all brave men to join them. They went first to the public baths, and severing with their swords the ropes by which the great brazen lamps were suspended they let them fall with a crash to the pavement.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

Circa
4 March¹.

Then the statues of the Imperial family met their eyes and inflamed their wrath. Here was the Emperor himself with that stately presence of his which seemed to command the obedience of Goth and of Roman. By his side was the gentle and pious Flaccilla, the wife whom he had lost two years before. Here was his

Overthrow
of the Im-
perial
statues.

¹ The date of the outbreak of the sedition was fixed by Tillemont at 26 February, and Clinton in the main agrees with him. But Hug, finding that the passage in the Second Homily of St. Chrysostom, which would fix its deliverance on the eighth day after the sedition, is marked by the latest editor as spurious, makes the date of the sedition a week later, 4th of March instead of 26th of February. The dates of the subsequent events (most of which are only approximate) are those assigned by Hug.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

noble old father, the pacifier of Britain and of Africa; and here was the young Arcadius, the boy of ten years old for whose Quinquennalia all this weight of 'coronary gold' was demanded, and there was the little Honorius, a child of three, not yet Augustus, but already glorified with a statue. The whole family were for the moment hateful in the eyes of the men of Antioch. With ribald shouts and words which a loyal orator¹ could not repeat and wished that he had never heard, they began to stone the wooden statues. There was a roar of laughter as each statue fell in ludicrous ruin, a roar of rage when one, more strongly compacted than its neighbour, resisted the onslaught. From the wooden statues they proceeded to those of brass. As stone-throwing here availed not, they tied ropes round the necks of the Imperial family, dragged them from their pedestals, smashed them as well as they could into fragments, and dragged the scattered members about the streets.

Fire-
raising.

There was a certain leading citizen who, as the mob felt, viewed these seditious proceedings with disapproval. To his house they rushed and threw fire into it, fire which if it could once have got a head would have destroyed the neighbouring palace of the Emperor. But now at last the chief officer of the garrison, a man well trained in war, but who had been completely cowed by this outburst of popular fury, recovered his nerve, ordered his archers to the rescue, extinguished the flames, and by a few discharges of arrows utterly quelled the rioters. Another officer (perhaps the *Comes Orientis*) when he heard that the archers were called out, plucked up his courage and brought his companies of infantry

The out-
break
suppressed.

¹ Libanius.

to assist in restoring order¹. The rioters who were caught in the act of incendiarism were committed to prison; the rest of the roaring crowd melted silently away: by noon Antioch was quiet again, and men had leisure to bethink them what had been done, and what punishment would fall upon the city.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

On the audacious criminals who had been caught red-handed in the act of firing the city punishment, Summary punishment. cruel in form, but, in essence, not unmerited, promptly descended. On the third day after the insurrection, Chrysostom, describing the fate of these lawless ones, said², 'Some have perished by fire, others by the sword, others have been thrown to the wild beasts, and these, not men only, but boys also. Neither the unripeness of their age, nor the popular tumult, nor the fact that Devils tempted them to their mad outbreak, nor the intolerable burden of the taxes imposed, nor their poverty, nor the general assent of the citizens to the crime, nor their promise never to offend again—none of these pleas has availed them, but, without chance of pardon, they have been hurried off to the place of execution³, armed soldiers guarding them on all sides to prevent the possibility of a rescue. Mothers followed afar off beholding their sons dragged away and not daring even to bewail their calamity.'

¹ 'Ο δὲ ἄρχων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὡς ἤκουσε τοξότας ἤκοντας, ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ προσάγοντας ἤκέ τε αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εἰσήνεγκε. Liban. Or. xii. Sievers (p. 175) suggests that the officer here named was Comes Orientis. To me the commander of some corps of barbarian *foederati* would have seemed more probable.

² Homily 3, p. 45 (ed. Montfaucon). Libanius also mentions 'fire, the sword, and the mouths of wild beasts' as the instruments of death (Oratio xii, ad Theodosium, p. 397, ed. Morel).

³ Barathrum.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

Anxiety of
the citi-
zens.

The law of
Laesa
Majestas.

But severe as were these punishments inflicted on the most conspicuous rioters, there ran through all ranks of the community a vague presentiment that the matter would not end there. Messengers had at once started off for Constantinople to inform the Emperor of what had occurred, and the citizens shivered with fear when they thought what answer those messengers might possibly bring back with them. The insult to the Imperial dignity contained in the overthrow of the statues had been gross and palpable. All who had abetted or even connived at it were clearly liable to the tremendous penalties denounced against '*Laesa Majestas*,' the Roman equivalent of High Treason. When, under Tiberius, the fashion of currying favour with the Emperors by lodging accusations of '*Majestas*' against eminent citizens was raging most fiercely, if a man had beaten his slave, or changed his clothes, in the presence of the Emperor's statue, or if even in intoxication he had seemed to treat despitefully a ring bearing the Emperor's effigy, these were sufficient offences upon which to ground the terrible indictment¹. Possibly under later Emperors this fanaticism of adulation had somewhat subsided; but the statues of the reigning sovereign remained the visible expression of his majesty, raised (as we saw in the case of Maximus) when an usurper was recognised as legitimate ruler, hurled to the ground with ignominy when the fortune of war had declared against him. Woe therefore to the presumptuous mortal who laid a sacrilegious hand upon the effigy of the undethroned Emperor. The chapter

¹ Suetonius, Tiberius 58, and Seneca, de Beneficiis iii. 26, are the two chief authorities for this extraordinary development of '*laesa majestas*.'

in the Digest¹ which comments on the law of Treason devotes two out of its eleven paragraphs to this very question. 'A man is *not* guilty of treason who repairs the statues of Caesar which have decayed through age. Nor is one, who by the chance throw of a stone has hit a statue, guilty of the crime of treason ; so Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla) ruled in their rescript to Julius Cassianus. The same Emperors decided that there was no injury to "majestas" in selling the images of Caesar which had not yet been consecrated. But they who shall melt down the statues or images of the Emperor which have been already consecrated or commit any similar act, are subject to the penalties of the Lex Julia Majestatis.'

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

That 'Majesty' had been 'injured' therefore in the colonnades of Antioch there could be no question, but the active perpetrators of the insult, notwithstanding the tender years of some of them, had already expiated this crime by fire, by sword, by the cruel teeth of the lions. The question now, the terrible question for the substantial citizens of Antioch, was how far they had made that crime their own by their tacit acquiescence. Thus was the case stated by the great preacher who put their dark forebodings into words² : 'Lo! we, whose conscience acquits us of having had any share in the outrage, are not less in fear of the Emperor's wrath than the actual criminals. For it sufficeth us not to say in our defence, "I was not present ; I was not assisting ; I was not a partaker in the crime." "For that very reason," he may say, "thou shalt be punished,

Were others beside the actual stone-throwers to be punished ?

¹ xlvi. 4. Ad legem Juliam Majestatis.

² St. Chrysostom, Homily 2 (p. 25).

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

because thou wast *not* present. Thou didst not hinder the lawless ones. Thou didst not help to repress the tumult. Thou didst not put thy life at hazard for the honour of the Emperor.” ’

At the distance of more than fifteen centuries it is hopeless to re-try the case of the burgesses of Antioch and to decide whether they were or were not guilty of connivance in the outrage on the Imperial dignity. The whole affair occupied only a few hours of a March morning ; and it is clear that there was no premeditated revolt against the Emperor. But all men were taken by surprise. The wealthy burghers certainly showed an utter want of presence of mind and a cowardly unwillingness to face the mob. Perhaps their fault ended here, but the impression made upon my own mind is that there was something more than this ; a certain disposition to stand on one side and allow this extravagant Spaniard who was making life unliveable by his ceaseless demands for money to fight his own battles and defend his throne against these roaring insurgents without the aid of the citizens¹.

Bishop
Flavian
undertakes
a mission
of inter-
cession.

In their dismay at what had been done and fear of the consequences, the citizens of Antioch turned to the Church for aid. In fact, on the fatal morning itself, when the letters of the Emperor were read, the first impulse of the people had been to visit the house of Bishop Flavian and ask his counsel and intercession ; and it was only when they had failed in finding him at home that the movement had passed from lamen-

¹ In fact, something like the attitude of the tax-provoked Israelites at Shechem : ‘ What portion have we in David ? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse : to your tents, O Israel : *now see to thine own house, David* ’ (1 Kings xii. 16).

tation to mutiny¹. Now, they again and more earnestly sought the aid of the venerable prelate, the successor of Meletius, the man whose election had indirectly led to the abdication by Gregory Nazianzen of the Episcopal throne of Constantinople, but who had, by this time, lived down the opposition to his episcopate and was evidently not accepted merely, but beloved by the vast majority of the Christians of Antioch. Flavian was in advanced age, and broken health, little fitted to endure the fatigues and hardships of a journey of 800 miles across the highlands of Asia Minor in the beginning of March. Moreover, his only sister, who dwelt with him in the ancestral mansion, was lying on her death-bed, and her one most earnest longing was that he might be with her when her last hour came. But rising above all these excuses for inactivity the noble old man, thinking only of the words, 'The good shepherd giveth his life for the flock,' cheerfully accepted the mission to the Court² of Theodosius, there to plead for an indulgent view of the crime of the citizens of Antioch. He started apparently about the 6th of March, and already on the 10th of that month the citizens were comforted by the news that their Bishop, the messenger of reconciliation, was likely to catch up the other travellers, the messengers of wrath, who had started as if with wings to their heels, but had been so delayed—possibly by snow in the passes of Taurus—that they were still only in the middle of their journey,

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

¹ Libanius mentions this (*Oratio* xii. p. 395), and his testimony on this point is more valuable than St. Chrysostom's.

² In speaking of this mission, St. Chrysostom always speaks of it as *εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον*, 'to the camp,' one amid many illustrations that the dominant conception of the Emperor's office was the military one.

BOOK I. having been obliged to dismount from their horses and
 CH. 9. travel by the slower conveyance of chariots, drawn
 387. probably by mules¹.

Miserable
 condition
 of the city.

For more than twenty days the silence of an awful suspense brooded over the once light-hearted city of Antioch². Many of the citizens left their homes and took up their abodes in deserts and in caves in the wild gorges of Mount Silpius. The Forum, once loud with the din of buyers and sellers or bright with the robes of revellers, was empty and desolate. If a citizen, to shake off the melancholy which weighed upon him at home, walked abroad in the Forum, so gloomy was the aspect of the place, where he saw only one or two of his fellow-

¹ Possibly, however, this was a false rumour (as Hug suggests), for the Bishop seems to have met the Imperial Commissaries on their journey to Antioch (St. Chrys. Homily 21, p. 216), and this, of course, must have been preceded by the arrival of the first messengers at Constantinople. But if they got over their difficulties and pushed on rapidly on horseback after the Bishop had overtaken them, both accounts will be consistent.

² 'Now, to their thinking, were their former fears of the ruin of Mansoul confirmed. Now what death they should die, and how long they should be in dying, was that which most perplexed their heads and hearts. Yea, they were afraid that Emmanuel would command them all into the deep . . . for they knew that they had deserved it.'

'Presently, they that had heard what was said flew about the town, one crying one thing and another the quite contrary. One would say, "We must all be killed"; another would say, "We must all be saved," and a third would say that the Prince would not be concerned with Mansoul, and a fourth that the prisoners must suddenly be put to death. Nay, some of them had got this story by the end, that the Prince did intend to put Mansoul to the sword. And now it began to be dark, wherefore poor Mansoul was in sad perplexity all that night until the morning.' These sentences from Bunyan's *Holy War* (chap. viii.), and many more which might be quoted, read like a transcript of the Homilies of Chrysostom, though we might probably affirm with safety that Bunyan had never heard of the Insurrection of Antioch.

citizens creeping about, with cowed looks and crouching frames, that he soon returned to the less depressing solitude of his home. There he sat, a free man, but as it were in fetters, dreading the entry of an informer or of the lictors who would drag him off to prison. As no friends visited him, he would pass the time in conversation with his slaves, conversation which turned on such dreary topics as these, 'Who has been seized? Who has been carried off to prison? Who has been punished to-day, and what was the manner of the punishment¹?' BOOK 1.
CR. 9.
387.

In the city thus abandoned to gloom there was but one place in which words of comfort and hope resounded. Sermons of
St. Chry-
sostom. In the pulpit of the great church built by Constantine there stood, day after day, the slight figure of Chrysostom, a broad-browed man, with deep-set eyes, pleading with the overflowing congregations which flocked to the church—it was now the season of Lent—to put off their vices, their luxury, and their worldliness, and to meet with brave hearts whatever the future might have in store for them. One sin against which, with a persistency which is almost amusing, he warns his hearers is that of oaths lightly and frivolously sworn. If a slave made some mistake in waiting at table, the mistress of the house would swear that she would have him flogged, and her husband would swear that the stripes should not be inflicted. Thus, one or other of the discordant pair must commit perjury. A tutor would swear that his pupil should taste no food till he had learned a certain lesson, and when the sun was descending on the still unfinished task, the tutor found himself shut up to one of two alternatives, perjury or murder. Almost every one of the nineteen homilies

¹ St. Chrysostom, Hom. 2, p. 22.

BOOK I. which the 'golden-mouthed' preacher delivered during
 CH. 9. these eventful weeks concludes with an earnest exhorta-
 387. tion to abstain from profane swearing.

Visit of the
 Prefect to
 the Church.
 Circa
 20 March. One day, probably in the third week of Lent, the
 Praetorian Prefect of the East¹ himself came in state
 to the church. He recognised that there was in the
 great preacher's discourses the best medicine for the
 nervous, panic-stricken, dispirited condition of the
 public mind; and in order to prevent the city from
 being depopulated through sheer terror he came to
 give the sanction of the civil magistrate's presence
 to the soothing and hopeful words of the ecclesiastic.
 'I praise,' said Chrysostom², 'the forethought of
 the Prefect, who, seeing the city in bewilderment,
 and all talking about flight, has come in hither to
 comfort you and turn you to good hope again; but
 I do not praise you, that after all my sermons you
 should still need these assurances to deliver you from
 cowardice. You are a prey to panic terrors. Some
 one enters and tells you that the soldiers are going
 to break in upon you. Instead of falling into a
 paroxysm of fear, calmly tell the messenger of evil
 tidings to depart, and do you seek the Lord in prayer.'
 Towards the close of the same sermon, in dwelling
 on the contrast between the earthly and the heavenly
 riches, the preacher says, 'If you have money, many
 may rob you of the pleasure which it affords you;
 the thief digging through your house-wall, the slave
 embezzling what was entrusted to him, the Emperor
 confiscating, the informer delating.' It had come to

¹ 'Ο ἀρχαῖος: possibly the Comes Orientis, but more likely the Praefectus Praetorio.

² Homily 16, p. 160.

this, therefore, that in the ordinary social life of the capital of Asia, the Emperor's terrible demands for money could be classed, by a loyal and orthodox preacher, with the crimes of the house-breaker and the defaulting slave as a chief source of anxiety to the wealthy householder.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

So the days wore on. In the city, men were living in an agony of fear, so great that, as the preacher said, if but a leaf moved it set them trembling for days. In the mountains, the refugees were suffering all manner of hardships; not grown men only, but little children and tender and delicate women, spent their days and nights in caves and hollow ravines, and some fell a prey to the wild beasts of the desert¹.

At length, about twenty-five days after the tumult, the Emperor's commissioners arrived. Their names were Caesarius and Hellebichus. Caesarius probably already held the high position of Master of the Offices². Hellebichus (or Ellebichus), whose name surely indicates a barbarian, perhaps a Gothic, origin, had been for at least three years Master of the Horse and Foot quartered in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. He had previously held either that or a similar command at Antioch, and had endeared himself to the inhabitants by his humane and temperate demeanour. It was accepted as a good omen by all the trembling hearts in Antioch that he should have been chosen as a member of the dreaded tribunal³. Of Caesarius less was known,

Arrival of
the Empe-
ror's Com-
missioners.
Circa
29 March.

¹ St. Chrysostom, Homily 21, pp. 221, 222.

² Which he certainly possessed in 389.

³ A letter of Gregory Nazianzen to Hellebichus is preserved. The saint regrets that his weak health prevents him from visiting the soldier 'and renewing our ancient friendship and intercourse.' He asks him to give a discharge from the army to the young Mamas

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.
Punish-
ment to be
inflicted on
the city.

but he appears to have been a man who was capable of a generous and self-sacrificing sympathy with misfortune.

The decree which these men brought with them was a stern one, and nothing can show the misery of despair which had fallen upon the inhabitants of the joyous city more vividly than the fact that even such a decree should have been almost welcomed as a relief from the intolerable agony of suspense. The Theatre and the Hippodrome, which had been temporarily closed since the fatal outbreak, were not to be reopened; the baths were to be also closed; the grain-largesses which Antioch had hitherto shared with Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople were to cease; and, bitterest drop in the cup to the vanity of the Antiochenes, their city was to lose her high place among the 'great cities' of the Empire, and to take rank henceforth as a dependent of Laodicea, her petty rival on the sea-coast some sixty-five miles to the south. Even so might Paris, after the war of the Commune in 1871, have been made permanently subject to Versailles.

Further
judicial
proceedings
to be taken.

Still, as has been said, even these rigorous decrees were received with a sigh of relief by the citizens of Antioch. It was something that life was left to them, that their city was not to be levelled to the dust for its outrage on the Emperor. But would even life, much less property, be left to them? That was the question which began to torment the wealthier citizens, the Senators of Antioch, when Caesarius and Hellebichus took their seats in the Hall of Judgment and opened their Commission, for the trial, not now of the street-boys and vagabonds of the Forum who had actually

whose father was a soldier, but who is himself consecrated to the service of God as a 'lector' (Ep. 225).

thrown the stones and dragged the dismembered statues about the streets, but of those important and respectable persons who were theoretically the rulers of the city, and who, either from cowardice or disaffection, had let the tumult rage and roar past them without lifting a hand to save the Majesty of the Emperor from outrage. These were the men whom Theodosius had determined at least to terrify, possibly to destroy, as an atonement to the insulted memory of his wife and father.

BOOK 1.
CH. 9.
387.

The Commissioners seem to have arrived at Antioch on Monday the 29th of March. On the 30th they held a preliminary enquiry at the lodgings of Hellebichus, an enquiry which, like all their subsequent proceedings, dealt chiefly with the Senate and with those who held or had held municipal offices in the city. On Wednesday the 31st they took their seats in due form in the Praetorium, surrounded by their lictors, with a strong guard of soldiers outside, and opened 'the dread tribunal which shook all the hearts of the citizens with terror, and made the day seem black as night through the sadness and fear which dimmed the eyes of all men¹.' In accordance with an old custom at Antioch, criminal trials had to take place at night in order to strike more awe into the hearts of the accused. The Commissioners so far complied with this custom as to begin their proceedings before dawn, but soon the sun rose upon their gloomy work, revealing the cowering multitude without, the stern executioners at their cruel work within. The main object of the Commissioners was to extort confessions of complicity with the insurgents (whether in order to magnify the future clemency of the Emperor or to furnish a pretext for fines and con-

Proceed-
ings at the
trial.

¹ Chrysostom, Homily 13, p. 133.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

fiscations it is not now easy to determine); and in order to obtain these confessions, torture was freely applied to the leading citizens of Antioch. Chrysostom, who spent that memorable day in the precincts of the Praetorium, draws a vivid picture of the scene. The miserable remnant of the joyous multitude of the city was gathered round the doors in silence, with not even the ordinary platitudes of conversation passing between the by-standers, for each man feared an informer in his neighbour. Only each looked up to Heaven and silently prayed God to soften the hearts of the judges.

Still more gloomy was the sight in the Audience Chamber of the Praetorium; stern soldiers, armed with swords and clubs, tramping up and down amid a crowd of women, the wives, mothers, and daughters of the accused, who were waiting in agonised suspense to learn the fate of their relatives. There were two especially, the mother and sister of a Senator of high rank, who lay on the very threshold of the innermost hall, spreading out their hands in vain entreaty towards the unseen powers within. There they lay, these women, used to the delicate ministrations of waiting-maids and eunuchs, and accustomed to the semi-Oriental seclusion of a Syrian *thalamus*. No servant, or friend, or neighbour was there to soothe the anguish of their souls, as they lay grovelling upon the ground, unveiled, before the eyes, and almost under the feet, of a brutal soldiery.

And from within, from the dread hall itself, into which not even the preacher might enter, came terrible sounds, the harsh voices of the stolid executioners, the swish of stripes, the wailings of the tortured, the

tremendous threats of the judges. But the agony outside, thought the orator, was even more terrible than the agony within. For as it was well known that the indictments would be framed on the information thus extracted by torture, when the ladies in the hall of waiting heard the moans of some relative who was being scourged to make him declare his accomplices, they looked up to Heaven and prayed God to give him fortitude that he might not in his anguish utter words which would bring another beloved one into trouble. 'Thus were there torments within, torments without; the torturers within were the executioners; without, the feelings of nature and the wringing of the heart with pity and fear.'

All the long day through the judges proceeded with their dreadful work, apparently unmoved by the prayers and tears of those by whom they were surrounded. Yet this apathy was in truth but a mask to conceal their real feelings. Towards sunset the orator Libanius ventured to approach the suppliant-crowded door. Fearing to intrude, he was about to move away again, when Caesarius, with whom he had some previous acquaintance, pushed through the throng to meet him, and, taking him in a friendly manner by the wrist, assured him that none of those who were then imprisoned should suffer death. All other possible punishments seemed light after this assurance, and Libanius wept for joy on receiving it. He descended into the streets and imparted the comforting tidings to the crowd.

But if the extreme penalty of the law was not to be inflicted there was every sign of a determination to treat with sternness the crimes, voluntary or in-

Harsh
treatment
of the
Senators.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

voluntary, of the Senators of Antioch. They were all loaded with chains and led through the Forum to the gaol; men (as Chrysostom reflected, on beholding the dismal procession) who had been accustomed to drive their own chariots, who were the givers of games and the furnishers of countless brilliant 'liturgies' to the people. But these men's properties were for the time confiscated, and you might see the government sign affixed to all their doors. Their wives, turned out of their ancestral homes, wandered from house to house, begging a night's lodging in vain, for all men feared to receive a relation of the accused or to minister to any of their needs. Such was the abject terror with which the inhabitants of a great Imperial city regarded the wrath of the Emperor.

Irruption
of hermits
into the
city.

While the citizens were thus displaying the meanness and selfishness of fear, a strange swarm of visitors appeared in their streets, as if to show by contrast what courage and what generous sympathy for the woes of others could be found in the hearts of men who had voluntarily renounced all that makes life delightful. These were the hermits who lived in the caves and fastnesses of the rocks in the mountain range which overhung the city. No one had invited them, but when they heard, probably from the refugees, of the cloud of doom which was hanging over Antioch, they left their tents and their caves and flocked into the city from all quarters. At another time their vile raiment and uncouth demeanour would probably have moved the laughter of the citizens, but now they were welcomed as guardian angels floating down from heaven. Fearless of the great ones of the earth, they went straight to the Commissioners and pleaded confidently for the

accused. They were all ready they said to shed their blood that they might deliver the prisoners from the woes that impended over them ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

One of the wildest and most awe-inspiring of these strange figures was 'the holy Macedonius, a man totally ignorant of all learning, sacred or profane, who passed his nights and his days on the top of a mountain, engaged in all but unintermitting prayer to the Saviour of mankind.' Meeting Hellebichus riding in martial pomp through the city, accompanied by Caesarius, he laid his hand upon the officer's military cloak, and desired him and his companions to dismount. At first they resented this language, coming from a stunted old man of mean appearance and clad in rags. But when the by-standers informed them of the virtue and holiness of the strange figure that stood before them, the Master of the Soldiery and the Master of the Offices dismounted from their horses, and clasping his sun-browned knees implored his pardon. Filled as with a prophet's inspiration the squalid mountaineer thus addressed them, 'Go, my friends, to the Emperor, and say to him, "You are not only an Emperor but a man, and you have to think of human nature as well as of the Imperial dignity. Man was made in the image of God: do not then order that image to be destroyed and so offend the great Artificer. You are making all this stir about bronze statues which it is easy to replace, but if you kill men for the sake of these statues not one hair of their heads can be remade ²."'

¹ St. Chrysostom, Homily 17, p. 172.

² The speech of Macedonius is given by St. Chrysostom (Homily 17), but we get his name and the description of his character from Theodoret (Ecclesiastical Hist. v. 20).

BOOK I.
CH. 9.

387.

Such were the pleadings of Macedonius. Others of the hermits entreated that they might be sent as ambassadors to the Emperor. 'The man,' said they, 'who bears rule over the world, is a religious man, faithful and pious, and we shall surely reconcile him to his people. We will not permit you to stain the sword nor to take a single life. If you slay any of these men we are resolved that we will die with them. Great crimes have been committed, but not greater than the mercy of the Emperor can pardon.'

The Commissioners
reassure
the people.

The offer of the hermits to act as intercessors was gently but firmly declined by the Commissioners. Moved, however, by their rugged earnestness, and by the pitiful lamentations of the female relatives of the prisoners, the Commissioners repeated in a more public and emphatic manner the assurance already given to Libanius, that no capital sentence should be inflicted at any rate till the pleasure of the Emperor had been taken on the matter. On Thursday, the 1st of April, Caesarius departed, amid the prayers and blessings of the weeping inhabitants, to obtain, if it might be, some mitigation of the decree pronounced against the city, and to consult as to the nature of the punishment to be inflicted on the accused Senators.

Journey of
Caesarius.

The road from Antioch to Constantinople was 790 Roman miles long; it crossed two steep mountain ranges and traversed arduous highlands. First of all Mount Amanus had to be over-passed and the deep Gulf of Scanderoon to be rounded; several Cilician rivers must be crossed and Cilician Tarsus visited. A long and steep pull carried the traveller over the rugged range of Taurus, and he then journeyed for many a stage down the widening valley of the Halys,

passing on his way the little town of Nazianzus, where St. Gregory was born, and the road-side station of Sasima, the scene of his undesired episcopate. A long journey across the Galatian highlands led him from the valley of the Halys, past the city of Ancyra (now Angora), into the valley of the Sangarius, from whence he crossed over to Nicaea of the famous Council, to Diocletian's Nicomedia, and so coasted along between the Bithynian Mountains and the Sea of Marmora till he entered the gates of Chalcedon, and saw the towers of Constantinople rising proudly in the west, the welcome goal of his journeyings. It was a distance of nearly 800 miles, as has been said, to traverse which, through regions wasted by Ottoman domination, would now occupy 230 hours or nearly ten days of absolutely continuous travel; but such was the zeal of Caesarius, inflamed by pity and the remembrance of the sad hearts which he had left behind him at Antioch, and such the goodness of the Roman roads fifteen centuries ago, that he accomplished the journey in six days, travelling therefore at the rate of 130 miles a day.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

When Caesarius arrived in Constantinople to hand in his report and to plead for mercy to Antioch, he found that the ground had been well prepared for him by Bishop Flavian. There can be little doubt that the aged prelate (who must by this time have been at least a fortnight in Constantinople), had several interviews with the Emperor, though St. Chrysostom, for dramatic effect, describes them as one¹. When Flavian entered the Palace he stood afar off from the Imperial presence, silent, weeping, crouching low and shrinking from ob-

Arrival of
Caesarius
at Constantinople.
7 April.

Interviews
of Flavian
with the
Emperor.

¹ In the 21st Homily. This point is well brought out by Hug (p. 23).

BOOK I.

CH. 9.

387.

servation, as if it were he himself that had committed the fatal outrages. By this well-calculated humility he turned the Emperor's wrath into pity. Theodosius drew near and addressed him rather in sorrow than in anger, enumerating all the benefits which from the beginning of his reign he had bestowed on ungrateful Antioch. He had ever longed to visit her, yea, had sworn to do so ; but even if he himself had deserved ever so ill of the citizens, surely they might have confined their anger to the living. Why wreak their vengeance on the innocent dead, on the brave old general and the gentle Empress who had passed away from earth ?

At this the Bishop groaned and shed more tears, and with a heavy sigh (for he saw that the Emperor's gentle expostulation was making Antioch's case seem all the worse) he began, confessing the Imperial benefits, lamenting the vile ingratitude of the inhabitants, and admitting that if the city were swept from the face of the earth, it would not be punished more severely than it deserved. Then he proceeded to open a line of defence, which both the heathen and the Christian apologists for Antioch united in maintaining. The insurrection—said both Libanius and Chrysostom—was not the work of the Antiochenes themselves in their sober senses, but was due to demons, jealous of the prosperity of the city, who had assumed the guise of men, and mingling with the crowd on that fatal morning had goaded them to madness. Libanius in his oration (of which a copy had perhaps been transmitted to the Emperor by Caesarius), gravely tells the story of a certain old man, displaying more than an old man's strength, who rode up and down among the rioters,

The outrages said to be the work of demons.

urging them on to the work of demolition, and who, when the cry was raised 'Well done, old man ¹!' changed himself, under the eyes of many beholders, into a youth, then into a boy, and then vanished into thin air. This singular story may not have been related by the weeping Bishop to the Emperor, but he certainly did allude to the demons' jealousy of the glory of Antioch and of her sovereign's love for her, and besought him to foil that envious scheme, and by the exercise of his Imperial clemency to re-erect for himself a statue more glorious than any that had been overthrown, a statue not of gold, nor brass, nor precious mosaic-work, but his own likeness in the hearts of his subjects. 'It is said,' continued Flavian, 'that the blessed Constantine, when his effigy had been stoned by the mob, and when his friends, urging him to avenge the insult, told him that all the face of the statue was marred by the impact of the stones, calmly stroked his own face with his hand, and said with a laugh, "I can find no wound in my forehead. My head and my face appear to be quite uninjured." A noble saying this, one not forgotten by after generations, and tending more to the renown of Constantine than even the cities which he founded, and the victories which he gained over the barbarians.'

'Think that you have now not merely the fate of one city in your hands, but that the whole credit of Christianity is at stake. All nations are watching you, Jews and Gentiles alike, and if you show humanity in this case, they will all cry "*Papae!*" what a wonderful thing is the power of this Christianity; that a man who has no equal upon earth, absolute lord of all men, to

¹ Oration xii. p. 396, ed. Morel.

BOOK I. save or to destroy, should have so restrained himself
 CH. 9. and exhibited a degree of philosophy which would have
 387. been rare even in a private person."

'Think, too, what a thing it will be for posterity to hear, that when so great a city was lying prostrate under fear of the coming vengeance; when generals, prefects and judges were all struck dumb with horror, one old man, wearing the robes of a priest of God, by his mere appearance and conversation, moved the Emperor to an indulgence which none of his other subjects could obtain from him¹.'

Antioch
 pardoned.

When Flavian had finished his earnest supplication, Theodosius, we are told, like Joseph, sought a place where to weep apart. It was to a mind softened by interviews such as this, that Caesarius, the Master of the Offices, brought the tidings of the abject self-humiliation of the city, of his own harsh measures towards the Senators, and the recommendation to mercy jointly put forward by himself and his colleague. Theodosius, who had probably been only waiting for this advice to be given by his Commissioners, seems to have gladly accepted it, and at once 'pronounced the sweet word "pardon," which became him better than any diadem².' The previous decree was to be rescinded, Antioch was to resume all her forfeited privileges, the imprisoned Senators were to be set free and their confiscated property restored to them.

¹ I do not transcribe, because I do not believe in Flavian's alleged threat that if Theodosius would not pardon Antioch, he would never return thither. This strange menace seems to me more in keeping with the somewhat feminine character of Chrysostom than with the rugged simplicity of Flavian

² It is needless to quote the well-known parallel passage from Shakespeare.

The grateful Flavian offered to remain at Constantinople a few days longer, in order to share the Easter-feast of gladness with the reconciled Emperor. But Theodosius, whose whole mind seemed now set on pardon, begged him to return at once and show himself to his flock. 'I know,' said he, 'their downcast souls. Do you go and comfort them. When they see their pilot once more in his wonted place at the helm, the bitter memory of the storm will pass away.' The Bishop importuned him to let the young Arcadius return with him as a visible pledge that the Imperial anger was abated. 'Not now,' said Theodosius. 'Pray ye that these obstacles may be removed, that these impending wars [alluding, no doubt, to the inevitable war with Maximus] may be extinguished, and I will come myself without delay.' Even after the Bishop had departed, and had crossed the Bosphorus to Chalcedon, the Emperor sent messengers beseeching him to lose no time on the road, lest he should diminish the pleasure of the citizens by celebrating Easter anywhere else than within their walls. Generously foregoing, as also did Caesarius, the delight of being the first to communicate the glad-tidings, Flavian detached a horseman from his train, and bade him ride on fast and take the joyful letters of pardon to the city.

The three weeks which had elapsed since the departure of Caesarius had, naturally, been a time of suspense and discouragement for the citizens of Antioch. The absolute closing of all places of amusement weighed on the spirits of the people, the closed doors of the great baths subjected them to bodily privations which seemed almost intolerable. The city-mob streamed down to the banks of the arrowy Orontes, and

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

State of
Antioch
during the
last three
weeks of
suspense.
1-22 (?)
April.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

there, with a disregard for decency, for which St. Chrysostom severely rebuked them¹, bathed amid ribald songs and demoralising laughter, and with no proper provision for the separation of the sexes.

The Senators in prison.

Meanwhile the Fathers of the city were still languishing in the prison, the discomforts of which had been often, in previous years, pointed out to them by Libanius. He had in vain told them that the prisoners had hardly room to stretch themselves for slumber, that they had but the scantiest provision of food except what their friends supplied to them, and only a single lamp, for which they had to pay a high price to the gaoler². Into this miserable dungeon the untried as well as the convicted prisoners were crowded together, and thousands of both classes had died in recent years of the diseases thus engendered. The Senators, who had turned a deaf ear to all Libanius' pleas for Prison Reform, had now an opportunity of learning by bitter experience how greatly it was needed. The courtyard in which they were imprisoned had no roof to cover it from the scorching rays of the noonday sun, nor to protect it from the April showers and the dews of night. Here, crowded so closely together that they trod one on another, with sleep made almost impossible, with food only to be snatched at irregular intervals, as the friends of each might succeed in shouldering their way through the crowd to bring it to them, languished the Senators of Antioch. So miserable was their duration, that it seemed doubtful whether they would be alive to hear the news of pardon when it came. But the gentle-hearted Hellebichus, though powerless to

¹ Homily 18, p. 187.

² See Sievers, Libanius, p. 171.

change the decree for their imprisonment, connived at its alleviation. He caused the wall which divided the Senate House from the Prison to be pierced through, and thus the unhappy captives found room and shelter in the halls which had often resounded with their deliberations.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

But all these hardships, and all the long suspense of the city on the Orontes were ended, when on one of the days of Holy Week the horseman sent forward by Flavian rode through the Northern Gate shouting that one word 'Pardon.' When the Imperial letter to Hellebichus was read, and when the citizens learned how full was the measure of the Imperial forgiveness, that the baths, the theatres, and the hippodrome were to be re-opened, the corn-largesses restored, Antioch again to take her own high place as a first city of the East, they crowned the pillars of the forum with garlands, they lighted lamps in all the streets, spread couches before the workshops, and laid out the banqueting tables in front of them. Thus the city wore all the appearance of one of the joyous old *lectisternia* of republican Rome, except that, doubtless, the recumbent statues of the gods Jupiter, Juno, and Ceres were absent from the streets of Christian Antioch—more Christian now than ever, since the mitigation of a great calamity had been obtained by the prayers of a Christian Bishop addressed to a Christian Emperor. In the great Basilica which had been the refuge of the citizens in their dire distress, there was now celebrated such a glad Easter feast as Antioch had never seen before. Flavian was there, unharmed by his sixteen hundred miles of journeying, and having had the joy of finding his sister still alive, and able to exchange a last

Arrival of
the news of
pardon.
Circa
22 April.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

farewell. Chrysostom, of course, ascended the pulpit, and told all the story of the interview between the Bishop and the Emperor. The agony of the city was over, and the great series of 'the Homilies on the Statues' was ended ¹.

It remains only to be said that the visit of Theodosius to the forgiven city was apparently never paid. The war with Maximus, the necessity of setting in order the affairs of Italy, the second civil war which will shortly have to be described, prevented the fulfilment of the design, if it had ever been seriously entertained by Theodosius. Only eight years after the affair of the statues, Antioch was to see from her walls the hosts of the savage Huns spreading ruin and desolation over the pleasant plains of Syria ².

Character
of Theo-
dosius as
illustrated
by these
events.

Such was the history of the crime and the forgiveness of Antioch. It is usually told as an instance of the generous magnanimity of Theodosius. It may be admitted that no blood appears to have been shed by his orders, and that the first outbreak of fierce resentment, which was almost justified by the insults heaped on his dead wife and his dead father, was amply repented of when he had leisure calmly to reflect on the excess of the punishment over the crime, and to listen to the wise pleadings of Flavian and Caesarius.

Let Theodosius, therefore, in the judgment of posterity, have the full credit which he deserves for his

¹ Except one (the 19th), which was delivered on the Sunday before Ascension Day.

²

'Syriae tractus vastantur amoeni
Assuetumque choris, et laetâ plebe canorum
Proterit imbellem sonipes hostilis Orontem.'

Claudian, In Rufinum ii. 33-35.

arrested wrath, for his unexecuted purposes of vengeance, although the historian cannot but perceive the difficulty of rightly estimating character, if uncommitted crimes are to be allowed to build up a saintly reputation. But the feeling which will probably be uppermost in the minds of those who study the history of the sedition of Antioch will be compassion for the hard fate of the Senators of that city. Burdened with responsibility, bereft of power, ground between the upper and nether mill-stones of the Emperor and the mob, these unhappy remnants of a once powerful middle class suffered that fate which will probably always be their portion under a system of Imperial Socialism. There was still in them something left to grind, but when they had been ground out of existence the Empire ceased to be.

BOOK I.
CH. 9.
387.

Hard lot of
the Sena-
tors of An-
tioch.

One other phenomenon of Imperial Rome, the story of the broken statues brings vividly before us, the unapproachable, the almost superhuman majesty of the man who happened to be robed in the purple of Empire. As St. Chrysostom said¹, 'He whom the city of Antioch hath insulted hath not his fellow upon the earth, for he is Emperor, the head and crown of all things in the world. Therefore let us fly to the Heavenly King, and call on Him for aid: for if we cannot taste the compassion of the Lord on high, there is nothing in all the world that can help us when we think of that which we have done.'

Awful
majesty of
the Em-
peror.

¹ Homily 2, p. 23.

CHAPTER X.

THEODOSIUS IN ITALY AND THE MASSACRE OF THESSALONICA.

Authorities.

Sources:—

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

The materials for this chapter are chiefly derived from the letters of ST. AMBROSE, and the Church historians, especially SOZOMEN and THEODORET. It is singular that Zosimus, the bitter enemy of Theodosius, makes no allusion to the greatest blot on his character, his share in the massacre of Thessalonica.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS is our chief, almost our sole authority for the social condition of Rome towards the end of the fourth century.

Theodosius
and Am-
brose.

THE chief interest for us of Theodosius' residence at Milan consists in the relation into which he was thus brought with the Bishop of that city, the eloquent and domineering Ambrose. These two men, the Emperor and the Bishop, were unquestionably the foremost figures of their age. They met now probably for the first time: they were destined to spend about three years in near neighbourhood with one another. A shrewd observer of character might perhaps have prognosticated that, earnest upholders as both were of Nicene orthodoxy, there would hardly be unbroken peace between two such lordly natures constrained to dwell in such close proximity.

Religious
troubles
at Callini-
cum

In fact a cause of difference presented itself almost at the beginning of the Emperor's residence in Italy.

The court of the East had sent a report to Theodosius as to certain disturbances which had taken place at Callinicum, a city on the Euphrates. The Christians had burned to the ground a richly-adorned synagogue of the Jews; and some orthodox monks who were celebrating (on the 1st of August) the festival of the Maccabean martyrs under Antiochus, had become engaged in a quarrel with the Gnostic heretics who bore the name of Valentinians, and had destroyed their 'temple' also by fire. On the receipt of this information Theodosius despatched a rescript to the effect that the Bishop of Callinicum should rebuild the Jewish synagogue at his own cost, and that punishment—we are not told of what kind—should be inflicted by the Eastern Count on the disorderly monks. The sentence appears, as far as we are able to judge of it, to have been a just one, and to have been dictated by a laudable spirit of impartiality. There was no doubt that a word from the Bishop would have checked the proceedings of the rioters; but, more than that, the nature of the defence set up for him by his most earnest advocate makes it probable that he had actually hounded them on to the work of destruction. The case was one which was entirely and absolutely within the province of the civil governor; no ecclesiastical right was involved in it; it was simply a question of the kind and degree of punishment which ought to be exacted from the disturbers of the public peace. The Bishop of Milan had no claim to express an opinion on the transaction, one way or the other, but, if he spoke at all, he, as a former Roman governor, who knew how by Law all things hang together in a well-ordered state, might have been expected to give a word of praise to the righteous

BOOK I.
CH. 10.
388.

Theodosius
orders the
orthodox
to make
restitution.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

388.

Ambrose
disap-
proves of
the edict.

Emperor, who even against men of his own creed, upheld the claim of all peaceable citizens to live under the equal protection of the laws.

Unfortunately for his fame, this was not the view of the matter taken by Ambrose. His was a bold and combative spirit; he had become inured to battle against the great ones of the earth in his disputes with Justina and with Maximus; and from the day of his consecration he had thrown himself into the defence of the Church's rights, real or imaginary, with an ardour such as in after ages burned in a Becket or a Hildebrand. Being absent at Aquileia when the news of the Imperial rescript first reached him, he wrote to Theodosius a letter almost as arrogant in its tone as those which he had formerly addressed to the trembling Valentinian. In this letter he hardly so much entreats as commands the Emperor to recall the fatal edict and to desist from all further proceedings against the destroyers of a mere synagogue, 'the haunt of infidels, the home of the impious, the hiding-place of madmen, which was under the damnation of God Himself.' With proud humility he claims his right to offer counsel to his sovereign. 'The Emperor must not deny liberty of speech, nor the priest refrain from saying what he thinks.' He declares that the Bishop of Callinicum will be a traitor to his office if he obeys the Imperial decree and rebuilds the synagogue, and he anticipates that he will prefer martyrdom to such a betrayal. 'Why do you pronounce sentence on the absent? I am here present before you¹ and confess my guilt. I proclaim that I would have burned the synagogue: I would have given charge to my flock

¹ This is, of course, only a figure of speech.

that there must not be a house left standing in which Christ was denied. If you asked me why I have not already burned the synagogue here, I answer that its destruction had been already begun by the judgment of God¹; and to tell the truth, I was the more tardy in doing such a deed because I did not know that you would punish it. Why should I perform an act for which there would, as I supposed, be no avenger and therefore no reward of martyrdom?’

BOOK 1.
CH. 10.
388.

This strangely defiant epistle seems to have been met by Theodosius with dignified silence; but shortly afterwards Ambrose, having come back to Milan, returned to the charge in a sermon which he preached before the Emperor. He reproduces this sermon and describes the occasion and consequences of its delivery in a long letter to his sister, whom, in accordance with the unctuous unnatural tone assumed by the saints of that age, he addresses as ‘your holiness.’ The sermon preached on this occasion in the Basilica of Milan, though not wanting in eloquence of a certain kind, consisted chiefly of a long and, according to our notions, a tedious commentary on the story of the woman in Simon’s house who bathed the Saviour’s feet with her tears. The exegesis is of that barrenly fanciful kind by which anything can be made out of anything; allegorical interpretation pushed to the verge of absurdity, and texts from the Canticles, from Exodus and Isaiah piled one upon another without any attempt to understand the thoughts which the original writers sought to convey through them. But at the end of this wearisome prelection the situation suddenly becomes dramatic. The preacher, with Theo-

He
preaches
against the
Emperor.

¹ Had the Jewish synagogue at Milan been struck by lightning?

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

388.

dosius full in front of him, draws a covert parallel between his life and that of King David, selecting the moment when the prophet Nathan stood before him to rebuke him for his crime against Uriah. 'Chosen when thou wert little in Israel and anointed to the kingship; that former king who was troubled by an evil spirit and who persecuted the priests of the Lord¹, cut off that thou mightest be exalted; with one of thy seed exalted to be partner of thy throne; the strangers made subject unto thee and they who warred upon thee made thy servants; wilt thou now hand over God's soldiers into the power of their enemies? wilt thou brand thyself with shame and give the adversaries occasion to triumph by taking away that which belongs to one of the servants of the Lord?' It had come then to this, that a Roman Emperor, struggling against his own inclinations to protect an unpopular class of his subjects from mob-violence and priestly intolerance, could be told, in a crowded church in one of the chief cities of his empire, that he was imitating the crimes of David in the darkest passage of his life, his adultery with Bathsheba, his unutterably mean as well as wicked murder of Uriah the Hittite.

The preacher then turned round and looked Theodosius full in the face. 'Therefore, oh Emperor, that I may now not speak only about thee but address my words unto thee, do thou also as the woman in Simon's house did unto Christ; cherish the Church, wash her feet, anoint them with precious ointment, that the whole house may be filled with the odour of it, that angels may exult in thy relaxation of the punishment

¹ Valens? or Julian?

of her members, that apostles may rejoice and prophets may be made glad.'

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

When Ambrose descended from the pulpit Theodosius met him and said, 'You have been preaching about Us.' Ambrose replied, 'I chose a subject which pertained to your welfare.' Theodosius: 'I was certainly too hard in my decision as to the Bishop's rebuilding of the synagogue; but that is now put straight. The monks commit many crimes¹.' Timasius, general-in-chief of the forces², echoed his master's words, and began to inveigh vehemently against the monks; but Ambrose brusquely interrupted him. 'I speak, as in duty bound, to the Emperor, who has the fear of God in his heart. I shall take some day a different course with thee, whose lips utter such hard things.' There then followed some undignified bargaining between the Emperor and the Bishop as to the issue of the edict of revocation. Ambrose twice said, 'I trust to your honour' [that it will be issued]. Theodosius at length replied, 'Trust to my honour;' and then Ambrose went to the altar and offered, as he says with an unusual feeling of the Divine acceptance, the Sacrifice which he would have persistently refused to offer for Theodosius had he not first received this pledge. Already the Christian hierarchy were beginning to feel and to use the tremendous power which the sacrificial theory of the Supper of the Lord placed in their hands. But Ambrose's easy victory was partly due to the peculiar temperament of Theodosius. That

388.
Theodosius
yields.

¹ Apparently, therefore, it was only the monkish destruction of the Valentinian chapel that was now in question: Theodosius having retreated from the position which he had taken up regarding the synagogue.

² *Magister equitum et peditum.*

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

388.

Emperor, so prone to sudden and violent paroxysms of rage, was easily moved to pity and forgiveness when wrath had had its way, and it was just in such a moment of recoil that the Bishop's sermon met him and drew from him the confession—unjust to himself as our age deems it—that 'he had been too hard in insisting on the rebuilding of the synagogue.'

The Altar
of Victory
again.

It was perhaps in the following year (389¹) that an embassy was sent by the Senate, in the forlorn hope of inducing Theodosius to consent to the restoration of the Altar of Victory. The chief orator was again Symmachus, who had fallen into disgrace on account of a panegyric which he had pronounced on the usurper Maximus, but having taken refuge at the altar of a Christian Church² had addressed an oration of praise and apology to the triumphant Emperor and had obtained forgiveness. Strangely enough the majesty of the Roman Senate seems to have made even the zealous Theodosius waver. There were some days during which the messengers had hopes of receiving an affirmative answer to their request; but the sternly averted face of Ambrose, who, during these days of doubt, refused to show himself in the presence-chamber of the Emperor, proved in the end mightier than the silver speech of Symmachus. Theodosius drove the heathen orator from his presence with the strange command that he should forthwith mount an uncovered chariot and put one hundred miles between himself and the Imperial Court³.

¹ Seeck (*de Vita Symmachi* lviii.) puts this embassy in the year of Symmachus' consulship (391).

² Belonging to the dissenting sect of the Novatians.

³ 'Quem statim a suis aspectibus pulsum in centesimo lapide *raedae*

In the summer of 389 occurred one of those rare events, the visit of a Roman Emperor to the City, which nominally gave him the right to rule over the fairest portion of the habitable globe. On the 13th of June Theodosius entered in solemn pomp the Eternal City. By his side sat his young colleague Valentinian, on his lap his little son Honorius, a child of five years old¹. The people received him with shouts of welcome, which he repaid with a liberal largesse². With that stately affability, which he knew so well how to display without imperilling his dignity, he exchanged good-humoured banter with the crowd, and after the procession was over, entered, with friendly condescension, the houses of many of the nobles³ and even some of the private citizens.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

389.

Visit of
Theodosius
to Rome.

It was probably a few days after his entry into the City that Theodosius visited the Senate House and

Panegyric
of Pacatus.

non stratae impositum eâ die manere praecepit (Prosper de Promiss. Dei iii. 38. 2 : quoted by Seeck).

¹ Dr. Guldenpenning (p. 174) suggests that the reason for Theodosius thus solemnly exhibiting Honorius to the Roman people was that, in the eventual partition of the Empire, he destined Italy and Africa for this his younger son, the East for Arcadius, the Gauls (Gratian's portion of the Empire) for Valentinian. The conjecture seems plausible, but it must be remembered that it is but a conjecture, supported by no hint from a contemporary authority.

² 'Et congiarium dedit populo Romano' (Fasti Idatiani). The congiarium (from congius, a measure holding about six pints) was originally a distribution of wine or oil, but was probably now generally commuted into a money payment.

3

'Cum se melioribus addens
Exemplis, civem gereret, terrore remoto
Alternos cum plebe jocos, dilectaque passus
Jurgia, patriciasque domos, privataque passim
Visere deposito dignatus limina fastu.'

Claudian, De vi. Cons. Honor. 58-62.

BOOK I. there heard the Gaulish orator, Latinus Pacatus Dre-
 CH. 10.
 389. panius, recite, with real or feigned timidity, that florid panegyric on the Emperor and bitter invective on the fallen usurper, to which we have been already indebted for several facts in the history of both. In his peroration Pacatus imagines himself on his return to his native Gaul the centre of an admiring and envying crowd, because it will be in his power to say 'I have seen Rome; I have seen Theodosius; I have seen the father of Honorius, the avenger of Gratian, the restorer of Valentinian.' 'Distant cities will flock to me and take down from my lips the story of the triumph. Poets will derive from me the argument of their epics; on the faith of my words history will recount the past.' This last prediction has been curiously verified. History has used the oration of Pacatus as one of the foundations of her edifice, but she has done so from sheer necessity, and not from any confidence that she can put in an inflated and passionate panegyric.

Social condition of Rome at this time.

We are fortunate in possessing a contemporary picture by a master-hand, which enables us in some degree to figure to ourselves the social life of the Roman nobles and citizens who welcomed the Imperial partners on their entrance into the City. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing possibly in this very year 389, twice¹ describes in some detail the manners of the Roman aristocracy and populace. True, his pen is dipped in gall, and almost all the characters that he portrays in these sketches are either odious or contemptible, but this is the well-known license of the satirist, and especially of that most bitter of satirists, a foreigner visiting a great city and finding himself—as we suspect was the

¹ xiv. 6 : xxviii. 4.

case with Ammianus—treated with somewhat less respect than he deems himself entitled to by his rank or his achievements.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.
389.

The Roman aristocracy, we are told, made a great parade of their hospitality. Even sending commissioners down to Ostia to meet the arriving vessels and press the strangers on board to visit the palaces of their lords¹; but the hospitality was tendered with a selfish motive and the interest in the stranger's welfare was short-lived. The great object of each Roman noble was to make his list of clients as long as possible, and for this purpose were uttered these words of eager welcome which at first made the visitor feel that Rome was the most delightful place in all the world, and that he had wasted his opportunities by not visiting it ten years before. But the stranger, once secured, ceased to be an object of interest; next day the gracious host had nearly forgotten all about him; whether he visited his patron daily or remained absent for years seemed to be a matter of perfect indifference.

Fitful hospitality of the nobles.

Through the streets walked these great nobles, ruffling it in brilliant tunics adorned with figures of animals, and over these a multitude of thin gauzy mantles to which they were for ever calling attention by waving their left hands backwards and forwards and by all sorts of affected gestures. Sometimes you met one of these aristocrats driving through the streets with his long train of slaves, looking like a little army scientifically marshalled by their wand-bearing stewards. On either side of the lofty chariot marched the spinners and weavers of the lordly wardrobe, then the sooty

Roman dandies.

¹ This curious custom is mentioned by Lydus (*De Magistratibus* i. 20).

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

389.

ministers of the kitchen, then the promiscuous crowd of slaves mingled with the rabble of poor neighbours, and last of all, with pale, repulsive countenances, the eunuchs, beginning with the old men and ending with the boys.

When such a nobleman met one of his equals in the street, like a butting bull he thrust forward his head to be kissed; when he met one of his parasites, he offered in a similar way his hand or his knee, with a gesture which seemed to say that the honour thus conferred was alone enough to make life happy. When he entered the baths (for instance, those glorious halls whose ruins we still admire, which bear the name of Caracalla): ‘Where are my people?’ shouted the self-important master in a voice that was meant to strike terror into all who heard it. Fifty busy servants thronged around him intent on their ministrations. When the bath was over he was dried with towels of the finest linen; bright robes sufficient to clothe a dozen men were respectfully submitted to his gaze; he made the great decision and then received from a slave the rings which he had taken off that they might not be injured by the water, and stuck them on his fingers till these looked like graduated measuring-sticks.

The banquet.

At length the stranger would receive the invitation to supper, so eagerly sighed for by the parasite who assiduously courted the favour of the *nomenclator*¹ in order to obtain it, so little relished by a man of independent spirit, who nevertheless could hardly refuse it without mortally offending his patron. He must gaze with upturned eyes at the lofty-pillared entrance, he

¹ The remembrancer of guests: an animated Debrett or Court Directory.

must admire the mosaic pictures on the walls, he must affect to consider the noble entertainer as raised almost above our mortal state. Then followed the repast, the long and wearisome repast, in which there was no conversation about books or thought or any worthy topic of discourse, for these Roman nobles were so ignorant that they scarcely knew the names of their own ancestors. The talk was chiefly about eating and drinking; and often the scales would be sent for and the weight of the viands tested. The turbots, the capons, the very dormice which figured in the *menu* of a Roman voluptuary would be weighed and the weights solemnly recorded by a band of obsequious clerks, who stood round with their tablets and their pencils. There would be so much writing and ciphering about these childish experiments that the banquet only required a pedagogue to make it resemble a school.

Books (as has been said) were held in little esteem by the Roman nobility: neither philosophy nor history being cultivated by them; but from this general neglect the satires of Juvenal and the lives of the Emperors by Marius Maximus were excepted, probably because both books ministered to the love of scandal engendered by their lazy lives. Art and literature.

Music, dancing and comedy were the only arts that were held in much esteem. The houses which had once been devoted to serious and noble studies were now filled with burlesque performers or echoed to the strains of voluptuous music. Where the philosopher had sat now stood the barytone singer; for the orator you met the comedian. The libraries, closed from year's end to year's end, seemed like gloomy graves, except when sometimes the manufacture of hydraulic organs, or lyres

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

as large as chariots, resounded through their gloomy recesses. Roman matrons, or damsels old enough to have been matrons had they married, with daintily curled locks, were to be seen in all the places of public resort, perpetually sweeping the pavement with their whirling garments while they imitated to utter weariness the last dance which they had seen performed on the stage of the theatre.

All sense of moral proportion seemed to have vanished from the minds of this class of people. If a slave was somewhat slow in bringing the hot water, the order would go forth that he should be beaten with three hundred stripes: but if he had deliberately killed a man, to any demand for his punishment the master would reply, 'Poor fellow! he must have been out of his mind. I will tell him if he does it again he shall certainly be punished.' If these aristocrats undertook a journey to their estates in the country, they seemed to themselves to be rivalling the Indian expedition of Alexander; if they sailed in hot weather on the Avernian lake, and if a mosquito found its way through the silken curtains of the gilded barge, or a sunbeam pierced through an unnoticed hole, they would begin to beat their breasts and bewail their hard fate that they had not been born in Cimmerian cold and darkness.

Gamblers.

The only men among the Roman nobility who were capable of forming strong friendships were the gamblers, and these, from the remembrance of common dangers undergone, perhaps of common campaigns against the young men of fortune who were their victims, seemed to be bound together by indissoluble bonds.

Supersti-
tion.

Superstition and infidelity went, as they so often go, hand in hand. You might meet with men who denied

that there was any Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and yet who would neither go out into the street nor sit down to dinner—hardly even wash their hands—till they had consulted an almanack to ascertain the precise position of the planet Mercury, or to see whether the moon had entered the constellation Cancer.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

Lastly, in his sketch of the lives and manners of the Roman aristocracy, Ammianus insists on the degrading eagerness of their legacy-hunting, a practice on which Horace, and Juvenal before him, had poured out the vials of their scorn, but which in a rich, corrupt, and idle community was sure to engross the energies of many of its members. Not only the unmarried and the childless were assailed by the assiduity of the legacy-hunter. Sometimes even the father of a family would be induced by a fawning parasite, who had accommodated himself to his weaknesses, to make liberal provision for him in his will ; and in these cases the making of the will was often followed by a death of surprising suddenness. Husbands and wives, too, displayed the same ignoble eagerness for wealth to which death gave the key. The wife wearied the husband to make her his sole legatee. Then the husband persisted that his wife should return the compliment. Soothsayers would be privately consulted as to the time when the desired event would happen which would prevent all chance of the will being revoked : and sometimes, if soothsayers were not sufficient, some other help might be used to hasten the day, in which case the sorrowing survivor honoured the departed wife or husband with a funeral of surpassing splendour. In short, the judgment of Ammianus concerning most of the Roman nobles whom he had met, might be summed up in the words of

Legacy-hunting.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

Cicero, 'In human affairs, their only test of goodness is profit: and men love their friends as a sheep-master loves his sheep, calculating all the while which will bring him in the heaviest gains.'

The
Roman
common-
alty.

This gloomy and of course over-charged picture of the Roman aristocracy is followed by a few contemptuous words as to their humbler fellow-citizens, the men who had not got a pair of whole shoes to wear, but who had to give themselves grand and fine-sounding names. These were they whose days were passed in gambling and drinking, and worse debauchery, and their nights on the floor of the wine-shop or under the curtains of the theatre. How they threw the dice with a kind of pugnacious eagerness and snorted defiance when the luck seemed going against them: how they crowded into the Circus Maximus, spending the livelong day, in blazing heat or pouring rain, scrutinising the points of the horses and the equipments of the charioteers: how on the day of a great race, long before dawn, they would throng the approaches to the hippodrome, swearing by the gods of the stable¹ that it would be all over with the State if the horse which they fancied did not first reach the goal: how they hissed the dramatic performers who had not bought their favour with coppers: the foul words which they used, and the senseless slang² which was for ever on their lips: all these incidents of

¹ 'Per Janos et Eponam clamitant': an interesting passage, because on the line of the Roman Wall in England, as well as on the German Pfahlgraben, we have altars and images in honour of Epona, the goddess of stables.

² A favourite piece of slang, which Ammianus says no one could explain, was shouted apparently to a favoured performer, 'per te ille discat.' 'Ille' was, I suppose, the unpopular competitor.

plebeian life at Rome are sketched, with angry contempt, by the proud Syrian nobleman who came to the City on the Tiber, half-hoping that he might still find in her some trace of the Rome of the Catos and the Fabricii, but who found her dead to the memory of all her past nobleness, sunk in frivolous and degrading vices.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

We must not forget, however, that there was another side to the life of the Roman aristocracy, of which Ammianus remained in perhaps voluntary ignorance. While the nobles whom he visited were compassing sea and land to obtain some fresh gratification for their sensual appetites, there were Roman matrons, heirs of some of the greatest names of the Republic, who, in their palaces on the lonely Aventine, were living a life wholly apart from that of the wicked and frivolous City, a life in which 'high thinking' and the plainest of 'plain living' went hand in hand. The visit of Athanasius to Rome half a century before the date which we have now reached, and the earnest pleadings of the Egyptian monks, his companions, on behalf of a monastic life, had borne fruit in these austere noble souls. There, on the Aventine was Marcella, the descendant of the great Marcellus, Fabiola the child of the Fabii, Furia who traced up her lineage to the great Camillus. With these had once been joined Paula, descended on her mother's side from Paulus Aemilius, on her father's from Agamemnon, king of men: but Paula and her favourite daughter were now inhabitants of a narrow cell by the cradle of Christ at Bethlehem, and the great teacher of the Church, St. Jerome, who had preached the monastic life with such success in the palaces of Rome, was the sharer of their exile and their seclusion. All these devout and honourable women

The
Christian
aristocracy.

340.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

lived a life of the strictest self-denial, devoting themselves to study and the service of the poor, spending their days in the reading of the Scriptures in Greek and Hebrew, and making the nights melodious with their pious psalmody.

Chariot-
races.

But it is not with monastic Aventine that we must now concern ourselves. We turn from those high and pure, if somewhat narrow, souls, to the coarse and brutal mob who are filling the Circus Maximus below with their senseless clamour. Already the Chariot-race was becoming the central event in the lives of a multitude of Roman citizens. Already we may conjecture the two colours blue and green, which denoted the most popular training-stables, had attracted to themselves that wild fervour of party feeling which 140 years later was to lay Constantinople in ashes. 'The green charioteer flashes by, a great part of the inhabitants are in despair. The blue gets a lead: yet more are in misery. They cheer frantically when they have gained nothing: they are cut to the heart when they have sustained no loss: they plunge with as much eagerness into these empty contests as if the welfare of the whole country were at stake¹.' So keen was the competition and of such immense importance to a popular chariot-driver did his success appear, that the magicians and the poisoners were freely resorted to, that by their unhallowed arts a dangerous rival might be rendered incapable of victory. This was a matter of such common occurrence that magic or poison was as naturally associated

Bewitched
charioteers.

¹ Cassiodorus, *Variae* iii. 51. This letter was written in the early part of the sixth century, but the allusions of Ammianus show that the state of public feeling a hundred and fifty years earlier is correctly described by it.

with the name of a favourite *auriga* as foul play of other kinds in our days with the under-strappers of a racing-stable. Before Theodosius left Rome he issued a law¹ denouncing capital punishment on any charioteer who should take private vengeance on even an avowed magician from whose arts he had suffered. 'If he has bewitched you,' says the Imperial legislator, 'he is the enemy of the general safety, and should be brought forth in public, and examined under the eyes of the judges. By dealing the deadly blow to him in secret, you incur a twofold suspicion; first, that you yourself have had recourse to his services for a similar purpose, and, secondly, that you are punishing a private enemy under pretence of zeal for the public good².'

After leaving Rome Theodosius visited several cities in Northern Italy, and returned to Milan before the end of November. He spent the whole of the year 390, and the first half of 391, in that city in the near neighbourhood of the great Bishop, whose presence awed and yet fascinated him. Here, probably in the month of April, 390, he heard the tidings of an event which in its consequences brought the names of Theodosius and Ambrose into ever memorable relation with each other. This event (closely connected with that very passion for the chariot-race which we have just been considering) was the sedition of Thessalonica.

The cause of this sedition is so connected with the unnatural vices of the Graeco-Roman population of that period that it can be but vaguely hinted at by a modern historian. It is sufficient to say that Botheric, master of

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

Theodosius
returns to
Milan.
389.

Outbreak
at Thes-
salonica.

¹ Cod. Theod. ix. 16, 11. The date of the law is 16 Aug. 389.

² I owe the reference to this law (very fully explained and illustrated by Gothofred in loc.) to Dr. Güldenpenning, p. 179.

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

390.

Punished
by an
indis-
criminate
massacre.

the soldiery in Illyricum, and evidently a man of Teutonic extraction, had with righteous indignation committed to prison a certain charioteer who was guilty of an abominable crime¹. In the second act of the drama we find the populace mad with the frenzy of the arena, perhaps also smarting under the feeling of their inferiority to the barbarians quartered upon them, fiercely shouting for the liberation of their favourite. When cries and menaces did not avail to shake the Goth's stern purpose of punishment, they rose in armed rebellion, slew Botheric and some of the other Imperial officers, and dragged their bodies in triumph through the city. The rage of Theodosius, when he heard of this insult to his authority, was indescribable, and hurried him into a revenge the stupidity of which was equal to its wickedness. Without any attempt at a judicial enquiry to ascertain who were the authors of the rebellion, he sent his soldiers (many of them probably the countrymen of the murdered Botheric) to the city, with orders to bring back a certain number of heads². One historian³ places the number at 7000; another⁴, probably exaggerating, fixes it at 15,000. But whatever may have been the number ordered, the peculiar atrocity of the mandate, its perfect indifference to the guilt or innocence of the victims, is admitted by

¹ There had been also for some time a smouldering quarrel between the citizens and the soldiery (who were probably Gothic *foederati*) about billeting. This is mentioned by Cedrenus and Theophanes. The affair of the imprisoned charioteer perhaps brought the quarrel to a crisis.

² According to one account (that given by Rufinus, ii. 18) the citizens were, with grim irony, invited to assemble in the Circus to witness the games, and there the soldiers were let loose upon them.

³ Theodoret, v. 17.

⁴ Theophanes, p. 62. (Paris ed. 1655.)

all. There is something Oriental rather than Roman in this absolute contempt for even the semblance of justice, and it may be doubted if any, even among the most brutal of the wearers of the purple, is stained with a more utterly unkingly crime than this. Moreover, as Gibbon has well observed, Thessalonica had been one of the favourite abodes of the Emperor, and the enormity of his guilt seems intensified by the fact that he must have known by heart the look of the place which his soldiers were to fill with ghastly corpses, and that the citizens who, innocent of any crime, were to fall beneath the sword of his satellites, were men with many of whose faces he must have been familiar, men with whom perchance he had himself exchanged a friendly *Salve* on his way to the bath or the circus. Thessalonica was the scene of his dangerous illness, of his slow convalescence, of the baptism which was meant to mark his rising up to a purer and holier life. Strange! that no softening remembrances came across his mind to prevent his indiscriminate slaughter of her sons. Yet scenes of which the following is a type must have been common during the massacre. A certain merchant (possibly one of these acquaintances of the Imperial murderer) had the misery of finding that his two sons were selected as victims. He entreated to be allowed to substitute himself for one of them: his tears, his gold, were almost effectual in obtaining this melancholy favour from the soldiery. But then the question arose, 'Which was to be the rescued one?' He looked from one face to another, both so dear, in an agony of indecision; and while he hesitated the brutal soldiers shouted out 'There is no time to lose, the number must be completed,' and slew both the young men before his eyes. While another

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

390.

Sozomen,
vii. 25.

BOOK I. citizen was being led to the shambles he was met by a
 CH. 10. devoted slave who with pathetic fidelity offered his own
 390. life to the executioners as a ransom for his master's, and
 apparently the offer was accepted.

Such was the crime of the massacre at Thessalonica, a crime which may have been atoned for in the sight of Heaven by the sincerity of the Emperor's after penitence, but which in the judgment of history must stamp with indelible reprobation, not his character only but the constitution of the State under which such deeds were possible.

Indigna-
 tion of
 Ambrose.

Ambrose, when he heard of the massacre, was stirred with honest anger at the brutal crime, a crime against which the law-revering instincts of the old Roman official protested as loudly as the humane instincts of the Christian Bishop. Moreover there was an element of offended dignity added to his righteous wrath. Theodosius throughout his residence at Milan had taken him less into his counsels than so orthodox an Emperor might have been expected to do ; but in this affair he had promised Ambrose that he would deal leniently with the guilty city. Afterwards, however, other counsellors, obtaining access to his person, had rekindled the half-extinguished fire of his resentment and had effaced the remembrance of the Bishop's soothing words and his own Imperial promise. Ambrose now studiously avoided the presence of his sovereign, and in a letter full of manly dignity told him that he was doing this intentionally, though he pleaded to the world the excuse of sickness, because his conscience would not permit him to condone the unrepented crime of the Emperor. 'I do not dare to offer the Sacrifice while you are standing by. If the blood of

even one man disqualifies the murderer from the Com-
munion, how much more that of thousands! Moreover
in a dream of the night, when I was on the point of
starting for Milan, I saw you entering the Church, and
an intimation from God Himself forbade me to offer the
Sacrifice before you.'

BOOK I.
CH. 10.
390.

What reply Theodosius may have made to this letter we know not, but he apparently presented himself soon after in the church of Milan, intending there to take his usual part in the worship of the congregation. He was met, however, on the threshold by the Bishop who, in temperate but weighty words, forbade him to enter. 'The magnitude of the Empire, and the intoxicating influence of absolute power, might have prevented him from discerning as yet the enormity of his crime: but robed as he was in the Imperial purple, he was still but a man whose body would crumble into dust, whose spirit would return to God Who gave it. What account would he then be able to give of this dreadful massacre of his subjects? His subjects truly, but also his fellow-servants, men whose souls were as precious in God's sight as his own. How could one whose hands were still soiled with that innocent blood, acceptably join in the worship of Almighty God. Let him depart, and in seclusion from the rest of the faithful, let him practise penitence and prayer till the time should come when he might fitly be absolved from his great transgression.'

Theodosius
repulsed
from the
Church;

Theodoret,
v. 18.

and placed
under an
interdict.

Theodosius, 'who was well instructed in Scripture, and who well knew the respective limits of the ecclesiastical and temporal power,' received this rebuke with patience, obeyed the interdict, and returned sadly to the Imperial palace. More than eight months after, he made another attempt to obtain reconciliation with

BOOK I.
CH. 10.

390.
Rufinus
mediates
without
success.

the Church ; but with a strange want of tact, or of remembrance, he permitted the office of mediator to be assumed by Rufinus. Rufinus, a native of an obscure town in Gascony, had made his way to the court of Byzantium, and there, with nothing to recommend him either as statesman or as general, had climbed up, by dint of flattery, intrigue, and calumny of his competitors, into the place of Praetorian Prefect, the highest position under the Emperor. His rapacity had made him the wealthiest and the most hated of all the ministers of Theodosius, and, scenting no doubt some plunder in the crime, he had (at least according to the belief of the people) been the chief instigator of the Thessalonian massacre. Such was the man whose officious servility proposed to the depressed Emperor an attempt to procure a removal of the interdict, and actually prompted him to offer his own good offices in the negotiation. Rufinus found Theodosius in tears and asked the cause. ‘You may be mirthful, oh Rufinus!’ said the sighing Emperor, ‘but I must be sad. It is now Christmas, the time of the Church’s gladness ; but though beggars and slaves may enter the house of the Lord, its doors are closed to me.’ Reluctantly and without hope Theodosius permitted Rufinus to intercede for him with Ambrose. But the Bishop, as soon as he saw the Praetorian Prefect, addressed him with burning words : ‘You are as shameless as a dog, oh Rufinus ! It was you who advised this cruel massacre, yet you come to me without a word of penitence or remorse for the outrage you have committed on the images of the Most High.’ Rufinus cringed, but hinted that the Emperor would insist on coming to the Church. Ambrose replied, ‘He shall slay me first.

If he will change his emperorship into tyrantship, I cannot hinder him, but with my consent he comes not within these walls.'

BOOK I.
CH. 10.
390.

Hearing of the ill-success of his messenger, the Emperor resolved to drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs, and went not to the Church, but to the house of Ambrose, exclaiming, 'I will go and receive the censure which I deserve.' Ambrose again remonstrated with him for his tyranny: 'I repent of it,' said Theodosius. 'Repentance should be openly manifested, and should be accompanied by some precaution against the repetition of the offence.' 'What precaution can I take? Show me the remedy and I will adopt it.' 'Since passion was the cause of thy fall, oh Emperor, prepare a law which shall henceforth interpose an interval of thirty days between the signing of any capital sentence or decree of proscription and its execution. In these thirty days, if passion, not justice, dictated the decree, there will be a chance for reason to be heard, and for the decree to be modified or revoked.'

Theodosius
repents,

Theodosius gladly accepted this wise and statesman-like suggestion, and having signed the new law was released from the interdict and permitted to enter the Church. Prostrate on the floor he repeated the words of the 119th Psalm, 'My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to Thy word,' and by sighs and tears, by smiting upon his forehead, and tearing his hair, he manifested to the assembled multitude the agony of his remorse.

and is
absolved.
25 Dec.
390.

After the service was ended, the weeping penitent laid his gift upon the table, and then remained within the altar-railings waiting to receive the bread and wine. Ambrose sent him a message by a deacon com-

BOOK I. manding him to withdraw from that sacred enclosure
CH. 10. which was reserved for priests only: 'The Emperor
390. must worship with the rest of the laity outside the
rails. The purple robe makes Emperors only, not
priests.' Theodosius humbly obeyed the mandate,
merely observing that he had not intentionally erred,
but had followed the usage of Constantinople, which
gave that place to the Emperor. (Already then, even
before the separation of the two Empires, the Italian
priest held his head higher in the presence of Caesar
than the Byzantine.) On his return to Constantinople
Theodosius refused to occupy his old place of honour by
the altar, saying to the wondering Bishop, 'With diffi-
culty have I learned the difference between an Emperor
and a priest. It is hard for a ruler to meet with one
willing to tell him the truth. Ambrose is the only
man whom I consider worthy of the name of Bishop.'

Thus did Theodosius, the prototype in so many other
respects of the great 'Roman' Emperors of a later age,
anticipate in his own person that humiliation of the
Caesar before the successor of Peter, which was so often
enacted in the Middle Ages, and which was most
vividly exemplified in the courtyard of Canossa. But
Theodosius, with all his faults, was a nobler antagonist
than the Emperor Henry IV, and St. Ambrose, fight-
ing for the inalienable rights of humanity, was the
champion of a nobler cause than those ecclesiastical
claims which kindled the zeal of Hildebrand.

CHAPTER XI.

EUGENIUS AND ARBOGAST.

Authorities.

Sources :—

The ecclesiastical historians furnish us with our best materials for this part of the history. In addition to the authors of this class noticed on p. 280, especial mention must be made of RUFINUS, to whom we owe the fullest details of the destruction of the Serapeum. This author, the compatriot, friend, and afterwards bitter adversary of Jerome, was born in the neighbourhood of Aquileia (probably at Concordia) about 345, spent twenty years as a monk on the Mount of Olives, returned to Aquileia, intending to pass the last years of his life there, but was driven forth by the Gothic invasion, and died at Messina in 410. His continuation of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius embraces the period from 324 to the death of Theodosius (395). Socrates, who to some extent built upon his foundation, complains of his chronological errors ; he is extravagantly fond of relating marvels and miracles, and altogether his standpoint is that of a bigoted and credulous monk. Still he sometimes (as in the case above-mentioned, of the destruction of the Serapeum) gives us details which we find nowhere else.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

We begin in this chapter to draw from a source which flows for us very copiously for the next nine years, the poet CLAUDIAN. Claudius Claudianus, a native of Alexandria, the years of whose birth and death are both unknown to us, appears to have come to Rome about the year 395, and to have soon established himself as a kind of poet-laureate of the young Emperor Honorius and his guardian Stilicho. His literary activity seems to have been confined to the period 395-404. By the influence of Serena, wife of Stilicho, he obtained the hand of an African

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

heiress, to whose estate he may possibly have retired in the early years of the century. If we may trust an inscription said to have been seen by Pomponius Laetus on the Quirinal in 1493 (recorded by Gruter, p. 391), Claudian received the offices of a *Tribunus et Notarius*, which gave him the rank of *Clarissimus*, and had a statue raised to him in the Forum of Trajan, 'though his poems would alone have sufficed to make his memory eternal.'

Poetry of
Claudian.

The literary and religious position of Claudian is interesting and peculiar. A Greek-Egyptian by birth, to whom Latin was probably a foreign tongue, he nevertheless succeeded in imitating, not altogether unsuccessfully, the great bards of Latium. Undisturbed by the memories of the Isis, Osiris, and Serapis of his fatherland, and equally disdainful of the saints and angels, the virgins and martyrs of the now dominant Christian faith, he calmly imports the stage machinery of Olympus from the pages of Homer and Virgil, and applies it without a moment's hesitation to the events of his own day, to the defeat of Maximus and the elevation of Rufinus. He attaches himself always to some powerful patron, whose exploits are all but superhuman and whose character is stainless, while the patron's enemies are painted in tints of unredeemed blackness. This utter want of atmosphere in his colouring wearies the eye, and the perpetual rhetoric of his verse palls upon the ear; but with all his faults it is to him that we must look to make the dry bones of epitomists and church historians live again before us, and though his thought may often be poor, his expression is not always unworthy of his great master, Virgil. In this power over words he may perhaps be fitly compared to our own Byron, whose apostrophe to Rome

'O Rome, my country, city of my soul!'

seems to remind one of the untranslatable grandeur of Claudian's epithet,

'Urbs aequaeva polo.'

A poet inferior in merit to Claudian, yet not devoid of poetic faculty, is Aurelius PRUDENTIUS Clemens, a Spaniard, born in 348, and as zealous on behalf of Christianity as Claudian is emphatic in his Paganism. He was trained as a rhetorician. 'Twice' (as he says) 'held the reins of power in noble cities,' and was pro-

moted to some high position at Court. At the age of fifty-seven he resolved to retire from the service of the world, and devote himself to God's service as a Christian poet. The year of his death is unknown. The poems with which we are chiefly concerned—the two books *Contra Symmachum*—were composed, or, at any rate, published, ten years after the time that we have now reached, but they relate to the controversy about the Altar of Victory, the recrudescence of heathenism under Eugenius, and its final defeat by Theodosius. The literary talent of Prudentius seems to me to have been somewhat unfairly under-estimated. Gibbon (chap. xxviii. n. 17) speaks of the 'poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius,' and it is a common remark that in his reply to Symmachus he only versifies the arguments of Ambrose. But there are, to my thinking, many noble lines and some genuine poetry in the work in question; and though Prudentius necessarily travels over a good deal of the same ground as the Bishop of Milan, he rejects his weaker arguments and handles his stronger ones with a force and freedom which make his defence of the Christian faith far more satisfactory than his predecessor's. I can find nothing in Ambrose's polemic nearly so good as Prudentius' argument that the union of all the nations under the sceptre of Rome was ordained by God in order to prepare the way for the kingdom of Christ (II. 601–640). His allusions to Symmachus 'the glory of Roman eloquence,'

'Quo nunc nemo disertior
Exultat, fremit, intonat,
Ventisque eloquii tumet,'

are in the best style of courteous debate, and the appeal put into the mouth of Theodosius to spare the statues of the gods for their beauty's sake (I. 500–505) shows that we are here dealing with no vulgar and narrow-minded iconoclast.

(I can strongly recommend to English readers *Translations from Prudentius*, with an introduction and notes by Rev. F. St. John Thackeray, London, 1890.)

Guides:—

In this, as in a previous chapter, I am much indebted to Professor Lanciani's *Ancient Rome* in the light of recent discoveries (Boston, 1889).

BOOK I. The whole religious history of the reign of Theodosius is
CH. 11. well presented in the Duc de Broglie's great work, *L'Église et l'Empire Romain au iv^e Siècle*. He takes a far more favourable view of the character of Theodosius than I am able to do.

Theodosius
returns to
the East.

IN August 391 Theodosius left Italy and entered the eastern half of that which was all virtually *his* Empire. Valentinian II, trained by his counsels, reconciled by him to Ambrose and to orthodoxy, was now, apparently, strong enough to rule alone. The Eastern realm, over which the boy Arcadius had nominally presided, really administered by the Praetorian Prefect Tatian, an able, but not immaculate minister, might well seem now to require the largest share of the attention of the Earthly Providence.

He visits
Thessalo-
nica.

Barbarians or freebooters, enough to trouble the tranquillity of the province, though not enough to effect any serious political change, were roving up and down in Macedonia. Thither accordingly Theodosius first repaired: and to deliver Macedonia it was needful that he should take up his quarters in the same place which had welcomed his dawning royalty twelve years before, the city of the Axios, Thessalonica. Willingly would we learn with what emotions, whether of penitence or of still smouldering resentment, he trod those streets which had so lately been filled with slaughter by the ministers of his cruelty; but no letter or oration here lights up our darkness. Instead, we have only a wild romantic story from Zosimus (who is silent as to the years of the Emperor's residence in Italy), with reference to his exploits among the barbarian free-

Skirmishes
with the
barbarians
of the
marshes.

booters. These marauders, he tells us, hiding among the marshes by day and sallying forth at night for plunder, could not be exterminated by the processes

of regular warfare, and the campaign against them seemed like fighting with ghosts. Theodosius, accordingly, disguising his rank, took five horsemen as his companions, each leading three or four reserve horses, and scoured the country with these. At length they came to a little lonely inn kept by an old woman, who received the unknown Emperor courteously and gave him food and shelter. In that mean abode he lay down to sleep, but as he did so he espied a mysterious and silent stranger in the sleeping room. The old woman, when questioned, denied all knowledge of the name and calling of the stranger, who was absent all day but came back each night tired and hungry. To all questions he preserved the same sullen silence: but at length Theodosius made known his rank, and ordered his soldiers to hack him to pieces with their swords. The man then confessed that he was a spy of the barbarians, who spent his days in informing them of the movements of the army, and pointing out to them when and where they might safely make their next foray. Having cut off the head of this spy, the Emperor galloped with his men to the main body of his army, which was encamped at no great distance, fell with them upon the marauders whose ambush he had thus learned, 'dragged forth some from their hiding-places in the marshes, killed others as they were in the water, and, in short, made that night a great slaughter of the barbarians.'

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

391.

The confidence bred of this success brought upon the Imperial army a great disaster. Timasius, the Master of the Infantry under the Emperor, regaled his troops so lavishly from the spoils of the barbarians, that, while the camp was all abandoned to drunken slumber, some

Defeat of
Timasius
and victory
of Pro-
motus.

BOOK I. still unvanquished horde of freebooters came upon
 CH. 11. them, and, wreaking dire slaughter on their sleeping
 391. foes, brought for some critical moments the sacred
 person of the Emperor himself into jeopardy. But
 Promotus, the brave and wary Master of the Cavalry¹,
 hastening up to the scene rescued Theodosius from his
 peril, and turning the tide of battle inflicted a crushing
 defeat on the barbarians.

Theodosius
 enters Con-
 stantino-
 ple.

After these labours and dangers Theodosius re-
 turned to the splendid repose of the city which he
 probably loved best of any in his Empire. It was on
 the 10th of November, 391, that he, with his little son
 Honorius, entered Constantinople, passing through the
 Golden Gate, the Gate of Conquest, which he himself
 had gilded in honour of his victory over Maximus,
 and was slowly drawn by harnessed elephants through
 acclaiming crowds, till he reached the palace of the
 welcoming Arcadius².

Ascend-
 ancy of
 Rufinus.

When Theodosius was once again established in his
 Eastern capital, and when the pageants and the feast-
 ings which commemorated his return³ were ended he
 took again into his hand the dropped strings of ad-
 ministration: and now the influence of Rufinus, the

¹ The former victor of the Greuthungi: see p. 321.

² We get the date from Socrates, v. 18. The gilding of the Porta Aurea is attested by an inscription:—

‘Haec loca Theodosius decorat post fata tyranni;
 Aurea saecula gerit qui portam construit auro.’

It is pointed out by Dr. Dethier (*Le Bosphore et Constantinople*, pp. 12 and 48) that this Porta Aurea cannot be the same which we now know by that name, and which is in the walls built by Theodosius II; but must have pierced the Wall of Constantine, and been not far from the present Soulu Monastir.

³ To which Zosimus, as usual, gives ill-natured prominence (iv. 50).

new counsellor whom he had brought with him from the West, became quickly manifest. The two great Civil governors, Tatian, Consul for the year and Praetorian Prefect of the East, and his son Proclus, Prefect of the City, who had been practically regents during the absence of Theodosius; the two great military commanders, Promotus and Timasius, one of whom had lately saved the Emperor himself in the night attack of the barbarians; all found themselves treated with the insolence of a conscious favourite by the upstart Gascon. High words and stormy discussions were frequent in the Imperial Consistory. During one of these scenes the language used by Rufinus was so audacious, that Promotus, who was assailed by it, forgot what was due to the Sacred Presence-chamber and slapped his adversary on the face. Rufinus at once presented himself before the Emperor with his cheek yet red from the palm of Promotus, and Theodosius, coming forth in a rage, told the trembling Counsellors that if they would not lay aside their jealousy of Rufinus they should soon see him wearing the diadem¹. By the favourite's influence Promotus was soon ordered off to the dreary Danubian frontier, and fell a victim to some barbarian assassins who waylaid him on the journey. His death was attributed, but probably without justice, to the machinations of Rufinus.

BOOK 1.
CH. 11.
391.

Disgrace
and death
of Pro-
motus.

Tatian and his son still stood in the way of the upward-pushing favourite, who was already designated

Fall of
Tatian and
Proclus.

¹ Εἰ μὴ τὸν κατὰ 'Ρουφίνου φθόνον ἀπόθαινοτο ταχέως αὐτὸν ὄψονται βασιλεύοντα (Zos. iv. 51). Would not αὐτὸν give a better sense? 'If they did not lay aside their jealousy of Rufinus, they should soon see him (Theodosius) assert himself as Emperor!'

BOOK I. as Consul for the next year (392), but who also aspired
CH. 11.

39¹. The administration of the father and son had perhaps not been altogether spotless, but on the whole they appear to have been faithful servants of Theodosius¹. However, the ambition of Rufinus required their removal, and Theodosius, in the blindness of his favouritism, nominated the Gascon member of a commission which was to try the very men for whose offices he hungered. Tatian was of course deprived of his dignity. Proclus, hearing of the commencement of the trial, fled the country. He was tempted back again by promises, oaths, assurances of friendly intentions, in which even Theodosius is accused of having participated. Once back in the power of his enemies he was thrown into prison, and, after appearing many times before his judges, was sentenced to death. Theodosius, relenting, sent a message of pardon, but Rufinus took good care that the bearer of it should be slower of foot than the messenger of vengeance, and Proclus was beheaded in the suburb of Sycae, where now the streets of many-nationed Galata border on the Golden Horn. As for the aged Tatian he was banished in disgrace to his native Lycia. And not only so, but by a strange act of tyranny, less cruel indeed but not more logical than the massacre of Thessalonica, all other natives of the province of Lycia were for Tatian's fault rendered

¹ We are obliged to speak in this hesitating way about the administration of Tatian and his son, because of the extraordinarily varying characters given of each of them by Libanius—characters which almost force Sievers to the conclusion that there were *two* pairs of relatives of this name holding high office in the East within a short space of time (Libanius, 159).

incapable of rising to the higher dignities of the State¹. BOOK I.
CH. II.

In the East as in the West the campaign of crowned and triumphant Christianity against the out-worn creeds of heathenism was being actively pursued. We should, perhaps, say more actively in the East than in the West, since in few Oriental cities was there that scornful hate of the new faith which still lingered in the palaces of the Roman aristocracy. It has been already mentioned² that Cynegius, one of the highest ministers of the State, had been despatched to Egypt (probably about the year 384) to close the temples dedicated to heathen worship, and it seems that his commission, though primarily applicable to Egypt, had reference also to other Eastern provinces. The order then given, however, was only to close, not to demolish the temples. It might be hoped that when the smoke of the incense no longer curled round the feet of the sacred statues, when the steps of the temple were no longer worn by the feet of eager worshippers, and a rusty chain closed the gates of the *pronaos*, the sanctuaries left in dingy desolation would cease to possess any fascination for the minds of their former visitants. In one case, however, at any rate, the heathen temple was still mighty enough to be dangerous, and was still the object of an enthusiasm which proved its ruin.

The stately Serapeum of Alexandria, rising on that little eminence where now stands the lonely pillar of The Sera-
peum of
Alexan-
dria.

¹ This senseless and unjust law is only made known to us by the Edict of Arcadius (Cod. Theod. ix. 38. 9) repealing it. This law still speaks of Tatian as 'taeterrimus Judex.'

² p. 414.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

Diocletian¹, overlooking from afar the busy harbour and the historic Pharos, was the proudest monument reared by the Greek Ptolemies in honour of that Egyptian worship to which they paid their politic homage. The temple stood on a great square platform, to which the worshippers ascended by one hundred steps. Many shrines, and chapels, and vestries, and cells for hierophants surrounded the main building, which rose in pillared magnificence in the centre, a mountain of marble, which we cannot help mentally comparing with the Temple at Jerusalem, and which a Roman historian² who beheld its glory thought unsurpassed save by the Capitol. In the innermost recess stood the statue of the god Serapis, that compound divinity formed of Osiris and Apis, whom the Ptolemies set forth for the adoration of their subjects. So gigantic was the statue that the right hand touched one wall and the left hand the other, of the great hall in which it stood. Plates of brass, of silver, and of gold lined the walls of that spacious hall, and there was one tiny window through which on a certain day the beams of the rising sun were poured, as the priests said, 'in salutation of Serapis.' But the statue itself, though overlaid with gold and silver and studded with sapphires, with topazes and with emeralds, bore the impress of the barbaric East in its form as well as in its gorgeous magnificence: for the head was not like the majestic Zeus of Olympia, but a monstrous medley of a lion's head in the centre with a ravening wolf on its left side and a fawning dog on

¹ Commonly called 'Pompey's Pillar.' According to some archaeologists, this pillar once formed part of the colonnade of the Serapeum.

² Ammianus Marcellinus.

its right. So had the strange symbolic animal-worship of Egypt prevailed over the instincts of beauty in the mind of the Greek artist who fashioned the image of Serapis.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

Theophilus, the Bishop of Alexandria, a restless and ambitious man, had aroused the wrath of the still considerable heathen population of that city by his exposure of the mechanical contrivances whereby their priests had been wont to work miracles in one of their temples. The idolaters, who knew of the war which a devout Emperor was waging against their worship, felt that they were being driven to the last ditch in the defence of their ancestral faith. They assembled in the still strong and stately Serapeum, and making that their citadel, sallied forth at intervals into the streets and squares of the city, did battle with the excited Christians (among whom the fanatical monks from the desert were probably conspicuous), and then returned into their stronghold, often dragging with them a number of Christian captives, whom rumour accused them, probably without truth, of torturing in the recesses of the Serapeum. Two grammarians, Helladius and Ammonius, were captains in this religious war, but the General, as we may term him, was a man named Olympius, clad in a philosopher's cloak, who seems to have been an orator of considerable power. Now he was lashing his hearers to fury, telling them that 'they ought to die rather than neglect the god of their fathers.' Then, in calmer tone, he reasoned with them as to the theory of idolatry. 'Be not dismayed,' said he, 'if some of the statues of the gods are overthrown and destroyed by the Nazarenes. Of course the statues are made of corruptible things, and are subject to decay: but they

The
heathen
garrison
of the
temple.

BOOK I. typify a divine and indestructible power which escapes
CH. 11.

Feebleness
of the
authorities
at Alex-
andria.

from the broken image, even as the soul of man flies from its shattered tenement and returns to the heavens

whence it first descended¹. While these commotions were occurring, and while the blood of Roman citizens was being actually shed on one side or the other, the Prefect and the Master of the Soldiery feebly represented the outraged majesty of the laws. They visited the temple, and mildly enquired of its disorderly garrison what was the cause of their insurrection, and why they were so daring as to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens. A confused and angry murmur was the only reply, and they retired to make a report of all these proceedings to Theodosius. It is probable, though the Church historians do not inform us of the fact, that the authority of these Imperial officers was set at nought by Theophilus and his monks as much as by Olympius and the idolaters. During the weeks or months that were required for messages to go and return between Alexandria and Milan (for these events probably occurred while Theodosius was still in Italy) a sullen truce perhaps prevailed between the Cathedral and the Serapeum. At length the Imperial rescript arrived, a wiser and more temperate document than might have been expected from the chastiser of Thessalonica. 'The Christians who have fallen in these disturbances are martyrs. Their blessed state exempts us from the necessity of seeking to avenge their blood: and accordingly free pardon is given to the idolaters who have been concerned in the late disturbances. But we condemn the vain superstition of the Gentiles, and we order

The order
for the
demolition
of the
Serapeum
arrives
from Theo-
dosius.

¹ Sozomen, vii. 15. I have slightly expanded the thought of Olympius as here reported.

the destruction of their temple.' A loud shout of applause burst from the Christians when they heard these words, and they proceeded straightway to the temple to put the edict in force. The defenders heard the shouts and were dismayed. Olympius, it was said, had heard on the previous night the voices of unseen spirits singing Alleluia in the very presence of the three-headed idol, and silently, and by stealth, had quitted the temple and embarked for Italy.

The Church Militant, with Theophilus at its head, entered the doomed sanctuary. The assailants pressed through the corridors, the chapels, the cells of the hierophants, they entered the great hall where stood the mighty beast-statue, which had been saluted for the last time by the rising sun. Even in that Christian multitude there were many who looked upon it with awe, remembering an ancient prophecy, that if anyone approached that statue an earthquake would follow in which the whole world would be swallowed up. Theophilus smiled with contempt at these old wives' fables, and, beckoning to a soldier, ordered him to strike the statue. Full of faith the soldier raised his axe, and brought it down with all his force on the idol's jaw. The people shrieked with fear, but their panic was turned into laughter when from the broken head a troop of frightened mice came running forth. The soldier struck again and again. Fire was applied to hasten the work of destruction. The legs and feet were chopped off and dragged through the streets, the head was exhibited in scorn to its late worshippers, and, last of all, the huge trunk of the idol was drawn to the great amphitheatre and there burned in the presence of a vast concourse of people.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

As the work of demolition went forward the secret mechanism of the temple, and all the priestly artifices of miraculous fraud were laid bare to the vulgar gaze. A Christian Basilica was built amongst the ruins of the overthrown sanctuary. It, too, has had its day, and now neither Christ nor Serapis is worshipped on the bare hill-slope where once stood the splendid Serapeum¹.

From the destruction of temples we return to the fall of thrones. It was probably in the month of June, 392, in the midst of the palace revolution which gave to Rufinus the Praetorian mantle of Tatian, that disastrous tidings arrived at Constantinople, informing Theodosius that another of his young colleagues, the last male representative of the house of Valentinian, had been cut off in the dawn of his manhood.

Character
of Valen-
tinian II.

Valentinian II, like his brother Gratian, is one of those princes on whose characters it is difficult for history to pronounce judgment, because she sees but the half-opened bud and can only guess at the fashion of the flower. In the earlier part of his reign he of course represented merely the beliefs or misbeliefs, the usurpations or the grievances of his mother, the beautiful but impulsive Justina. Her influence was now removed: the arguments of Theodosius, founded chiefly on such mundane considerations as the prosperity of the orthodox Constantine and the tragical end of the heterodox Valens², had won him over to the creed of Nicaea, and he spent the last year of his life in warm friendship

¹ We have no exact information as to the date of the destruction of the Serapeum, but it seems on the whole probable that it occurred in 391. It was still standing in all its glory when Ammianus wrote his history, apparently in 390.

² So says Suidas, s. v. Οὐαλεντινίανος.

with his old antagonist Ambrose ; a friendship which was maintained by frequent letters, when the young Emperor quitted Milan in order to superintend for a time the defence and government of Gaul. Valentinian delighted the soul of the great churchman, not only by his new-born orthodoxy, but by the spotless purity of his morals. When he heard that a certain actress in Rome was ruining many of the young nobles by her fatal charms, he sent her a twofold summons to the Imperial Court (the first messenger having been bribed to withhold his message), refused to see her himself, and sent back the humbled Delilah with a severe reprimand to the Eternal City. He was at one time accused of giving too much of his attention to the combats of the Amphitheatre ; and having heard that this part of his conduct excited reprobation, he suddenly gave up that pastime, and ordered all the beasts which had been collected for the purpose to be at once slain. He loved his two unmarried sisters, Justa and Grata, with devotion. It was considered a distinguished mark of Imperial condescension that he bestowed upon them those innocent caresses which brothers in a humbler position usually confer upon their sisters¹. Though he had attained his twentieth year, for their sake he still postponed wedlock.

The picture here brought before us seems to be that of an amiable, if somewhat limited, nature, with some of the weakness, but little of the passionate selfishness, which is often found in those who are born in the purple. But we remember the strain of wild and savage cruelty, bordering on insanity, which marred the noble

¹ 'Manus, capita sororibus osculabatur, immemor imperii, memor germanitatis' (Ambrose, de Obitu Valentiniani, 36).

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

392.

nature of his father, and we see in the closing scenes of the life of Valentinian II some lack of that strong and steady patience which made Edward III of England, and Charles VII of France, victorious over their fathers' foes.

Virtual
regency of
Arbogast
the Frank.

The position in which the young Emperor was left when his mentor and colleague returned within the limits of the Eastern Empire was doubtless a difficult one. He never had yet really ruled. First Justina, and then Theodosius, had guided the helm of the State, while he sat on deck under a silken canopy. Nor had Theodosius intended that the real stress of administration or of war should fall as yet on those boyish shoulders. Bauto, as we have seen, having been apparently for some years dead¹, the chief command of the western armies and the chief place in the Imperial Councils was assigned to that other valiant Frankish captain, Arbogast, who had shared in the command of the army of Gratian in the Pannonian campaign of 380², of the Theodosian army in the campaign against Maximus, and who had put to death the young and vanquished Victor in Gaul after the downfall of the usurper³. This man, now practically chief ruler of Europe west of the Adriatic, belonged apparently to a sort of clan of fortunate barbarians. If the information given us by a somewhat late historian⁴ may be de-

¹ See p. 461.

² See p. 305. I have not there alluded to the fact, mentioned below, that, according to the statement of Joannes Antiochenus, Bauto and Arbogast stood to one another in the relation of father and son.

³ See pp. 466, 468.

⁴ Joannes Antiochenus says: Ἀρβογάστης ἦν, ἐκ τοῦ Φράγκων γένους, Βαύδωνος . . . υἱός, φλογοειδής τε καὶ βάρβαρος τὴν ψυχὴν: and again, Ὁ Ἀρβογάστης . . . Εὐγένιον αὐτῷ . . . ὁ θεῖος ἐπέστησε Ῥιχομήριος, ἡνίκα παρὰ

pended upon, he was himself the son of Count Bauto and the nephew of Count Richomer. He was still probably in the vigour of early manhood, a man of reckless courage, a master of the art of war, 'flame-like' in his all-conquering energy, and adored by his men, not merely for his other soldierly qualities, but especially because they saw that this rugged Frank cared not for gold and was quite inaccessible to all those paltry bribes which were continually soiling the hands of the Generals of Roman extraction. But with many good qualities the man was still a hard, rough, barbarian at heart, intensely fond of power, and impatient of the deference which Imperial etiquette required him to pay to the young and delicately nurtured Augustus, his nominal master. Perhaps, too, even the domestic virtues of Valentinian II, his piety, his chastity, his affection for his sisters, earned for him contempt rather than respect from this hard-featured son of the forest and the camp.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

392.

Arbogast, we are told¹, laid violent hands on many of the Emperor's chosen councillors, yet none dared hinder him on account of his renown in war. Probably if we had his version of the story we should learn

Masterful
conduct of
Arbogast.

τὸν Θεοδοσίον μετὰ τὴν Μαξίμου νίκην ἐν τοῖς ἐφοῖς βασιλείοις ἀπήγετο (Fragm. 187, ap. Müller). Late, comparatively, as is the date of Joannes Antiochenus (the seventh century probably), we know that he drew from some good contemporary sources, and as these statements of his are not contradicted by any other historian, they seem to me deserving of more attention than they have hitherto received. (They were unknown to Tillemont when he prepared his admirable digest of materials for history.) Perhaps the greatest difficulty is in connection with Richomer, who, on this theory, was about to be appointed by Theodosius to the command of the expedition against his own nephew, Arbogast, when his career was closed by his death.

¹ By Joannes Antiochenus u. s.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

39².

that these were corrupt and avaricious men, who had abused the opportunities afforded them by the long minority of the Sovereign. One of these intimate counsellors, who had at least been accused of receiving bribes, was a certain Harmonius¹, who had the misfortune to offend the all-powerful Frank. Arbogast drew his sword and Harmonius fled for refuge to the *secretum* of the Emperor. Even thither the angry barbarian pursued him, and while he was actually covered with the purple of the sovereign the avenging sword was driven through his heart. From that day there was suspicion and scarcely veiled hostility between Valentinian and his too powerful servant.

Valen-
tinian
vainly
attempts
to dismiss
him.

The young Emperor sent secret messages to his colleague, Theodosius, informing him that he could no longer endure the insolence of Arbogast and praying for assistance against him. Possibly the reply was less speedy or less favourable than Valentinian expected, for he determined to try what that 'mastership of the world' which State-papers attributed to him was worth, and to see if he could not by his own power rid himself of his tyrannical minister. One day, when he was seated on his throne in full consistency, he put as much severity as he could muster into his boyish features² and handed to Arbogast a writing which relieved him from his office of Master of the Soldiery. When the barbarian had spelled

¹ Son of Taurus, who was Consul in 361. We are probably safe in identifying this Harmonius with the governor of Arabia (and apparently also of Antioch) who is mentioned by Libanius (Ep. 1302). Libanius vouches strongly for his integrity, but admits that he was accused of bribery.

² Δριμύτερον ὑποβλέπων (Zosimus, iv. 53).

through the wordy document, he tore it in pieces with his nails¹, trampled the fragments under foot, drew his sword, and, with a voice like the roar of a lion, said, 'Thou neither gavest me this office, nor shalt thou succeed in taking it from me.' With that he turned on his heel and left the consistory.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.
392.

This scene occurred at Vienne by the Rhone, whither Valentinian had gone in the train of the all-powerful Master of the Soldiery to assist in providing for the defence of Gaul from the barbarians. But while the inroads of hostile barbarians might be repelled, their peaceful invasion went successfully forward. After this failure to dislodge Arbogast, the palace of Valentinian was almost deserted, and he lived with little more pomp than a private citizen. Commands in the army, dignities in the state, were freely bestowed on the clients, and especially the Frankish clients, of Arbogast, while the entreaties and commands of the young Roman Augustus fell on unheeding ears².

The court
of Valen-
tinian de-
serted.

To a young and high-spirited monarch, mocked with the shadow of power and denied the reality, the situation was rapidly becoming intolerable. One day, when Arbogast appeared before him in the palace, roused by some insulting speech, Valentinian drew his sword and seemed about to attack him. A servant who stood by held his arm, and then when Arbogast — perhaps with a sneer — asked what he had meant to do with his unsheathed sword, 'I meant it for myself,' said the over-wrought lad,

¹ Παραχρήμα τοῖς ὀνύξε διεσπάραξεν (Joan. Ant. u. s.).

² We get this curious picture from a fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, preserved by Gregory of Tours, H. F. ii. 9.

BOOK I. 'because though I am Emperor I am not allowed to
CH. 11. do what I will¹.'

392.
Valen-
tinian begs
Ambrose
to come to
him.

The health and the spirits of Valentinian were failing : he probably believed his life to be in danger, and since Theodosius was slow to help, he begged his old antagonist, but now dearly loved and honoured friend, Ambrose, to cross the Alps without delay and administer to him the rite of baptism. Besides his fear of dying unbaptized, there was probably working in Valentinian's mind some secret hope that this marvellous prelate, who had obtained an ascendancy over Justina, over Maximus, even over Theodosius himself, might be able to deliver him from the rage of the terrible Arbogast². In fact he added to the petition for baptism a request that Ambrose would be a pledge for his friendly intentions towards 'his Count,' in other words would mediate between the sovereign and his minister.

Mysterious
death of
Valen-
tinian.

The *Silentiarius*³ who was charged with this message started at evening for Milan. On the morning of the third day after his departure Valentinian, who was evidently in a state of feverish excitement, asked if he had yet returned, if Ambrose had already come. Alas! though the Bishop does not seem to have lingered unduly, he had but just surmounted the crests of the Alps when he learned that his labour was vain and that he must return to Milan. The young Emperor had been found dead in the palace, 'self-slain' said

15 May,
392.

¹ This story is told us by Philostorgius, xi. 1.

² This request for the presence of Ambrose in Gaul followed an abortive attempt of Valentinian himself to visit Italy, on the plea that he was wanted there to resist a barbarian invasion.

³ Life-guardsmen.

the defendants of Arbogast, 'murdered by the Count's order' has been the general voice of history¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

Though Arbogast was already virtual ruler of the West, and though the death of the young Emperor in no way shook his hold upon the army or the civil functionaries, who obsequiously obeyed him, it was necessary that some one should be found to wear the purple and sign the Imperial decrees, some one also who might demand from Theodosius recognition as his colleague. The remembrance of Arbogast's barbarian extraction was too vivid to make it politic for him to assume the semblance as well as the substance of Imperial power. Since the days of Maximin the Thracian, the murderer of the young Severus Alexander, no full-blooded barbarian had been hailed as Emperor by the troops, and the precedent afforded by the wild tyranny of that savage Thracian was not encouraging. In these circumstances the choice made by Arbogast of an Imperial cipher was a singular one. There was a certain rhetorician named Eugenius who, having once 'occupied,' as a historian says, 'the sophistical throne and being of much account for his eloquence²,' in other words being a professor of some eminence, had attracted the notice of Count Richomer, had been by him recommended to his nephew Arbogast as a dexterous and supple subordinate, had been introduced into the civil service, and was now holding a 'respectable' but not illustrious place in the official hierarchy³.

392.
Arbogast
proclaims
Eugenius,
the rhe-
torician,
Emperor.

235.

¹ See Note F at the end of this chapter.

² 'Επὶ σοφιστικὸν ἐγκαθήμενον θρόνον, καὶ ὑπὸ γλώττης εὐδοκιμοῦντα (Joan. Ant. Fr. 187).

³ He is called Ἀντιγραφεὺς, which is thought to mean that he was one of the four *Magistri Scriniorum* (which we may perhaps translate Clerks of the Closet): only a 'spectabilis' therefore, not an 'illustris.'

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

392.

This man, who seems to have borne an unblemished character, besides possessing a fair amount of literary ability, and was just the sort of person who, if he had never donned the fatal Nessus-garment of the purple, might have glided happily enough through life to an undistinguished grave, had been already assailed by Argobast with the tempting offer of the diadem. Eugenius however refused to accept the dangerous gift, and apparently, so long as Valentinian lived, he persisted in this refusal. After the tragedy in the palace at Vienne he consented, as his tempter expressed it, 'no longer to throw away the gifts of Fortune.' The usual donative was no doubt given to the army, the acclamations of the soldiers were ready for any one whom their adored general should present to them as his choice, and the clever professor, hailed by the troops as Emperor and Augustus, found himself promoted almost at a bound from 'the sophistical throne' to the throne of the universe,—a strange revolution indeed which, in the scarcely exaggerated language of the poet Claudian,

'Made the barbarian's lackey lord of all!'

Funeral
rites of
Valen-
tinian.

The news of Valentinian's death was probably brought to Theodosius by a messenger whom Ambrose sent to learn the Imperial pleasure as to the manner of disposing of the corpse of the young Emperor. Less brutal than Maximus, Arbogast had permitted the body

¹ Claudian, De iii Cons. Honorii, 66; De iv Cons. Honorii, 74. If I rightly understand the evidently corrupted entry in 'Cuspiniani Chronicon,' the elevation of Eugenius did not take place till the 22nd of August, more than three months after the death of Valentinian. This looks like prolonged resistance on the part of Eugenius to the schemes of his patron.

of his late sovereign to be transported to Milan, where it lay probably in some chapel awaiting burial, and was daily visited by the weeping sisters Justa and Grata. Pale and tearful always, they came back from these sad visitations paler than ever, and for their sakes Ambrose pleaded for an early interment, even though the rite might lack some of the gorgeous pageantry with which the body of Valentinian, the father, had been deposited in the Church of the Apostles. Theodosius at once consented. There was a vast porphyry sarcophagus at Milan, resembling that in which the rough soldier Maximian, colleague of Diocletian, had been at last laid to rest after his stormy old age, and herein the young Emperor was inurned, his remains being covered with slabs of most precious porphyry. Ambrose pronounced in his honour a funeral oration, in which some rather commonplace consolations, addressed to the weeping sisters, were mingled with passages of real and pathetic eloquence. 'How are the mighty fallen! How far more swiftly have the wheels of both lives run down than the current of Rhone himself! Oh Gratian and Valentinian! my beautiful and beloved ones! in what narrow limits were your lives confined! How near the places of your dying! How close together your sepulchres! Inseparable in heart while you lived, in death you are not divided. Harmless ye were as doves, swift as eagles, innocent as lambs. The arrow of Gratian turned not back, and the justice of Valentinian returned not empty. How have the mighty fallen without fighting!

'I grieve for thee, my son Gratian, whose love was very sweet to me. In thy perils thou didst ask for me: in thy last extremity thou didst call upon me: thou

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

392.

Ambrose's
oration, *De*
Obitu
Valen-
tiniani.

BOOK I. didst sorrow for my sorrow more than for thine own.
 CH. 11. I grieve for thee too, son Valentinian, who wast very
 392. beautiful in mine eyes. Through me didst thou think
 to be delivered from danger: thou didst love me not
 only as a father but as thy redeemer and liberator.
 Thou saidst, "Think you that I shall see my father?"
 Alas! that I did not earlier know thy desire. Alas!
 that thou didst not sooner in secret send for me. Ah
 me! what pledges of love have I lost! "How are the
 mighty fallen and the weapons of war perished!"

Galla urges
 Theodosius
 to avenge
 her brother's
 death.

Though Justa and Grata could only weep timid
 tears for their vanished brother, it may easily be
 imagined that Galla, the wife of the Lord of the East,
 thought not of sorrow only but of revenge. When
 she heard of the death of her brother she filled the
 palace with her cries, and doubtless during the short
 remainder of her life she ceased not to adjure Theo-
 dosius by every motive of gratitude, of honour, and of
 kinship to avenge the blood of Valentinian. Towards
 the end of 392 an embassy from the Emperor Eugenius
 appeared at the Court of Constantinople. The chief
 spokesman was an Athenian named Rufinus—a different
 person of course from the minister of Theodosius—who,
 no doubt, pleaded eloquently for peace between the
 different members of the same Republic, while several
 obsequious Gaulish Bishops—the same sort of vermin
 that had applauded the execution of Priscillian and
 condemned the uncourtliness of Martin—conveyed to
 Theodosius their valuable assurances that Arbogast
 was innocent of the death of his colleague.

Embassy
 from
 Eugenius
 to Theo-
 dosius.

To this embassy the Eastern Emperor made a
 diplomatic reply, not accepting the proffered friendship
 of the Professor in the purple, nor yet openly threaten-

ing war, which nevertheless all the Roman world probably knew to be inevitable.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

Was it caution, was it indolence, was it reluctance to array one half of the Empire in battle against the other half which again, as in the war against Maximus, caused such inexplicable delay in the movements of Theodosius? Certainly he had some excuse for hesitation, for Arbogast, the 'flame-like' Frank, was, as he well knew, no mere intriguer like Maximus, but a brave and well-tried soldier, probably now the best general in the Empire, for the veteran Richomer (his kinsman according to the historian before-quoted ¹) died at Constantinople shortly before the commencement of the war. But whatever the cause, it is clear that more than two years elapsed after the death of Valentinian II before his brother-in-law stood with an avenging army on the soil of Italy.

392.
Delay on
the part
of Theo-
dosius.

These two years of waiting were employed by Arbogast and his puppet-Emperor doubtless for the most part in warlike preparations. They were occupied partly by a campaign beyond the Rhine which compelled the Alamanni and the Franks to sue once more for peace with the Empire. But they were also signalised by an attempt such as that which Julian had made thirty years before to roll back the current of men's thoughts into the deserted channels of Paganism. Eugenius, nominally a Christian, but essentially a rhetorician, was willing as a matter of policy to give another lease of existence to the Olympian gods whose names and rivalries and amours he had himself doubtless interwoven many a time as conventional commonplaces in his orations. And his patron Arbogast, probably still,

Paganising
policy of
Eugenius
and Arbo-
gast.

392-3.

¹ Joannes Antiochenus.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

392-4.

like the rest of his Frankish countrymen, a heathen, certainly no friend to Christian Bishops and the Christian clergy, was also willing, nay eager, to conciliate the old Conservative aristocracy of Rome by rebuilding the fallen altars and opening again the dust-begrimed temples of their ancestors. Thus did Odin lend a helping hand to the battered Jupiter of the Capitol and assist him to reascend, and for a little while to maintain, his tottering throne.

The heathenism of the Mediterranean countries was all concentrated in the city by the Tiber. It had taken refuge in that old home of Empire as the Jews, when Jerusalem was besieged by Titus, took refuge in the Temple of Jehovah, and there it was prepared to make its last desperate stand against the new faith; to try

‘What reinforcements it might gain from hope,
If not, what resolution from despair.’

We have seen with what strange pertinacity the Senators had urged on successive Emperors their petition for the restoration of the Altar of Victory. During the last sad months of the young Valentinian's life another deputation had waited upon him in Gaul with the same monotonous request, and had received a rebuff which showed that even when not fortified by the presence of Ambrose, Valentinian could, in religious matters, hold his own against the terrible Arbogast. Now, after the accession of Eugenius, they again appeared, preferring the same request. Liberty to re-erect the altar seems to have been at once conceded. The closed temples of the gods were also opened without delay. It was a harder matter to obtain the restoration of the revenues which had formerly been

devoted to the service of the temples, but which had perhaps now been confiscated to the Imperial exchequer. Twice did a deputation plead in vain for this concession, but at length, when Arbogast also condescended to endorse the petition, Eugenius unbent from his sternness and granted the Temple-revenues, not ostensibly to the Temple-service, but to the petitioners themselves, leaving it to them to bestow those revenues on the gods of the heathen if they were disposed so to do¹. So might some Stuart king, secretly inclined to the old religion, have re-granted certain abbey-lands, not directly to one of the old monastic orders, but to some devout Roman Catholic courtier, well knowing that he, on the first opportunity, would re-convey them to the old uses.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.
392-4.

A leading member of the deputation which obtained these important concessions from the new Emperor was Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, Praetorian Prefect of Italy. This Roman nobleman, who at the time of the accession of Eugenius was verging on the sixtieth year of his age, has been made strangely real to us by a recent discovery. He was a cousin of Symmachus, and was yet more closely connected with him through the marriage of their children, the son of Symmachus having married the daughter of Flavianus. But the ninety-one letters addressed to Flavianus by his kinsman Symmachus, though they slightly illustrate the changes in the fortunes of the receiver, and though they have some interest as representing the croakings of one old Roman raven to another over the downfall of the religion and customs of their forefathers, do not add much to our knowledge of the career and character of

Flavianus,
a leader of
the Pagan
party.

¹ Ambrose, Epist. i. 57. 6, and Paulinus, Vita Ambrosii, 26.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

39²-4.

Flavianus. Far more valuable for our purpose is a frantic and bitter libel upon him, the work evidently of a Christian scribe, which has lately been discovered at the end of a MS. of the poems of Prudentius¹. The author repeats in sonorous and tolerably lucid hexameters the commonplaces of Christian apologists as to the disreputable lives of the gods of Olympus. But when from Jupiter and Venus he descends to Flavianus (not named but clearly indicated) he is so furious as to be barely intelligible. Only we can perceive that Flavianus, like most of the pagans of his day, was very eclectic in his religion. No cult seems to have been unwelcome so long as it was not the cult of the Christians. He was 'a worshipper of Serapis, ever friendly to the Etruscans, and learned in their science of infusing poison into the veins².' He had submitted, like many Roman Senators of his day, to the disgusting rite of *Taurobolium*, a literal baptism of blood which formed part of the worship of Mithras, and which, like other rites of that oriental superstition, seems to have aped and exaggerated the symbolic rites of Christianity³.

¹ This MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris (Fonds Latin, No. 8084) was published by Delisle in the 'Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,' and afterwards by Morel in the 'Revue Archéologique,' June, 1868. See also an article by Mommsen: *Hermes*, 1870.

² 'Sarapidis cultor, Etruscis semper amicus
Fundere qui incautis studuit concreta venena,
Mille nocendi iras, totidem conquereret artes.' (ll. 50-52.)

Possibly the satirist only means to accuse Flavianus of instilling the poison of heathenism into the minds of the citizens.

³ The person upon whom the *Taurobolium* was to be performed was crowned with a mitre and a golden wreath, and was then let down into a hole in the ground, over which a scaffolding had been erected, in which orifices had been pierced at regular intervals. A bull, crowned with garlands, was then brought upon this scaffolding, and

He took part apparently in the mystic procession on the 5th of March, when the goddess Isis, accompanied by a long train of priests arrayed in white linen, set sail on the Tiber in quest of the slain Osiris. In the seven days' feast of the Great Goddess¹, Cybele, he, with other Senators, guarded her chariot and pushed on the silver lions which appeared to draw the Mother of the Gods. And, reviving the long-discontinued festival of the Amburbium, a festival which apparently had fallen into disuse since the time of Aurelian, he caused the priests to march in solemn procession round the city² with three victims, a sow, a sheep, and a bull, which at the end of the ceremony were offered up on the altars of Mother Earth and of Ceres or of Father Mars. The old wooden statues of the gods were perhaps brought forth and placed on couches in the streets and *fora* of the city, with costly viands set out on tables before them and incense burning under their nostrils³: and the merry but indecent dances with which men and women had once celebrated the gay rites of Flora again twinkled through the streets⁴.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

392-4

270-275.

stabbed to death by a priest of Mithras. The blood of the victim, showered down through the orifices upon the worshipper below, was held to purify him from sin. He probably wore the blood-stained garments through the banquet that followed, and for the rest of the day. The efficacy of this blood-baptism was believed to continue for twenty years (Marquardt, 'Römische Staatsverwaltung,' iii. 88; quoting Prudentius, 'Peristephanon,' x. 1005-1050).

¹ Megalensia, 4-10 April.

² This was called 'lustrare Urbem.' In the corresponding rural feast of the Ambarvalia, 'lustrabant agros.'

³ 'Ornaret lauro postes, convivium daret,
Pollutos panes infectos ture vapore
Poneret in risum.' (ll. 41-43.)

This seems to describe a *lectisternium*.

⁴ It is perhaps worth noticing that all the rites described by our

The populace of Rome, who for at least two generations had been accustomed to think of Paganism as a defeated religion, existing only by sufferance and celebrating its rites by stealth, were doubtless amazed to see it thus stalking abroad again in full day-light and asserting itself as the religion of the State. There does not seem to have been any persecution of the Christians, but inducements were not wanting to prevail upon time-servers to desert their faith. One man¹ was persuaded to apostatise by a commission to administer the Imperial domain in Africa, another by the Proconsulate of that wealthy province². The old faith in auguries too began to revive. Flavianus, who was undoubtedly a learned man according to the standard of that age, had studied deeply the old treatises on divination and was perpetually turning over with curious eyes the entrails of the sacrificial victims to read there the will of the gods. Like most augurs, especially political augurs, he could read there the omens which he most desired, and he confidently

satirist seem to have taken place in the spring: the Voyage of Isis on the 25th of March, the Megalensia from 4th to 10th of April, Floralia 28th April to 3rd of May, Amburbium on the 29th of May. Perhaps we have here a description of the state of the City during the spring-months of 394, when the heathen party were waiting, in an agony of expectation, for the commencement of the campaign against Theodosius.

¹ Leucadius, possibly the Gaulish governor for whom St. Martin interceded (see p. 452).

² This Proconsul was Martianus, who had been 'vicarius Italiae' in 384. His son Maximian was Prefect of Rome in 409, and was sent by the Senate on an embassy to Ravenna. These appointments to offices in Africa by the party of Eugenius make me doubt Gùldenpenning's statement (p. 219, n. 43) that Africa remained true to Theodosius.

assured Eugenius that in the war, which all men knew to be impending, he should conquer and the religion of the Nazarene should be overthrown.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.
392-4.

Of course there was deep indignation in all Christian hearts at these puny attempts to imitate the mighty Apostate. Theodosius, as if to emphasize his unshaken loyalty to the Christian faith, put forth, in November 392, only a few months after he had heard of the death of his young colleague, an edict against idolatry¹. No one in any station of life, high or low, was to be permitted to offer up innocent victims to senseless idols, nor in the secrecy of his home to seek to propitiate the Lares by fire, the Genius with wine, or the Penates with sweet incense, to kindle sacrificial lights, to throw frankincense on the fire, nor to hang up garlands. The attempt to derive auguries from the examination of the steaming entrails of a sacrifice was pronounced an act of treason against the Emperor; and all places from which the smoke of incense had ascended in honour of an idol were to be confiscated to the Emperor's use. Clearly if the Old Rome was inclined to rebuild the altars of the Capitol, the New Rome would keep the faith of the Cross inviolate.

Anti-Pagan
legislation
of Theo-
dosius.

In Italy Ambrose withdrew from contact with the powers of darkness. Like Milton's Abdiel,

Ambrose
is still
erect.

'Amid innumerable false he stood
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified.'

He left Milan when Eugenius approached it; he retired to Bologna, to Faenza, finally to Florence. From thence he wrote one of his noblest letters² to the new Emperor, describing the earlier phases of the discussion

¹ Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 12.

² Ep. i. 57.

BOOK I. about the Altar of Victory, and sharply rebuking him
CH. 11.
392-4 for being less true to his Christian faith than either of
the young sovereigns, Gratian and Valentinian. 'Though
the Imperial power be great, yet consider, oh Emperor,
how great is God. He sees the hearts of all, He
questions their innermost consciences. He knows all
deeds before they are done. He knows the secrets of
thy breast. You monarchs will not allow one of your
subjects to deceive you and think ye that ye can hide
anything from God?'

The relations between the upstart Emperor and the self-exiled Bishop grew doubtless more hostile all through the year 393, and when at length in the summer of 394 Arbogast set forth to war with Theodosius, he and the Prefect Flavianus said in the haughtiness of their hearts as they passed out from the gates of Milan: 'When we come back we will stable our horses in the great Basilica, and all these sleek churchmen shall be drilled to arms by our centurions.' And yet even Arbogast might have learned how mighty and all-pervading was the power which he had thus arrayed against himself and his Imperial puppet. For in the campaign against the Franks of the Rhine, which probably filled up the summer of 393, he had met one of the many kings of that fierce tribe, who asked him 'Dost thou know Ambrose?' 'Yes,' said Arbogast, 'I know him and he loves me well, and I have often dined with him.' 'Then that is the cause, Sir Count, why you have conquered me, because you are loved by that man who says to the Sun, "Stand still," and it stands.' Already the fame of a great saint had learned to travel over mountains and rivers: already superstitious fears were creeping behind the mail of bar-

barian kings and making them feel that it was dangerous to war against the God of the Christians ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

Meanwhile, Theodosius with leisurely calmness, but also with unshaken determination, was making his preparations for the great campaign. All through the year 393 the movement of troops along the roads, and the clang of the armourer's hammer in the arsenals of the East, gave token of the coming fray. In order to secure the succession to his own family, and to mark more emphatically that he recognised no colleague in the rhetorician Eugenius, he associated his younger son Honorius, a boy of nine years old, as Augustus with himself and Arcadius ². The people of Constantinople saw with superstitious fear a darkness, almost like that of night, overspread the city on the morning of the ceremony which marked this event. The south wind blew up dense masses of cloud from the Bithynian plains and all the shores of the Bosphorus were wrapped in obscurity. But then, when the soldiers were acclaiming the new Augustus, suddenly the clouds dispersed, Chalcedon again became visible from the capital, and the returning gladness of Nature was hailed as an

393.
Honorius
associated
in the
Empire.

¹ We derive these two stories from the interesting but marvelous life of Ambrose written by his notary, Paulinus. He says that the second story was told him by a very religious young man, who was cup-bearer to Arbogast in his Frankish campaign.

² The association of Honorius is assigned by Socrates to the 10th January, 393. Some authors, understanding by the darkness an eclipse, have insisted on transferring the ceremony to 20th November, 393, which was the date of an eclipse. But Clinton and Sievers argue, as it seems to me rightly, for Socrates' date. The darkness, which is most fully described by Claudian (though with some fanciful embellishments in honour of his patron) does not seem to have been due to an eclipse, but to an unusually thick canopy of cloud. (See Claudian, iv Cons. Honorii, 170-196).

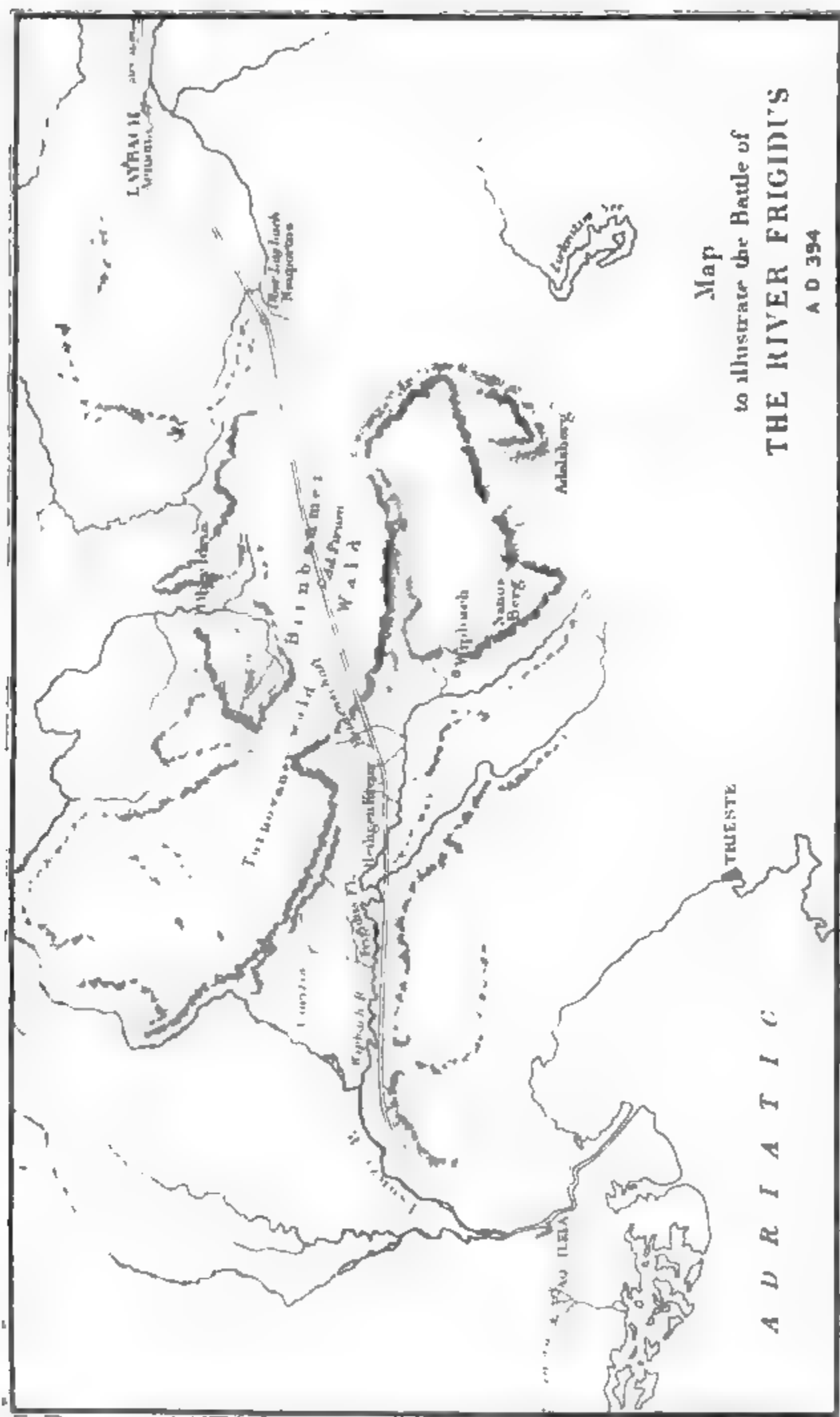
BOOK I. augury of happiest promise for the reign of the princely
 CH. 11. child. Unfortunately, the Roman Empire had reason
 393. in after days to look upon the darkness rather than the
 radiance as a type of the long and disastrous reign of
 Honorius.

Mission of
 Eutropius
 to the
 Egyptian
 hermit,
 John.

Though he felt that the war was inevitable, Theodosius had a strange reluctance to commence it. Ill-health was perhaps already depressing his spirits and making him shrink from the labours and dangers of a campaign. By his own experience of Arbogast as a subordinate he knew how formidable he would be as an antagonist, far more formidable than that mere camp-demagogue and trader in mutiny, Maximus. The road over the Julian Alps, as he well knew, would not be traversed so easily as it had been in 388, for now Arbogast, forewarned of the danger, had stationed some of his best troops to dispute the passage. With an anxious desire to read what Providence might have written on the yet unturned page of his fortunes, Theodosius sent a member of his household, the Eunuch Eutropius, to a cave in the Egyptian Thebaid to consult the holy hermit John, a man who had the reputation of performing miraculous cures and foretelling future events. The hermit steadfastly declined an invitation to quit his cell for the palace at Constantinople, but sent back by the Eunuch this oracular response. 'The war will be bloody, more bloody than that against Maximus. Theodosius will conquer, but he will not long survive his victory. In Italy will he draw his last breath.'

Death of
 Galla.

So the preparations went on all through the year 393. The Gothic *foederati* were mustered in their squadrons eager to fight under the open-handed Au-



Map
to illustrate the Battle of
THE RIVER FRIGIDUS
A D 394

gustus and other barbarians from across the Danube, perhaps the remnant of Athanaric's Visigoths, perhaps Ostrogoths and Gepidæ, and even some of their Hunnish conquerors, trooped across the broad river, scenting bloodshed and spoil in the fluttering of the wings of the Roman eagles. When the army was already on the point of marching, she for whose sake the whole campaign was undertaken vanished from her husband's side. The beautiful Empress Galla died, having given birth to a little daughter, who was one day to rule the Empire of the West under the title of Galla Placidia Augusta. Theodosius, as a historian¹ says, was mindful of the Homeric maxim—

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

394

May, 394.

'In war, with stern hearts we entomb our dead,
And but for one day must our tears be shed,'

and, though with an aching heart, set forth from Constantinople, only pausing to pay his devotions in the Church which he had reared in the suburb of the Hebdomon in honour of John the Baptist.

As before, he moved his troops along the highway that connected Sirmium with Aquileia. By this road, as has been before hinted, the Alps may be said to be turned rather than crossed. At one point indeed, between Laybach and Gorizia, a shoulder of the Julian Alps has to be surmounted, but as the highest point of the pass is less than 2000 feet above the level of the sea, it must not be associated in our minds with those ideas of Alpine hardship which suggest themselves in connection with the St. Bernard, the Splugen, or even the Brenner. On the summit of the pass there grew, at the time of the Roman road-makers, a pear-tree,

Theodosius' march through Illyricum.

¹ Zosimus, quoting the Iliad, xix. 228—9.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

394.

Battle-field
of the
Frigidus.

conspicuous, we must suppose, from afar by its cloud of white blossoms. This tree gave to the neighbouring station the name of *Ad Pirum*, and the memory of it has now for many centuries been preserved, in another tongue, by the appellation of the *Birnbaumer Wald*, given to the whole of the high plateau which the road once traversed. Standing on the crest of this pass, in the place where probably 2000 years ago the pear-tree was blooming, the spectator beholds spread out before him a landscape with some very distinctive features, which the imagination can easily convert into a battle-field. To his right, all along the northern horizon, soars the bare and lofty ridge of the Tarnovaner Wald, about 4000 feet high. None but a very adventurous or a badly beaten army would seek a passage there. Opposite, to the south and west runs a range of gently swelling hills, somewhat resembling our own Sussex downs, the last outliers in this direction of the Julian Alps. On the left hand, to the south-east, the Birnbaumer Wald rises towards the abrupt cliff of the Nanos Berg, a mountain as high as the Tarnovaner Wald, which, conspicuous from afar, seems by its singular shape to proclaim itself to travellers, both from Italy and from Austria, as the end of the Alps. Set in this framework of hills lies a fruitful and well-cultured valley, 'The Paradise of Carniola¹,' deriving its name from its river, which, burrowing its way between hay-fields and orchards, seems disinclined to claim the visitor's notice, though entitled to it for more reasons than one. For this river, the Wipbach of our own day, the Frigidus Fluvius of the age of Theodosius, has not only historic fame, but is a phenomenon full of interest

¹ Schaubach's *Die Deutschen Alpen*, v. 368.

to the physical geographer. Close to the little town of Wipbach it bursts forth from the foot of the cliffs of the Birnbaumer Wald; no little rivulet such as one spring might nourish, but 'a full-fed river,' as deep and strong as the Aar at Thun, or the Reuss at Lucerne, like also to both those streams in the colour of its pale-blue waters, and, even in the hottest days of summer, unconquerably cool¹. Many a Roman legionary, marching along the great high road from Aquileia to Sirmium, has had reason to bless the refreshing waters of the mountain-born Frigidus. We know somewhat more than the philosophers of the camp could tell him of the causes of this welcome phenomenon. The fact is that in the Wipbach Thal we are in the heart of one of those limestone regions where Nature so often amuses us with her wild vagaries. Only half a day's march distant lies the entrance to those vast chambers of imagery, the caverns of Adelsberg. The river Poik, which rushes roaring through those caverns for two or three miles, emerges thence into the open country, disappears, reappears, again disappears, again reappears, and thus bears three different names in the course of its short history. A little further from Wipbach lies that other wonder of Carniola, the Zirknitzer See, where fishing in spring, harvesting in summer, and skating in winter, all take place over the same ground. The chilly Wipbach bursting suddenly forth from its seven sources in the Birnbaumer Wald is, it will be seen, but one of a whole family of similar marvels.

¹ The Wipbach has seven large sources, besides numberless small ones, all at the foot of the same cliffs. The largest and most picturesque of the sources is behind the palace and in the garden of Count Lantieri.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

394-
Position of
the armies.

Leaving the blue waters of the Frigidus we remount the hills, and stand with Theodosius by the pear-tree on the crest of the pass. By his unexpected energy he has gained the heights, before the enemy could anticipate him, but that is all. Far away below him stretch the tents of the army of Eugenius; they line the sides of the river and fill all the valley. The regular troops of Theodosius, the so-called Roman legionaries, are commanded by the veteran Timasius and under him by the Emperor's kinsman Stilicho. But true to his constant policy, Theodosius has surrounded himself with a strong band of barbarian auxiliaries, and the commanders of these skin-clothed Teutons are some of the most influential men in his army. There is Gainas the Goth, the same man who, six years hence, being general-in-chief of all the forces of the Eastern Empire, will rebel against Arcadius, son of Theodosius, and will all but succeed in capturing Constantinople. Gainas is an Arian Christian, as are most of his countrymen by this time; but by his side, with perhaps equal dignity, rides the Alan Saul, a heathen yet, notwithstanding his Biblical name. There too is the Catholic Bacurius, general of the household troops, who fought under Valens at Hadrianople, a man of Armenian origin, and of royal birth, who is 'destitute of all evil inclinations and perfectly versed in the art of war¹.' There also, carefully noticing the lie of these mountain passes, and veiling his eagerness for the first sight of Italy, is a young Visigothic chieftain named Alaric.

Zosimus,
iv. 57.

Theodosius gave the order to descend into the valley

¹ Bacurius, as we learn from the Church historian Rufinus, was originally King of the Iberi. He was a fervent Christian, and Rufinus had made his acquaintance when he was Dux Palaestinae.

and join battle. Owing to the roughness of the ground over which they were moving, the baggage-train broke down. A long and vexatious halt ensued. Theodosius, to whose mind the religious aspect of this war was ever present, and whose enthusiasm was at least as strongly stirred as was that of Constantine at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, rode forward to the head of his column, and in words borrowed from the old Hebrew Prophet, exclaimed, 'Where is the Lord God of Theodosius?' The troops caught the fervour of his spirit, the obstacle was quickly surmounted, and the army descended to the conflict.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

394

The weight of that day's battle fell upon the Teutonic auxiliaries of the Emperor, and they were not successful. Bacurius, the brave and loyal-hearted Armenian, fell; 10,000 of the barbarians perished, and the remnant, with their leaders, retired, but not in disorder, from the battle-field. When night fell, Theodosius was not indeed absolutely routed, but his position had become one of extreme peril. Eugenius, considering the victory as good as won, passed the night in feasting and in distributing largesse to the officers and soldiers who had most distinguished themselves in the encounter. Theodosius was advised by his generals to retreat during the night, and adjourn the campaign till next spring. But the soldier could not bear to retire before his grammarian rival, and the Christian refused to allow the standard of the Cross to confess itself vanquished by the figure of Hercules, which adorned the banners of Eugenius. He found a solitary place in a hill behind his army, and there he spent the night in earnest prayer to the Lord of the Universe. When the dawn was creeping over the Birnbaumer Wald he fell

First day's
battle,
Sept. 5.

BOOK I. asleep. In his vision two men mounted on white
CH. 11. steeds and clothed in white raiment appeared to him.

394.
The
Emperor's
vision. They were not the great twin brethren who stood by
Aulus on the margin of the Lake Regillus; they were
the Apostles St. John and St. Philip, and they bade
Theodosius be of good courage, since they were sent to
fight for him in the coming day. The Emperor awoke
and resumed his devotions yet more earnestly. While
he was thus engaged a centurion came to inform him
of a remarkable dream which had visited one of the
soldiers in his company. The dream of the soldier was
the very same as that of the Augustus, and the marvel-
lous coincidence of course gladdened all hearts.

Second
day's bat-
tle, Sept. 6. Yet when in the early dawn the Emperor began
again to move his troops down towards the scene of
yesterday's encounter, he saw a sight which boded
little good. Far back amid the recesses of the moun-
tains were soldiers of the enemy, in ambush though
imperfectly concealed, and threatening his line of
retreat. The peril seemed more urgent than ever, but
he contrived to call a parley with the officers of these
troops, invisible probably to Eugenius, though seen by
his antagonist, and he found them willing, almost eager,
to enter his service, if they could be assured of pay and
promotion. The contract (not one of which either party
had reason to be proud) was soon concluded, and Theo-
dosius recorded on his tablets the high military offices
which he bound himself to bestow on Count Arbitrio,
the leader of the ambuscade, and on his staff¹.

¹ It seems probable, though I do not think it is distinctly stated
by any authority, that the Prefect Flavianus was with these troops,
and that, being unable to prevent their desertion, he perished by his
own hand. (See Seeck's *Prolegomena* to the letters of Symmachus,
p. cxix.)

Strengthened by this reinforcement he made the sign of the cross, which was the concerted signal of battle, and his soldiers clashed against the foe, who in the security of victory were perhaps hardly ready for the onset. Yet the second day's battle was obstinately fought, and was at length decided by an event which may well have seemed miraculous to minds already raised to fever-heat by this terribly even contest between the new faith and the old. In the very crisis of the battle a mighty wind arose from the north, that is to say from behind the troops of Theodosius, who were standing on the slopes of the Tarnovaner Wald. The impetuous gusts blew the dust into the faces of the Eugenians, and not only thus destroyed their aim, but even carried back their own weapons upon themselves and made it impossible to wound one of their adversaries with dart or with *pilum*. The modern traveller, without considering himself bound to acknowledge a miraculous interposition, has no difficulty in admitting the general truth of this narrative, which is strongly vouched for by contemporary authors. All over the *Karst* (as the high plateau behind Trieste is called) the ravages of the Bora, or north-east wind, have long been notorious¹. Heavily-laden waggons have been overturned by its fury, and where no shelter is afforded from its blasts houses are not built, and trees will not grow². From the fruitful and well-clothed aspect of

¹ Is the fury of the Bora owing to the abrupt termination here of the great Alpine wall, or to some conflict between the climate of the Adriatic shores and that of the valleys of the affluents of the Danube?

² I take the following account of a recent outbreak of the Bora from the *Standard* of 31 December, 1890:—'But it is at Trieste that the South has most completely belied its conventional reputation. For there, as our Vienna correspondent informs us, the "Bora" has

the Wipbach Thal it might be supposed that it was sheltered by its mountain bulwarks from this terrible visitation. But it is not so. All the way up from the village of Heidenschafft to the crest of the pass which bounds the Wipbach Thal, the Bora rages. Not many years ago the commander of a squadron of Austrian cavalry was riding with his men past the very village which probably marks the site of the battle. An old man well versed in the signs of the weather warned him not to proceed, because he saw that the Bora was about to blow. 'No, indeed,' laughed the captain. 'What would people say if soldiers on horseback stopped because of the wind?' He continued his march, the predicted storm arose, and he lost eight men and three horses, swept by its fury into the waters of the Wipbach¹. The same cause which in our lifetime struck those eight men off the muster-rolls of the imperial-royal army, decided the battle of the Frigidus near fifteen centuries ago, and gave the whole Roman

been blowing with a violence which the Illyrians had begun to regard as a thing of the past. For many years it has not been found necessary to stretch ropes along the streets of Trieste for pedestrians to hold on by, and it was the exception rather than the rule for vessels to be prevented from communicating with the shore, even when the Bora was blowing with its utmost strength. This diminution of its force was attributed to the gradual afforesting of the Karst, the upland plateau over which it swept unchecked in former times. But the ferocity of the present gale showed no abatement of its vigour. The ropes had again to be stretched along the streets, and, though the temperature was only nine degrees below freezing, all the ships in the harbour were covered with ice, and several slipped their anchors, or even had their cables broken.'

¹ It was interesting to hear this story (unsolicited by any question on my part, but which at once recalled Claudian's well-known lines) from the mouth of 'Michele il Tedesco,' the vetturino who drove me from Gorizia to Adelsberg (1878).

world to the family of Theodosius and the dominion of the Catholic faith. BOOK I.
CH. 11.

The poet Claudian, describing the events of this memorable day, with all the audacity of a courtier makes them redound to the glory of his patron Honorius, son of Theodosius, a boy in the eleventh year of his age, who was a thousand miles away from the fighting, but to whose auspices, as he was Consul for the year, his father's victory might, by a determined flatterer, be ascribed. 394.
Claudian's
story of the
battle.

'Down from the mountain, summoned by thy name
Upon your foes the chilling north wind came;
Back to the sender's heart his javelin hurled,
And from his powerless grasp the spear-staff whirled.
Oh greatly loved of heaven! from forth his caves
Aeolus sends his armed Storms, thy slaves.
Aether itself obeys thy sovereign will,
And conscript Winds move to thy bugles shrill.
The Alpine snows grew ruddy: the Cold Stream
Now, with changed waters, glided dank with steam,
And, but that every wave was swoln with gore,
Had fainted 'neath the ghastly load she bore.'

De III
Consulatu
Honorii,
93-101.

Eugenius, who seems not to have been in the thick of the fight, and who still deemed himself secure of victory, saw some of his soldiers running swiftly towards him. 'Are you bringing me Theodosius in bonds,' he shouted, 'according to my orders?' 'By no means, they answered; 'he is conqueror, and we are pardoned on condition of carrying you to him.' They then loaded him with chains and bore him into the presence of Theodosius, who upbraided him with the murder of Valentinian, and, almost as if it were an equal crime, with setting up the statue of Hercules for worship. Eugenius grovelled at the feet of his rival, begging for Death of
Eugenius.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

394.

Death of
Arbogast.

life, but his entreaties were cut short by a soldier who severed his head from his body with a sword. This ghastly proof of failure carried round the camp upon a pole determined the last waverers to throw themselves on the mercy of Theodosius, who was now, at any rate, the only legitimate Roman Emperor. This mercy was easily extended to them, policy as well as religion making it incumbent on the Emperor to convert his late foes as speedily as possible into loyal soldiers. The barbarian Arbogast, of whose generalship on the second day of the battle we hear nothing, fled to the steepest and most rugged part of the mountains (perhaps the Nanos Berg), and after wandering about for two days, finding every gorge which led down into the plain carefully watched, fell upon his sword, like King Saul among the mountains of Gilboa, and so perished. Thus fell the last of the antagonists of Theodosius¹.

¹ The question of the exact site of the battle of Frigidus should be determined after a careful examination of the topography, such as no historian seems yet to have thought it worth while to institute. The slight consideration which I have been able to give to the subject on the spot leads me to believe that the battle was fought near Heiden-schafft; the forces of Theodosius being, as I have said, on the lower slopes of the Tarnovaner Wald, and those of Eugenius in the valley and upon the range of lower hills opposite. There are three names of towns or villages in the valley, all of which might possibly be connected with the battle. *Battuglia*, about an hour below Heiden-schafft, might be a corruption of Battaglia. The town of *Heiligenkreuz*, conspicuous on its pedestal of rock jutting out into the valley, may perhaps have derived its name originally from some erection by the Emperor in honour of the Holy Cross, which was his battle-signal, and allusions to which were so constantly on his lips during those two critical days. And is it too much to suggest that *Heidenschafft* itself may, either as a corruption of *Heidenschlacht* or in some other way, be connected with 'the overthrow of the Heathens'? Three languages, Italian, German, and Slovenic, are jammed up against one another in

When the battle was ended, one of the earliest acts of the Emperor was to overturn the statues of Jupiter with which the idolatrous usurper had garnished and, as he seems to have hoped, guarded the Alpine passes. The hand of each statue of the god grasped, and was in act to hurl, a golden thunderbolt. When the statues were overthrown Theodosius distributed these golden bolts among his outriders. 'By such lightnings,' said the laughing soldiers, 'may we often be struck!' And the stately Emperor, according to St. Augustine, unbent from his usual high demeanour and 'permitted the merriment of the soldiers.'

BOOK I.
CH. 11.394-
Overthrow
of the idols.

As after the defeat of Maximus, so now, Theodosius showed himself humane and moderate in the hour of victory. There was no proscription of the adherents of Eugenius or confiscation of their property. The children of Eugenius and Arbogast, though not members of the Christian Church, had taken refuge in the Basilica at Milan. Ambrose, true to the noble instincts of his nature, at once addressed a letter to Theodosius beseeching him to have mercy on the fallen. The Emperor's reply consigned them provisionally to the protection of an Imperial notary¹: and before long a full and complete amnesty arrived at Milan, granted to the petition of Ambrose who had visited the Emperor at Aquileia, and had been assured that no reward was too great for the prayers which had earned the fateful victory.

Clemency
of Theo-
dosius.

There was, however, some note of censure and this corner of Austria, and probably no one of them is spoken with accuracy.

¹ 'Johannes, tunc tribunus et notarius, qui nunc praefectus est' (Paulinus, Vita Ambrosii, 51). Compare also Augustine, De Civitate Dei, v. 26.

BOOK I. ignominy attached to the name of the deceased
 CH. 11. Flavianus, for a tablet discovered in the Forum of
 394- Trajan records what we should call 'the reversal of his
 431. attainer,' thirty-six years after this time, by the grand-
 son of Theodosius at the request of the grandson of
 Flavianus¹.

Proceed-
 ings in
 Rome as
 described
 by Zosi-
 mus.

That the defeat of Eugenius dealt a real death-blow to the recrudescence of Paganism of Rome there can be no doubt, but how the death-blow was administered is by no means clear. Zosimus tells us² that Theodosius visited Rome with his little son Honorius; that he presented him to the Romans as their Emperor, and constituted Stilicho his guardian: that he then called the Senate together and exhorted them to forsake the errors of heathenism, and embrace the faith of the Christians, which would free them from every stain of impiety and guilt. The Senate, however, according to this historian refused to abandon the rights which had for near 2000 years secured victory to their city: whereupon Theodosius fell back on a mere financial argument, asserting that the necessities of the military chest forbade the expenditure which had hitherto been lavished upon the heathen sacrifices. The Senate replied that the sacrifices of the State must be offered up at the State's expense; but Theodosius was inexorable, and struck the provision for their maintenance out of the Imperial budget. 'The result of this has been,' says Zosimus, 'that the Roman Empire, cut short in every direction, has become the home of every barbarous tribe or else has been so utterly wasted of its inhabitants, that men

¹ This inscription is quoted by Seeck (*ubi supra*) from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vi. 1783.

² iv. 59.

can no longer recognise the places where its great cities stood.' BOOK I.
CH. 11.

The poet Prudentius represents the Emperor as delivering to the Senate a long harangue, partaking in some degree of the nature of a sermon, against idolatry¹. He declaimed against the folly of worshipping senseless and perishable images of stone, of plaster, or of brass, though he uttered a kindly hint to preserve those which were beautiful as works of art, unmutilated but also unstained with sacrificial gore. He reminded the Senate of the cruelties which nearly a century before had been practised by the heathen Maxentius, and of the joy with which their forefathers had hailed the '*In hoc signo vinces*' standard of the Christian liberator Constantine. He exhorted them to leave idolatry to the barbarians, and to cultivate 'that mild and reasonable religion which was worthy of the wise trainer of the nations.'

394-
Proceed-
ings in
Rome as
described
by Pru-
dentius.

According to the Christian poet 'the benches of the full Senate decreed that the couch of Jupiter was infamous, and that all idolatry was to be driven far from the purified City.' There is at first sight some contradiction between this story and that told by Zosimus, but, on examining the two and making allowance for the prejudices of the heathen and the poetical amplification of the Christian, it seems probable that Theodosius did actually make some proposition to the Senate for the discontinuance of the grants hitherto

¹ Contra Symmachum, i. 415-505. I cannot find in these lines the justification for Gibbon's statement, 'In a full meeting of the Senate the Emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question whether the worship of Jupiter or that of Christ should be the religion of the Romans' (chap. xxviii. n. 18).

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

394

made for the great State-sacrifices to Jupiter and the other gods of the Capitol, that in bringing forward this proposal he resorted to some of the usual arguments of Christian controversialists against the folly of idolatry, that this harangue provoked from some brave Senators the declaration that they meant to live and die in the faith of their ancestral gods, but that nevertheless the vote for the discontinuance of the sacrificial grants was carried by a large majority, either Christian at heart or pliant to the will of an omnipotent Emperor¹.

But more important, probably, than any formal legislative action of the Emperor was the social influence exercised by him as the unquestioned and victorious head of the great official hierarchy of the Empire, upon the office-seeking Senators of Rome. Prudentius declares that six hundred families of ancient lineage, among whom he enumerates the bearers of the following names—Annius, Probus, Anicius, Olybrius, Paulinus, Bassus, and Gracchus—were ‘turned to the ensigns of Christ.’ He does not directly assert that all these conversions were caused by the arguments of Theodosius, and in fact we know that the representatives of some of these families had been Christians for many years previous to 395: but he does convey the idea, and probably with truth, that the overthrow of Eu-

¹ Though reluctant to differ from Tillemont, and (among modern commentators) from Sievers and Güldenpenning, I cannot see sufficient force in their arguments to outweigh the clear testimony of Zosimus and Prudentius as to the visit of Theodosius to Rome, which was certainly *possible*, between the victory of the Frigidus and his death. S. Lanciani appears to fix at this time the suppression of the order of Vestal Virgins (Ancient Rome, p. 175). But this seems to me somewhat premature, as Prudentius, writing his poem *Contra Symmachum* ten years after this date, speaks of the Vestals as a still existing order.

genius and the visit of Theodosius which followed closely upon it were turning-points in the religious history of the Roman Senate, and that the heathen party in that assembly, which had before been either a majority or nearly equal in number to their opponents, now became a hopeless and dwindling minority.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

394.

The new year (395) was marked by a pleasing event hitherto unknown in Roman annals, and that event was commemorated by a poem of Claudian, the first of a long and important series. The Consulship of the year was conferred on two brothers, Probinus and Olybrius, the sons of that successful place-hunter, but most unsuccessful ruler, Petronius Probus, whose oppressions and whose cowardice twenty years before so nearly brought Illyricum to ruin¹. Probus, who preyed upon the provincials, was himself preyed upon by a swarm of hungry dependents, and it was perhaps from one of these that Claudian, who is bound to flatter when he does not lampoon, derived the following estimate of the generosity of Probus:—

Consulship
of Probinus
and Oly-
brius.

374.

‘Not on his gold was seen the cavern’s stain,
The darkness hid it not: for heaven’s rain
Falls not so freely on the thirsting sword,
As upon countless crowds his wealth was poured².’

Whatever may have been the defects in the character of Probus, he was one of the most powerful nobles of Rome, and it was doubtless a stroke of policy on the part of the Eastern-minded Theodosius to attach him to his party by the magnificent gift of two Consulships for his sons. In the language of poetry this sort of transaction is translated into a dialogue between per-

¹ See pp. 218–222, 225–226.

² Consulat. Probini et Olybrii, 42–44.

BOOK I. sonified Rome and the divine Emperor. Claudian
 CH. 11.
 395. represents the goddess of the Seven-hilled City flying northward to present her suit to Theodosius immediately after the victory of the Frigidus. She alights among the winding passes of the Alps, those passes impenetrable to all but Theodosius.

Lines 112-
 123.

' Hard by, the victor on the turf reclined,
 The joy of ended battle filled his mind,
 The glad earth crowned with flowers her master's rest,
 And the grass grew, rejoicing to be pressed.
 Against a tree he leaned: his helm beneath
 Shone his calm brows, but still his panting breath
 Came thick and fast, and still the hot sweat poured
 Down those vast limbs. He lay like battle's Lord,
 Great Mars, when, the Gelonian hosts o'erthrown,
 He upon Gothic Haemus lays him down.
 Bellona bears his arms; Bellona leads
 Forth from the yoke his dusty, smoking steeds.
 Trembles his weary arm. The quivering gleam
 Of his vast spear falls far o'er Hebrus' stream.'

Of course the Imperial City's petition is granted. Proba, the venerable mother of the designated Consuls, prepares for their use the golden-woven *trabeae* (the consular vestments), 'and shining garments of the tissue which the Chinese shave off from the soft [mulberry] foliage, gathering leafy fleeces from the wool-bearing forest.' Jupiter thunders his approval, and old father Tiber, startled by the sound, leaves his mossy bed and lays him down on the island opposite to the Aventine to watch, delighted, the loving brothers escorted by the Senate to the Forum, and the double set of *fascies* borne forth from the same door.

Lines 266-
 279

' O Time, well-marked by brother-memories dear
 And brother-chiefs, O happy, happy year.
 Let Phoebus now his fourfold toil bestow,
 Send forth thy Winter first, not white with snow,

Nor numb with cold, nor vexed by tempests wild,
But tempered by the South-wind's whispers mild.
Then let sweet Zephyr bring the Spring serene
And gild with crocuses thy meadows green.
Let Summer deck thee with her cereal crown,
And Autumn with full clusters weigh thee down.
To thee alone is given the boast sublime,
Peerless in all the chronicles of Time,
That brothers were thy rulers: all our land
Shall speak thy praise; the Hours with loving hand
Shall write in changing flowers thy honoured name,
And the dim centuries rehearse thy fame.'

It certainly was a memorable year, the one which was thus pompously saluted, though not precisely for the reasons which made the poet welcome it. The 395th year of the Christian era, the 1148th year from the building of the city, brought with it in its earliest weeks the death of Theodosius, and that death was the beginning of the end of all things.

The disease of which Theodosius died in the prime of life (for he had not attained his fiftieth year) was dropsy, caused, we are told, by the fatigues and anxiety of the war with Eugenius. But he was evidently a somewhat free liver, and his long illness at Thessalonica had probably left him with an impaired constitution. When he felt his health failing he sent for his child-partner Honorius, who was brought by Serena from Constantinople to Milan. He arranged for the division of his Empire, the East to Arcadius, the West to Honorius: he made his will, in which he exhorted his sons to the practice of piety, by which victory would be obtained and peace secured. He also recommended the remission of an unpopular tax which he had himself proposed to abolish, but which had been hitherto maintained by the advice of one of his counsellors,

Death of
Theo-
dosius.

BOOK I.
CH. 11.

395.

probably Rufinus. Having made these dispositions, he calmly awaited the death which the Egyptian hermit had foretold. There was, however, a transient return of health, during which he gave orders for the celebration of some chariot-races on the 17th of January in honour of his victory. In the morning he was able to preside in the Hippodrome, but, after he had dined, his malady returned with added violence, and he was forced to send the little Honorius to preside in his stead. On that night he died, having reigned sixteen years all but two days.

Funeral
rites.

The great Emperor lay in state for forty days. His friend and faithful monitor, Ambrose, delivered an oration over his bier, to which we are indebted for some valuable information as to the character and the last days of Theodosius. In an eloquent apostrophe he pictures the soul of the great Christian Emperor winging its way to the halls of light, and there communing with his lost friend and colleague Gratian, as 'day unto day uttereth speech,' while in the realms of darkness Eugenius and Arbogast mingle in dreary colloquy 'as night unto night showeth its unholy knowledge.' But the oration as a whole strikes a modern reader as stilted and diffuse, and does not seem to come so directly from the speaker's heart as that in which he mourned the untimely death of Valentinian II.

The body of Theodosius was eventually removed to Constantinople and laid in the Church of the Apostles, where the great chest of porphyry in which it was entombed was visible till the Turk entered the city of the Caesars.

Thus ended the career of Theodosius, generally

styled the Great. Did he deserve that title, which he probably received at first from the Catholic party for the services, undoubtedly eminent, which he rendered to their cause? In comparison with the infinite littleness of every Roman Emperor during the succeeding century, he is rightly named; but how as to his own essential greatness? There is a certain magnificence and stateliness about him which would seem to justify posterity in naming him 'the Grand,' but of greatness his prematurely interrupted life makes it difficult to judge. Had his conciliatory policy towards the barbarians saved the Empire (and who can say what thirty years more of that policy under a wise and firm ruler might have effected?) he had been greater than Africanus, greater than Caesar. As it is, his life lies like a ruined sea-wall amidst the fierce barbarian tide, and the ravaged lands beyond it seem to say, but perhaps untruly, 'Thou couldst never have been a barrier to defend us.'

BOOK I.
CH. 11.
Character
of Theo-
dosius.

To me, earnestly striving to form an impartial estimate of his character, he seems to have been a true Spaniard both in his virtues and his faults. The comparison may seem fanciful, as many other elements have since combined to form the Spanish character; but let it be taken for what it is worth. The hero of those strange encounters with the Barbarians of the Marshes, recalls the figure of his countryman *El Cid Campeador*; the author of the Edict concerning the Catholic faith reminds us of the title of 'His Most Catholic Majesty'; his steady perseverance in the suppression of Heresy is worthy of Philip II; his magnificence suggests the Escorial, his ferocity the bull-fight; his procrastination in his dealings with Maximus

BOOK I. and Arbogast, the phrase 'hasta la mañana'¹; his
 CR. 11. mismanagement of the finances, the wrongs of the
 Spanish bondholder.

Here is one estimate of the character of Theodosius. Those who desire a more favourable picture may find it often repeated in the pages of the courtly Claudian. His apotheosis of the Emperor is painted with such strength of colour that the very extravagance of the flattery makes it almost sublime. He represents the dying Theodosius adjuring Stilicho, by the ties of gratitude and kindred, to be a faithful guardian to his sons. Then—

'He ceased, nor longer on the earth might stay,
 But through the clouds he clove his radiant way.
 He enters Luna's sphere; he leaves behind
 Arcadian Mercury's threshold. Soon the wind—
 The gentle wind of Venus—fans his face,
 And thence he seeks the Sun's bright dwelling-place².
 The sullen flame of Mars and placid Jove
 He passes next, and now stands high above,
 Where at the summit of the spheres is spread
 The zone made hard by Saturn's chilly tread.
 The frame of Heaven is loosed, the gleaming gates
 Stand open: for this guest Boötes waits
 Within his northern home; and southward far
 Hunter Orion greets the stranger Star.
 Each courts his friendship: each alternate prays
 That in his sky the new-lit fire may blaze.

Oh glory, once of Earth, and now of Air,
 Wearied, thou still dost to thy home repair,
 For Spain first bore thee on her noble breast,
 And in Spain's ocean dost thou sink to rest.

¹ 'Till to-morrow.'

² Of course, as the astronomy is Ptolemaic, the Sun takes the place between Venus and Mars which Copernicus has taught us to assign to the Earth.

At thy proud rising, oh exultant sire,
Thou seest Arcadius: when thy coursers tire,
The loved Honorius stays thy westering fire,
And wheresoe'er through heaven thine orbit runs,
Thou seest the world-wide kingdom of thy sons:
Thy sons, whose wise serenity of soul
And patient cares the conquered tribes control.'

The Roman Empire certainly held out splendid possibilities to ambition. Never since its fall has a mere Spanish gentleman of respectable birth and talents been turned into a star¹.

¹ [I leave my final estimate of the character of Theodosius as it was written fifteen years ago. Closer study of the subject makes me doubtful whether I did not, under the influence of the criticisms of Eunapius and Zosimus, judge that Emperor somewhat too harshly; and yet I cannot put my finger on any line in the portrait which is wrongly drawn. But in this case, as in so many others, added knowledge does not make it easier to reduce a complicated group of phenomena to one simple formula, either of praise or blame, and I therefore do not attempt to re-write my former description. I may say, however, that fitful energy seems to me to be the special note of the character of Theodosius. He does not appear to have been either a patient or an industrious ruler, but he evidently produced a powerful impression on those with whom he came in contact, and when these were not trembling before his paroxysms of rage, I can well believe that they loved him.]

NOTE F. ON THE DEATH OF VALENTINIAN II.

NOTE F. WHILE agreeing with the general verdict of historians that the death of Valentinian II was probably a murder, I do not think that the hypothesis of suicide is altogether excluded by the evidence.

1. Our best witness is Epiphanius (Bishop of Salamis, died 403), who in his treatise 'On Weights and Measures' says: 'Forty-six years are numbered from the death of Constantine to the consulship of Arcadius (for the second time) and Rufinus, under whom died Valentinian the younger, son of the great Valentinian, being found suddenly suffocated in the palace—so it is said¹—on the Ides [15th] of May, a day before Pentecost, on the Sabbath-day; and on the very day of Pentecost he was carried forth, seventeen days before the Kalends of June [16th May].' This fixes the date accurately, and is an absolutely contemporary notice of the event, though not penned by one who was near to the scene of Valentinian's death.

2. Orosius, who wrote in Spain, in the year 418, says: 'Valentinian the younger, being restored to his kingdom, passed over into Gaul, where, while he was living in peace, the commonwealth being tranquil, he was (as they say) strangled by the craft of his Count, Arbogast, and hung by a rope that he might be thought to have contrived his own death.'

3. St. Augustine, in his *De Civitate Dei* (v. 26), written between 413 and 426, uses this very guarded phrase: 'Valentinian having soon after perished, whether by treachery or in some other way or chance' ('eoque sive per insidias, sive quo alio pacto vel casu proxime extincto').

4. Prosper, who lived in the south of Gaul, and is therefore a better witness than some others, and who probably wrote this

¹ Εὐρεθεὶς ἄφνω ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ πεπνιγμένος (ὡς λόγος).

part of his chronicle about 433, says: 'Valentinian being driven to weariness of life by the too great severity of Arbogast, the master of the soldiery, perished by a rope at Vienne.' ('Val. ad vitæ fastidium nimia Arbogastis magistri militum austeritate perductus laqueo apud Viennam periit.') As if to emphasize his belief in the innocence of Arbogast, Prosper continues: 'Arbogastes...mortuo Valentiniano, *cujus exitu gravabatur*, Eugenium in Galliis imperare facit.' But one of the MSS. reads 'exercitu,' which, if intelligible at all, puts a different meaning into the sentence. NOTE F.

These are our best contemporary witnesses, and they show that the death of the young Emperor was apparently wrought by his own hands, and that there were some who continued to believe that it had really been so wrought; but that, considering the character and relations of the actors in the tragedy, murder instigated by Arbogast was the more generally accepted hypothesis. Other historians have added some details which are inconsistent with the notice in Epiphanius, and which I think we may pronounce to be certainly false.

Thus Philostorgius (writing probably about 430, but known to us only through the abstract of Photius) says that 'one day at Vienne after dinner, Arbogast, seeing Valentinian with some low buffoons lying down and dipping his lips into the river, sent some of his attendants to attack him. These laid violent hands upon him, and savagely strangled him in the absence of his servants, who had gone to take their dinner. To avoid enquiry for the authors of the deed they tied his handkerchief like a noose round his neck and hung him up with it to a tree that he might seem to have voluntarily hung himself.'

Zosimus (writing perhaps about a generation later than Philostorgius) says that 'Arbogast fell upon Valentinian while he was engaged in games outside the walls of Vienne with certain of the soldiers, and not suspecting any such design, and striking him a fatal blow, thus destroyed him.' Neither of these accounts fits with the absolutely contemporary testimony of Epiphanius, 'he was suddenly suffocated *in the palace*.'

Of the two great ecclesiastical historians, Socrates (circa 440) says unhesitatingly that Arbogast and Eugenius 'agreed to murder the Emperor Valentinian, and having corrupted the eunuchs of the Imperial bed-chamber by the most tempting

NOTE F. promises of promotion, induced them to strangle the Emperor in his sleep.' On the other hand, his contemporary and rival, Sozomen, says that some relate that he was put to death by the eunuchs at the solicitation of Arbogast and an opposition party of courtiers, and others that he wrought the fatal deed with his own hands because he was hindered by those about him from obeying the impetuous passions of youth and acting according to his own caprice.

Thus it is clear that the opinions of men were long divided as to the real nature of the tragedy at Vienne. If we enquire as to the circumstantial evidence, we shall find that also to be in a wavering balance, though on the whole the scale of murder preponderates. Arbogast had much to fear from the prolongation of his master's life, and something to hope from his death. Valentinian appears to have feared danger to his life, and to have besought for this reason the intervention first of Theodosius and then of Ambrose. He had also, with the religious notions of the age, great reason for desiring not to die unbaptized.

On the other hand, Arbogast does not appear to have had his plans in readiness for the decease of Valentinian, since an interval of three months elapses before the elevation of Eugenius to the throne. The ungovernable rages of Valentinian the father seem to point to the existence of a strain of madness in his nature which may have been transmitted to his son; the feverish anxiety for the arrival of Ambrose, long before it was possible for the *Silentiarius* to have reached Milan, looks like a disordered intellect, and according to the story of Philostorgius, Valentinian did talk about suicide when he was prevented by his attendants from rushing upon Arbogast. Also, as Arbogast's was eventually the unsuccessful cause, and Valentinian's niece ruled the empire for a generation, we are likely to hear that version of the story which is most unfavourable to the general and most favourable to the Emperor.

It may excite surprise that in my enumeration of authorities I have not included the great sermon of Ambrose, 'De Obitu Valentiniani.' Having read this sermon carefully through with an especial view to the solution of this question, I cannot extract from it any decided utterance on either side. Much of what the Bishop says would have been suitable to a natural but premature

death. There are certainly two or three expressions which harmonise with the theory of murder, but they are almost always balanced by a sentence which suggests the thought of suicide. Upon the whole the sermon leaves upon my mind the impression that Ambrose was in the same state of suspended judgment which Sozomen describes, suspecting, but not fully convinced, that his young disciple had fallen by the hands of assassins.

NOTE F.

CHAPTER XII.

INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Authorities.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Sources :—

The CODEX THEODOSIANUS, to which occasional reference is made in these volumes, is too well known to require detailed description. Published in the year 438 by order of Theodosius II, the grandson of Theodosius the Great, and codifying the legislation of 127 years (312-438), it is the great quarry from which enquirers into the social and political condition of Rome under the Christian Emperors will always draw their materials. I quote from Ritter's edition with Gothofred's notes, Leipzig, 1736-1743; but I have also used the admirable edition of Haenel (1842), which contains a more complete text than was available in Ritter's day.

The NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, notwithstanding the use made of it by Gibbon and Guizot, is still scarcely as common a book in the library of the historical student as it deserves to be. Its full title is 'Notitia dignitatum omnium, tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis.' From the time of Augustus downwards 'Breviaries' of the Empire somewhat similar in form to this had been often compiled, sometimes by the Emperor's own hand; but there can be little doubt that the Notitia as we know it, was put together in the first years of the fifth century, probably about the time of Alaric's first invasion of Italy. It is a complete Official Directory and Army List of the whole Roman Empire, and is of incalculable value for the decision of all sorts of questions, antiquarian and historical. For instance, the whole theory of the identification of the existing ruins with

the former stations along the line of Hadrian's British Wall depends entirely on the mention in the *Notitia* of the names of the cohorts posted at those stations. BOOK I.
CH. 12.

The *Notitia* devotes forty-five chapters to the Eastern and forty-five to the Western Empire. The different classes of civil and military officers are enumerated according to their rank. Nearly every chapter begins thus—'Sub dispositione viri illustris [*or spectabilis*],' and then follow the names of his subordinates. At the end of the chapter is a description of his 'officium,' that is, of the various classes of persons who form his official retinue, notaries, secretaries, registrars, and the like.

Most of the chapters are headed with curious pictures of the 'Insignia' of the person whose office they describe: shields of the legions for a general officer, a carriage and four horses for the highly honoured Praefectus Praetorio, maidens with melancholy countenances bearing the produce of their respective lands to signify the different countries under the Prefect's rule, fortresses for the general on a hostile frontier, purses bursting with gold for the minister of finance, and so forth. These pictures can be clearly traced up to a MS. (now lost) of the eleventh century, and probably in the main they are accurate copies of those which adorned the *Notitia* when its leaves were turned over by Arcadius and Honorius.

It is remarked however (by Böcking) that while the pictures of the maidens, the chariots and so forth, have in general a 'Byzantine' character, those of the cities with their steep, red-tiled roofs show a mediaeval and Teutonic influence. A curious story is told¹ of the Codex of the *Notitia* now in the Royal Library at Munich. It seems that the ecclesiastic of Spire, who was copying this MS. for Otho Henry, Count Palatine, made some changes in the pictures, but the Count was so offended at these alterations that a fresh copy was made accurately representing the original. The double set of pictures is still attached to the Munich Codex. The story is creditable to the archaeological discernment of the German Prince, but illustrates the kind of liberty which the mediaeval scribes considered themselves entitled to use.

The literary history of the *Notitia Dignitatum* is curious but tantalising. The chief MSS. now in existence appear to be

¹ By Seeck, on the first page of his 'Praefatio.'

transcripts of a very fine Codex written about the tenth century, which till the middle of the sixteenth century was still in existence in a library (I presume the library of a monastery) at Spires. From this Codex we know that a copy was made by order of Pietro Donato, Bishop of Padua, in the month of January, 1436. The Spires MS. has unfortunately disappeared. All the searches which have been made for it, at Spires and elsewhere, have proved quite fruitless, and scholars have come reluctantly to the conclusion 'that very little hope still remains that it can have escaped a cruel Fate, executing her decrees by the knife of the book-binder or the contents of the glue-pot¹.' Four good copies, however, of the Spires MS. fortunately exist, and the most interesting of these is the 'Codex Veneticus,' which Böcking, the chief authority on the subject, pronounces to be the same which was made, as above stated, for the Bishop of Padua during his presidency of the Council of Basle. During the troubles of the French Revolution this MS. was transported to England, and Dr. Böcking, writing in the year 1834, says with comical despair, 'The MS. lately in the library of St. Mark's at Venice is now an exile in the book-cases of England' ('in Anglicis pluteis exsulat'), and again, 'In what corner of that great chaos of MSS. and books called England this Codex may now be lying, I cannot conjecture.' All the time it was safely housed and duly catalogued in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is one of the 'Canonici' collection, is now quoted as 'Oxoniensis Canonicianus,' and its reference in the catalogue is Canon. Misc. 378.

The edition of the *Notitia* from which Gibbon worked and which was a book of great repute in its day, is that of Guido Panciroli of Padua (Venice, 1593, 1602; Lyons, 1608; Geneva, 1623). Panciroli's work, however, was rendered quite obsolete by that of the above-mentioned Dr. Böcking (Bonn, 1839-1853). This edition has 1700 pages of notes and an elaborate index: but it again is superseded, as far as the text is concerned, by the very complete and critical edition of Otto Seeck (Berlin, 1876) who has caused the Oxford MS. to be properly collated, and has now given us what may be considered an authoritative text.

For notes, however, we are still dependent on the very learned but somewhat cumbrous and not always helpful commentary of Böcking. A great service would be rendered to historical science

¹ Böcking, *Ueber die Notitia*, &c., p. 5.

by any scholar who should furnish us with a clear and concise commentary on Seeck's text of the *Notitia*, embodying the results of the most recent investigations into the administrative system of the Empire.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Guides :—

Bethmann-Hollweg's 'Gerichtsverfassung und Prozess des sinkenden römischen Reichs' (Bonn, 1834).

For further information as to some of the subordinate members of the official hierarchy than I am able to insert here, I may refer to the Introduction to my 'Letters of Cassiodorus' (London, 1886) and to an article on 'Law reform in the time of Justinian' (chiefly founded on the 'De Dignitatibus' of Joannes Lydus), contributed by me to the *Contemporary Review*, May, 1881).

THE death of Theodosius was the prelude to momentous changes in the whole Roman world. Before proceeding to describe them, it will be convenient to give some faint outline of the internal organisation of the Empire during the fourth century. Fragmentary and imperfect the sketch must necessarily be. Materials for it are scanty; but the attempt must be made, though the result may be a confession of ignorance on many points rather than a series of defined and well-rounded statements such as readers naturally prefer.

Difficulty
of the
subject.

The Emperor, that still majestic figure who stood at the head of the Roman state, how shall we think of him? The old idea that he was merely the most influential of Roman citizens, that idea which Augustus and even Tiberius strove to preserve, must be considered as quite obsolete since the changes introduced by Diocletian and Constantine. All the Greek half of the Empire calls him without compunction *BASILEUS* (King), and no Roman, though he may not use the actual word *REX* in speaking of him, can still cheat himself with the thought that the Imperator is one

Undis-
guised Ab-
solutism of
the later
Emperors.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

whit less of an absolute sovereign than Tullus or Tarquin. Few things impress one with a more vivid conception of his power than the matter-of-fact way in which a historian like Zosimus speaks of the imperial dignity as 'the Lordship of the Universe' (ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχή). In the Directory of the Empire, the Chamberlain, the Almoner, the Marshal, are described as having charge of 'the Sacred Cubicle,' 'the Sacred Charities,' and 'the Sacred Palace¹.' The characters which the Imperial hand deigns to trace in purple ink upon the parchment scroll are 'the Sacred Letters.' When the august scribe wishes to describe his own personality he speaks with charming modesty of 'Our Clemency' or 'My Eternity².' Nay, in some place he speaks of his own presents to his courtiers as gifts 'from heaven³.'

Apotheosis
of the
Emperors,
how re-
garded by
themselves,

If it were possible to penetrate into the secret thoughts of those long-vanished wearers of the purple, one would eagerly desire to know under what aspect the imperial deification presented itself to their minds. Many a one had watched the failing intellect and the increasing bodily infirmities of the preceding Emperor. In some instances a timely dose of poison, or a judicious arrangement of the bed-clothes over his mouth, had hastened his departure from a world in which his presence was no longer convenient; yet in the very first

¹ Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi, Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, Castrensis Sacri Palatii.

² Codex Theodosianus, lib. xiv. tit. 17, 14; lib. xii. tit. 1, 160.

³ For instance, in Cod. Theod. vi. 30. 23, the Count of Sacred Largesses is ordered by Theodosius II. to bestow certain *solatia* on his retired subordinates, 'ex his videlicet quae suae jurisdictionis esse, nec aliis ex consuetudine *coelitus* deputata cognoverit.' 'Coelitus, id est ab Imperatore seu Principe' is the remark of the commentator.

proclamation of the new ruler to the soldiery he would speak of his predecessor as 'God Augustus,' or 'God Tiberius,' 'God Claudius,' or 'God Commodus,' and the court poets would, as we have seen, describe in unfaltering phrase his translation to the spheres. The homely common sense of Vespasian seems to have perceived the humour of the thing. At the first onset of his disease he said, 'If I am not mistaken I am in the way to become a God¹.' But Caligula accepted his divinity much more seriously. He averred that the goddess Luna visited him nightly in bodily shape, and he called upon his courtier Vitellius (the same who was afterwards Emperor) to vouch for the fact. Vitellius, with his eyes bent towards the ground, with folded hands, in a thin and trembling voice, replied, 'My lord, you gods alone are privileged to look upon the faces of your fellow-deities.' And Caligula evidently received the answer as a matter of course, and not a smile probably crossed the faces of the bystanders—for to smile at Caligula's godhead would have been to die².

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

by Vespasian,

by Caligula,

by Theodosius.

But it may be said that no fair argument can be drawn from the case of a confessed madman like Caligula. Let us hear then how Theodosius, the statesman, the Christian, the sound theologian, permitted himself to be addressed in the Panegyric of Pacatus. The latter is praising him³ for the accuracy with which he always discharges his promises of future favour to his courtiers. 'Do you think, O Emperor, that I wish to praise only your generosity? No, I marvel also at

¹ 'Primâ quoque morbi accessione, "ut" (inquit) "puto, deus fio."' Sueton. Vita Vespasiani, xxiii.

² Dion, lib. lix. c. 27.

³ Sect. 18.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

your memory. For which of the great men of old, Hortensius, Lucullus, or Caesar, had so ready a power of recollection as *that sacred mind of yours*, which gives up everything that has been entrusted to it at the very place and time which you have ordered beforehand? Is it that you remind yourself? or, as the Fates are said to assist with their tablets *that God who is the partner in your majesty*, so does some divine power serve your bidding, which writes down and in due time suggests to your memory the promises which you have made? Such a sentence, gravely premeditated and uttered without reproof in the presence of Theodosius, is surely not less extraordinary than the impromptu answer of Vitellius.

Mode of
election
of the
Emperor.

How was this omnipotent Emperor, this God upon earth, selected from the crowd of ordinary mortals around him? Hereditary descent was not the title, though we have already met with many instances in which it asserted itself. The Empire never, at any rate during the period with which we are concerned, lost its strictly elective character. Who then were the electors? Imagine the endless discussions on this point which would take place in any modern European state, the elaborate machinery by which in Venice, in Germany, in the United States, even in Poland, the election of the Chief of the Executive has been accomplished. Of all this there is not a trace in the Roman Empire. In old days, when the Republic was still standing, the army, after an especially brilliant victory, gathered around the praetor or proconsul who commanded them, and with shouts of triumph, while they clashed their spears upon their shields, saluted him *Imperator*. That tumultuary proceeding seems to have

been the type of every election of a Roman Emperor. BOOK I.
CH. 12.
The successor might have been absolutely fixed upon beforehand, as in the case of Tiberius; he might follow in the strict line of hereditary descent as Titus followed Vespasian and Domitian Titus; the choice might even have been, as in the case of the Emperor Tacitus, formally conceded by the soldiery to the senate; but in any case the presentation of the new sovereign to the legions, and their acclamation welcoming him as Imperator, seems to have been the decisive moment of the commencement of his reign.

This fact explains the anxiety of every Emperor who had a son, to have him associated with himself in his own lifetime. By presenting that son to the legions, as Valentinian presented Gratian at Amiens to the army of Gaul, this delicate and critical event of the acclamation was accomplished, while he still had all his father's influence at his back, and as he was an Augustus already, his reign might, if all went well and no rival claimant to the favour of the legions arose, be quietly prolonged without any solution of continuity at his father's death.

In a great number of cases such an attempt to settle the succession beforehand, whether in favour of a real or adopted son, was successful. In many, as we all know, it failed, some other legions, often in a distant part of the Empire, having, when the news of the death of the old Emperor arrived, acclaimed their favourite officer as Imperator, arrayed him with the purple, and eventually carried him, shoulder-high, into the chambers of the Palatine. This, it may be said, was mutiny and insurrection, but when one considers the essentially unconstitutional and tumultuary character of the election of every Emperor, one is almost ready to say that in this case at least

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

success was the only test of legality. The lawful Emperor was the man who either succeeded to the throne without opposition, or who made good his pretensions by the sword. The usurper was a general who having been 'acclaimed' by the troops was afterwards defeated in battle.

Parallel
between
the Im-
perial Ac-
clamation
and the
Papal Ado-
ration.

A parallel might possibly be drawn between the election of a Roman Emperor and that of his yet mightier successor, the Roman Pontiff. It is well known to how fluctuating and ill-defined an electorate the choice of a new bishop of Rome was entrusted until, in the eleventh century, it was transferred to the College of Cardinals. And although the lengthy deliberations of the old men who are now immured in the Vatican during a Papal Interregnum might seem as little as possible to resemble the cheers uttered by the rough voices of the Roman legionaries, there is still among their traditions the possibility of electing a Pope by 'adoration,' a rapid and summary process, with no set speeches or counting of votes, which may possibly have been suggested by the remembrance of the equally impulsive movement whereby, in theory at least, the Roman army chose its Emperor.

The
Roman
nobility
official, not
hereditary.

The brothers, sisters, and children of the Emperor bore the title of *Nobilissimus*, and naturally took precedence of the rest of the brilliant official hierarchy which surrounded his throne. Of the ordinary members of this hierarchy it is usual to speak as Nobles, and there does not seem any reason for departing from the customary practice if it is clearly understood by the reader that hereditary dignity, or in the strict sense of the term 'noble blood,' did not form part of the idea of an aristocracy in Imperial Rome. Office ennobled the actual

holder. No doubt the son of a Prefect had a greater chance of attaining to office than the son of a shop-keeper. In right of this chance he enjoyed a certain social pre-eminence, but he had no claim by inheritance to a seat in the Senate, or to any other share in the government of the State. In thinking of the aristocracy of the Empire we must entirely unfeudalise our minds. The Mandarins of China or the Pachas of Turkey furnish probably safer analogies than any which could be drawn from our own hereditary House of Peers.

Of the many grades into which this official hierarchy was divided, three only need here attract our attention :

1. The *Illustres*.
2. The *Spectabiles*.
3. The *Clarissimi*¹.

Our own titles of distinction are for the most part so interwoven with ideas drawn from hereditary descent that it is impossible to find any precise equivalents to these designations. 'His Grace the Duke,' 'The Most Noble the Marquis,' are obviously inappropriate. But as extremely rough approximations to the true idea, the reader may perhaps be safe in accepting the following equations :

Illustris = The Right Honourable.

Spectabilis = The Honourable.

Clarissimus = The Worshipful.

If we describe the functions of the different classes we shall get a little nearer to a true analogy, but parliamentary institutions and local self-government will

¹ The fourth and fifth classes were named *Perfectissimi* and *Egregii* respectively.

BOOK I. still prevent that analogy from being exact. With
CH. 12. these limitations we may say that

The Cabinet Ministers . . .	= the Illustres.
Heads of Department, Lords Lieutenant of Counties, Ge- nerals and Admirals	} = the Spectabiles.
The Governors of our smaller Colonies, Colonels and Cap- tains in the Navy	

The Illustres, who alone need be described with any detail, were twenty-eight in number, thirteen for the West and fifteen for the East. The only difference worth noticing is that there were five *Magistri Militum* for the East as compared to three in the West.

For the sake of clearness we will confine our attention to the thirteen Cabinet Ministers of the West, who may be classified thus:—

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION, FINANCE AND JUSTICE.	ARMY.	HOUSEHOLD.
<i>Praefectus Praetorio Italiae.</i>	<i>Magister Peditum in Praesenti.</i>	<i>Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi.</i>
<i>Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum.</i>	<i>Magister Equitum in Praesenti.</i>	<i>Comes Rerum Privatarum.</i>
<i>Praefectus Urbis Romae.</i>	<i>Magister Equitum per Gallias.</i>	<i>Comes Domesticorum Equitum.</i>
<i>Magister Officiorum.</i>		<i>Comes Domesticorum Peditum.</i>
<i>Quaestor.</i>		
<i>Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.</i>		

Praetorian Prefect.

1. In each of the four great compartments into which Diocletian had divided the Roman world, the *Praefectus Praetorio* was the greatest man after the Emperor. He wore a woollen cloak dyed with the purple of Cos and differing from the Emperor's only in

length, reaching not to the feet but to the knees. To him most of the laws were addressed, and he was charged to see to their execution. He held in his hand the whole network of provincial administration, and was the ultimate referee, under the Emperor, in all cases of dispute between province and province, or municipality and municipality. In all the processes of civil and criminal law his was (still under the Emperor) the final court of appeal. The idea of his office seems to have been that as the Emperor was the head, so he was the hand to execute what the head had decreed. What Joseph was to Pharaoh when the Lord of Egypt said to him 'Only in the throne will I be greater than thou¹'; what the Grand Vizier is now to the Sultan of the Ottomans; that, substantially, the Praetorian Prefect was to the Augustus. The nearest approach which, under our own political system, we can make to a counterpart of his office, is to call him a Prime Minister *plus* a Supreme Court of Appeal.

The history of his title is a curious one. In the very early days of Rome, before even Consuls had a being, the two chief magistrates of the Republic bore the title of Praetors. Some remembrance of this fact lingering in the speech of the people gave always to the term Praetorium (the Praetor's house) a peculiar majesty, and caused it to be used as the equivalent of palace. So in the familiar passages of the New Testament, the palace of Pilate the Governor at Jerusalem, of Herod the King at Caesarea, of Nero the Emperor at Rome, are all called the Praetorium². From the palace the troops who surrounded the person of the

¹ Gen. xli. 40.

² Τὸ Πραιτώριον: Mark xv. 16; Acts xxiii. 35; Philippians i. 13.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Emperor took their well-known name 'the Praetorian Guard.' Under Augustus the cohorts composing this force, and amounting apparently to 9,000 or 10,000 men, were scattered over various positions in the city of Rome. In the reign of Tiberius, on pretence of keeping them under stricter discipline, they were collected into one camp on the north-east of the city. The author of this change was the notorious Sejanus, our first and most conspicuous example of a Prefect of the Praetorians¹ who made himself all-powerful in the state. The fall of Sejanus did not bring with it any great diminution of the power of the new functionary. As the Praetorians were the frequent, almost the recognised, creators of a new Emperor, it was natural that their commanding officer should be a leading personage in the state, as natural (if another English analogy may be allowed) as that the Leader of the House of Commons should be the First Minister of the Crown. Still, it is strange to find the Praetorian Prefect becoming more and more the ultimate judge of appeal in all civil and criminal cases, and his office held in the golden age of the Empire, the second century, by the most eminent lawyers of the day.

His office
made by
Constantine a
purely
civil one.

This part of his functions survived. When Constantine at length abated the long-standing nuisance of the Praetorian Guards—setting an example which was unconsciously followed by another ruler of Constantinople, Sultan Mahmoud, in his suppression of the Janissaries—he preserved the Praetorian Prefect, and, as we have already seen, gave him a position of pre-eminent dignity in the civil and judicial administration of the .

¹ By usage, if not of strict right, this sense, as well as that of Prefect of the Palace, seems to inhere in the title *Praefectus Praetorio*.

Empire. But of military functions he was now entirely deprived, and thus this officer, who had risen into importance in the state solely as the most conspicuous Guardsman about the court, was now permitted to do almost anything that he pleased in the Empire so long as he in no way meddled with the army.

This strong line of demarcation drawn between civil and military functions was one of the most important features of the change in the government introduced by Diocletian and Constantine. It was a change alien to the spirit of the old Roman Republic, whose generals were all judges and revenue-officers as well as soldiers ; but it consolidated for a time the fabric even of the Western Empire, and it created that wonderful bureaucratic machine which, more than any other single cause, prolonged for ten centuries the existence of the Empire at Byzantium.

On the important question how long the Praefectus Praetorio continued in office there is an inexplicable silence among most ancient and modern authorities ; but the following statement made by a learned and laborious German legist¹ may probably be relied upon with safety. ' With reference to the tenure of office [of all the imperial functionaries] Augustus's plan of continuing them in power for an indefinite series of years had [in the fourth century] been abandoned, and a return had been made to the fundamental principle of the Republic that all offices were annual in their duration ; an arrangement by which the cause of good administration was not benefited, but which served to break the power of the provincial governors. The prolongation of the term of office depended entirely

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Its duration.

¹ Bethmann-Hollweg, i. p. 57.

BOOK I. on the favour of the Emperor. *Only the Praetorian*
 CH. 12. *Prefects were nominated for an indefinite time, albeit*
they seldom maintained themselves in power longer than
*one year*¹.

Prefect of
the City.

2. *Praefectus Urbis*. The Prefects of the two great capitals of the Empire seem to have been theoretically the equals in rank of the Praetorian Prefects, and though their power extended over a more circumscribed area, the splendour of their office was quite as great. When the Prefect of Rome drove through the streets of the city he was drawn by four horses richly adorned with silver trappings and harnessed to the stately *carpentum*. This degree of state was apparently permitted to no other official save only to the Praetorian Prefects. Girt with a sword, he took his seat as President of the Senate. On the assembling of that august body, the chiefs of the army were expected to fall prostrate before the Prefect, who raised them and kissed each in turn, to show forth his desire to be on good terms with the army. Even the Emperor himself used to walk on foot from his palace to meet the Prefect as he moved slowly towards him at the head of the Senate. The police of Rome, the anxious task of the gratuitous distribution of corn among the poorer inhabitants², the aqueducts, the baths, the objects of art in the streets and squares of the city, were all under his general supervision, though each department had a subordinate Prefect, a Count or a Curator as its

¹ A list carefully prepared by Otto Seeck (*Hermes*, xviii. 289-302) gives us nineteen Prefects of the City in twenty years and five months.

² Ammianus Marcellinus (xix. 10. 1) describes in forcible language the woes of a *Praefectus Urbis* in a time of scarcity.

own especial head. The Prefect of Rome had also civil and criminal jurisdiction extending, in the time of Augustus, over the city itself and an area of a hundred miles' radius round it, and at a later period over a much wider territory. As the especial champion of the privileges of the Senate he was the judge in all cases where the life or property of a senator was at stake. All lawsuits also and prosecutions arising out of the relation of master and slave, patron and freedman, father and son, and thus involving that peculiar sentiment which the Romans called *pietas* (dutiful affection), came by a curious prerogative before the Praefectus Urbis. At a later period of this history we shall make acquaintance with a man¹ holding this exalted position, and shall learn from his private correspondence some of its glories and anxieties.

3. *Magister Officiorum*. Thus far we have been concerned with the government of separate portions of the Empire, for both the Praetorian Prefect and the Praefectus Urbis were somewhat like what we should call Lords Lieutenant. Now we come to the central authority, the staff officers, so to speak, of the civil administration. The chief of these was the *Master of the Offices*². He was supreme in the audience-chamber of the sovereign. All despatches from subordinate governors passed through his hands, all embassies from foreign powers were introduced by him. The secretaries of the Imperial cabinet³, the guards in immediate

¹ Apollinaris Sidonius. See Book III.

² It is amusing to see the name of this Roman officer written in Greek characters: ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεων . . . μάγιστρον τοῦτον ὀφφικίων καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι (Zosimus, ii. 25).

³ The 'agentes in rebus.'

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

attendance on the Imperial person, were amenable to his authority. The elaborate and expensive service of the public posts, and, by a less intelligible combination of duties, the great armour-manufactories and arsenals of the Empire, were under his oversight¹. He was thus a great officer of the household, but he was also chief of the *Scrinia*, the four great Imperial cabinets², and it is easy to see how enormous an influence he could exercise, especially under an indolent sovereign, over the conduct both of foreign and domestic affairs. Our constitutional system offers no precise analogy to his position, but if we imagine the offices of the various principal Secretaries of State again held, as in the days of the Tudors, by one man, and that man also discharging the important though little noticed duties of Private Secretary to the Queen, we shall not perhaps be very far from an adequate idea of the functions of the Illustrious Master of the Offices. It should be observed that there was an intense and unslumbering jealousy between the officials employed under the Praetorian Prefect and those who served the Master of the Offices. The former accused the latter, apparently with truth, of perpetually encroaching on their province and usurping their functions.

Quaestor. 4. The *Quaestor* had the care of preparing the Imperial speeches, and was responsible for the language of the laws. He would probably be generally a professed rhetorician, or at any rate a man of some note in

¹ These manufactories in Italy were as follows:—(1) of arrows at Concordia (between Venice and Udine); (2, 3) of shields at Verona and Cremona; (4) of breast-plates at Mantua; (5) of bows at Ticinum (*Pavia*); (6) of broadswords at Lucca.

² These four *Scrinia* were the *Scrinium Memoriae*, *Scrinium Dispositionum*, *Scrinium Epistolarum*, and *Scrinium Libellorum*.

the world of letters. His office is not unlike that of the Chancellor of a mediaeval monarch.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

5. *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*. The Count who had charge of the Sacred (i.e. Imperial) Bounty, should have been by his title simply the Grand Almoner of the Empire, and thus would seem to require a place among the officers of the household. In practice, however, the minister who took charge of the Imperial largesses had to find ways and means for every other form of Imperial expenditure; and now that the Emperor had become the State, and the Privy Purse (*Fiscus*) had practically become synonymous with the National Treasury (*Aerarium*)¹, the House Steward of the Sovereign was the Finance Minister of the State. The Count of the Sacred Largesses was therefore in fact the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Empire. To him all the collectors of taxes in the smaller divisions of the realm (*comites largitionum per omnes dioeceses*) were subordinate. The mines, the mints, the linen factories, the purple-dye houses, were under his control. And as some part of the Imperial revenue was drawn from duties on the transport of goods by sea, the Count of the Sacred Largesses was supposed to have a general superintendence of private commerce—though

Count of
the Sacred
Largesses.

¹ In the earlier periods of the Empire this distinction between the *Fiscus* and the *Aerarium*, as is well known, had been diligently maintained. Augustus, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, takes credit to himself for having four times assisted the public treasury out of his own property (the *Aerarium* out of the *Fiscus*) by contributions amounting in all to 105,000,000 sesterces, or nearly one million sterling. But at that time the Emperor was still in theory little more than a private individual benevolently assisting in the administration of the state. By the third century, at any rate, this distinction between his purse and the state purse, the *Fiscus* and the *Aerarium*, seems to have vanished.

BOOK I. more, it must be feared, with a view to fleece than to
 CH. 12. foster it.

Masters of
 Horse and
 Foot.

6, 7, 8. *Magister Peditum in Praesenti* (or *Praesentalis*); *Magister Equitum* ditto; *Magister Equitum per Gallias*. When Constantine deprived the Praetorian Prefect of his military command, and made him the first civil minister of the state, he lodged the leadership of the troops in the hands of a new officer to whom he gave the title of Master. Still bent on prosecuting to the utmost his policy of division of powers, he gave to one officer the command of the infantry—always far the most important portion of a Roman army—with the title of *Magister Peditum*; to another the command of the cavalry with the title *Magister Equitum*. It is possible that in these arrangements there was a retrospective glance to the earliest days of the Republic, when the appointment of a Dictator, that absolute lord of the legions, was always accompanied by the appointment of a Master of the Horse. But whatever the constitutional warrant for the practice, it seems difficult to suppose that such a division in the supreme command could have worked successfully. And in fact we often find, in the period that we are now considering, the two offices united under the title *Magister utriusque Militiae* (Master of both kinds of soldiery).

Under the sons of Constantine the number of these commanders-in-chief was increased, and under Theodosius it was increased again, partly in order to meet the stress of barbarian warfare on the frontiers, partly in order that the pride or jealousy of each Emperor might be flattered or soothed by having his own *Magister* in attendance at his court. But in the East and West the Master of the Foot or Horse, who com-

manded the troops nearest to the Imperial residence, was called 'the Master in the Presence' (*in Praesenti* or *Praesentalis*); thus with bated breath, in Latin which would have been unintelligible to Cicero, were courtiers beginning to talk of that portion of the atmosphere which was made sacred by the presence of the Imperial Majesty¹. In addition, at the time when the *Notitia* was compiled, Gaul, the Orient, Thrace, and Illyricum had each its Magister of one or both divisions of the army.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

It will be well here to put on record the unfavourable opinion of the historian Zosimus with reference to the institution of these offices. The view generally adopted, and that which has been submitted to the reader, is that the separation between the civil and the military functions was a wise measure. Zosimus, however, is of a different opinion, and he holds that Constantine, who first instituted the offices of *Magister Equitum* and *Magister Peditum*, and Theodosius, who so largely increased the number of these officers, both did ill service to the state. The charge against the second Emperor seems more reasonable than that brought against the first; but here are the words of the indictment:—
'Having thus divided the rule of the Prefect [into the four Prefectures], Constantine studied how to lessen his power in other ways. For whereas the soldiers were under the orders not only of centurions and tribunes², but also of the so-called *Duces*, who exercised the office

The division of the civil and military offices unfavourably criticised by Zosimus.

Zosimus,
ii. 33.

¹ In the East there were two *Magistri Militum in Praesenti*, each of whom had command both of infantry and cavalry. The reason for this arrangement is not clear. Is it possible that it was made at the time when the Imperial Presence was pretty evenly divided between the two capitals, Constantinople and Antioch?

² *χιλίαρχοι*.

BOOK I. of general in each district, Constantine appointed
 CH. 12.

*Magistri*¹, one of the cavalry, and another of the infantry, to whom he transferred the duty of stationing the troops and the punishment of military offences, and at the same time he deprived the Prefects of this prerogative. A measure this, which was equally pernicious in peace and war, as I will proceed to show. So long as the Prefects were collecting the revenues from all quarters by means of their subordinates, and defraying out of them the expenses of the army, while they also had the power of punishing the men as they thought fit for all offences against discipline, so long the soldiers, remembering that he who supplied them with their rations was also the man who would correct them if they offended, did not dare to transgress, lest they should find their supplies stopped and themselves promptly chastised. But now that one man is responsible for the commissariat and another man is their professional superior, they act in all things according to their own will and pleasure, to say nothing of the fact that the greater part of the money allotted to the provisioning of the troops goes into the pockets of the general and his staff.'

Zosimus,
 iv. 27.

'Meanwhile the Emperor Theodosius, who was residing at Thessalonica, showed much affability to all with whom he came in contact, but his luxury and neglect of state affairs soon became proverbial. He threw all the previously existing offices into confusion, and made the commanders of the army more numerous than before. For whereas there was before one Master of the Horse and one of the Foot, now he distributed these offices among more than five persons. Thereby

¹ στρατηλάται.

he increased the public burdens (for each of these five or more commanders-in-chief had the same allowances as one of the two had before), and he handed over his soldiers to the avarice of this increased number of generals. For as each of these new Magistri thought himself bound to make as much out of his office as a Magister had made before when there were only two of them, there was no way to do it but by jobbing the food supplied to the soldiers. And not only so, but he created Lieutenants of Cavalry and Captains and Brigadiers¹ in such numbers that he left two or three times the number that he found, while the privates, of all the money that was assigned to them out of the public chest, received nothing.'

BOOK 1.
CH. 12.

9. *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi.* We now come to a branch of administration which, as statesmanship declined, became surrounded with more and more awful importance, the Imperial, or in the language of the day the Sacred, Household. The fortunate eunuch who attained to the dignity of Superintendent of the Sacred Bedchamber, took rank in the year 384 immediately after the other Illustres². But a solemn edict³, issued in 422 by the grandson and namesake of the great Theodosius, ordained that 'when the nobles of the Empire shall be admitted to adore our Serenity, the Superintendent of the Sacred Bedchamber shall be entitled to the same rank with the Praetorian and Urban Prefects and the Masters of the Army'; in front, that is to say, of the Imperial departments of Law and Finance, represented by the Master of the Office, *ie*

Superintendent of the Sacred Bedchamber.

¹ *Magistri et Praefecti et Tribuni.*

² *Constitutio de Illustribus.*

³ *Constitutio de Illustribus.*

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Quaestor, and the Count of the Sacred Largesses. The wardrobe of the sovereign, the gold plate, the arrangement of the Imperial meal, the spreading of the sacred couch, the government of the corps of brilliantly attired pages, the posting of the thirty *silentiarii* who, in helmet and cuirass, standing before the second veil, guarded the slumbers of the sovereign, these were the momentous responsibilities which required the undivided attention of a Cabinet Minister of the Roman Empire.

Count of
the Private
Domains.

10. The *Comes Rerum Privatarum*, whom we may compare to our Commissioners of Woods and Forests, held an office which must sometimes have been not easily distinguishable from that of the Count of Sacred Largesses. Only, while the latter officer handled the whole revenue raised by taxation, the former was especially charged with the administration of the Imperial Domain. In the language of our law he dealt with realty rather than personalty. The vast estates belonging to the Emperor, concentrated in the city, or scattered over all the provinces of the West¹, were administered under his direction. He had to see that they were let to suitable tenants, to guard against the usurpation of 'squatters²,' to keep a watch upon the Superintendents of the Imperial Stables, the Sheepmasters, the Foresters. A corps of porters, who were perhaps originally organised in order to convey to the palace the various delicacies grown on the domains of

¹ The *Notitia Occidentis*, cap. xi, has a long string of such private Imperial possessions; the *Notitia Orientis*, in the corresponding chapter, does not mention any. It would be interesting to know the reason of this difference.

² See the '*Formula Comitivae Privatarum*,' Cassiodorus, *Variae*, vi. 8.

the Emperor, were also placed under his control. And lastly, as one of his chief subordinates was styled Count of the *Private Largesses*¹, he must have had charge of outgoings as well as incomings, and must have fulfilled some of the duties which now devolve on the Keeper of the Privy Purse.

11, 12. *Comes Domesticorum Equitum; Comes Domesticorum Peditum*. These officers (who are sometimes called 'Counts of the Domestics') commanded the various divisions of the household troops, known by the names of *Domestici* and *Protectores*, and thus together replaced the Praetorian Prefect of the earlier days of the Empire. The *Notitia* fails to inform us what number of troops were subject to their orders. Theoretically their duties would not greatly differ from those of a Colonel in the Guards. Practically the Count of the Domestics often intervened with a most decisive voice in the deliberations respecting the choice of a candidate when a vacancy occurred upon the Imperial throne².

The Illustrious Ministers, whose offices have now been described, formed the nucleus of the *Consistorium*, the council with which the Emperor was accustomed, but of course in no way bound, to consult upon all great matters of state. Such a Consistory was probably held at Antioch when Valens was deliberating concerning the admission of the Visigoths into the Empire.

¹ 'Sub dispositione viri illustris Comitum Rerum Privatarum, Comes Largitionum Privatarum (*Notitia Occidentis*, cap. xi). This officer is not named in the corresponding passage of the *Notit. Orientis*.

² There is some apparent conflict of jurisdiction in the *Notitia* between the *Comites Domesticorum* and the *Magister Officiorum*. The latter has under his control seven 'Schools' of Shield-bearers, Archers, 'Gentiles' or barbarians, &c., who apparently formed part of the household troops.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

I shall not here attempt to describe the functions of the *Spectabiles* and the *Clarissimi*. For the most part their offices were mere copies of the offices of the *Illustres* on a smaller and provincial scale. In order however to make clear the gradations of the Imperial hierarchy, a few words must be given to the new territorial divisions introduced by Diocletian. In the first ages of the Empire, the Provinces were the only subordinate division known. Now the size of these was greatly reduced (as an unfriendly critic¹ says, 'the Provinces were cut up into bits'), and two divisions, the Prefecture and the Diocese, were introduced above them.

Prefec-
tures.

Of the Prefectures, as has already been explained, there were four, each, let us say, about as large as the European Empire of Charles the Fifth.

Dioceses.

Of the Dioceses there were thirteen. We must empty our minds of all ecclesiastical associations connected with this word, associations which would pin us down to far too small an area. For practical purposes it will be sufficient to consider an Imperial Diocese as the equivalent of a 'country.'

Provinces.

The Provinces, 116 in number, were, as a rule, somewhat larger than a French Province of average size. Many of the frontier lines still survive, especially in ecclesiastical geography. Where the lines are not the same, how infinitely various have been the causes of change! The course of trade, the conflict of creeds,

¹ Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, cap. 7. 'Et ut omnia terrore complerentur, *provinciae quoque in frusta concisae*, multi praesides et plura officia singulis regionibus, ac pene jam civitatibus incubare, item Rationales multi, et Magistri, et Vicarii praefectorum, quibus omnibus civiles actus admodum rari, sed condemnationes tantum et proscriptiones frequentes,' &c.

war and love, crusades and tournaments, and the whole romance of the Middle Ages, might all be illustrated by the lecturer who should take for his text the map of Europe as divided by Constantine and as it was marked out at the time of the Reformation.

A glance at the following table will bring the chief divisions of the Empire in the fourth century clearly before the mind of the reader :

PREFECTURE.	DIOCESE.	NO. OF PRO- VINCES.	MODERN EQUIVALENT OF DIOCESE.
I. Italiae	1. Italia	17	Italy, Tyrol, Grisons, South Bavaria.
	2. Illyricum	6	Austria between the Danube and Adriatic, Bosnia.
	3. Africa	7	Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli.
II. Galliae	4. Hispaniae	7	Spain and Morocco.
	5. Septem Provinciae	17	France, with the Rhine boundary.
	6. Britanniae	5	England and Wales, Scotland south of Frith of Forth.
III. Illyricum	7. Macedonia	6	Macedon, Epirus, Greece.
	8. Dacia	5	Servia and Western Bulgaria.
IV. Oriens	9. Oriens	15	Syria, Palestine, and Cilicia.
	10. Aegyptus	5	Egypt.
	11. Asiana	10	South-Western half of Asia Minor.
	12. Pontica	10	North-Eastern half of Asia Minor.
	13. Thracia	6	Eastern Bulgaria and Roumelia.
		116	

The separation between the civil and military functions was carried down through all the divisions and

BOOK I. subdivisions of the Empire, and the following may be
 CH. 12. taken as the type of the gradations of rank thus pro-
 duced :

Typical
 arrange-
 ment of
 offices.

	CIVIL OFFICERS.	MILITARY OFFICERS.
Prefecture	Illustris PRAEFECTUS PRAETORIO	Illustris MAGISTER MILITUM.
Diocese	Spectabilis VICARIUS	Spectabilis COMES.
Province	Clarissimus <i>Consularis</i> , or <i>Corrector</i> or Perfectissimus Praeses	Spectabilis DUX.

(The *Illustres* are marked by large capitals, the *Spectabiles* by small capitals, the *Clarissimi* by Italic, and the *Perfectissimi* by Roman type.)

The subordination of the military offices was not quite so regular as that of the civil. Some of the Provinces of the interior scarcely required an army at all, while on an exposed frontier two or three large armies might be assembled. But the general idea of the subordination of offices is that shown above. To make this point quite clear let us examine the arrangement of Imperial functionaries in the two 'Dioceses' with which we have most concern, Britain and Italy.

Illustrated
 by the
 Diocese of
 Britain.

That part of our own island which was subject to the Romans (the *Dioecesis Britanniarum*) was divided into five Provinces, which are conjecturally identified as follows¹ :

1. Britannia Prima = the country south of the Thames and Bristol Channel.
2. Britannia Secunda = Wales.
3. Flavia Caesariensis = the Midland and Eastern Counties.

¹ We do not yet possess any authoritative statement as to the boundaries of the British Provinces.

4. Maxima Caesariensis = the country between Humber and Tyne. BOOK 1.
CH. 12.
5. Valentia = the country between Tyne and Frith of Forth.

The first two Provinces were governed by (Perfectissimi) Praesides, the last three by (Clarissimi) *Consulares*. Civil
Adminis-
trators.

The chief military leaders were : Military.

1. The Count of Britain (COMES BRITANNIAE).
2. The Count of the Saxon shore (COMES LITORIS SAXONICI PER BRITANNIAM), who from his nine strong castles dotted along the coast, from Yarmouth to Shoreham, was bound to watch the ever-recurring Saxon pirates.
3. The DUKE OF THE BRITAINS, whose headquarters were probably at York, and who had under his control the Sixth Legion stationed in that city, and various detachments of auxiliary troops posted along the line of the wall in Northumberland ('per lineam Valli'), and in the stations upon the great Roman roads through Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cumberland.

It is not expressly stated that these last two officers were subject to the control of the first, the Count of Britain, but we may reasonably infer that they were so from the fact that all the details of the troops subject to them are given with great minuteness, while of him it is only said, 'Under the control of the Spectabilis the Count of Britain is *the Province of Britain*.'

In civil matters there can be no doubt that the VICARIUS was supreme, and he probably administered

BOOK I. his diocese from 'the city of Augusta, which the ancients
CH. 12. called Lundinium ¹.'

Financial. In financial matters we find an Accountant for the receipts of Britain (*Rationalis Summarum Britanniarum*), and a Superintendent of the Treasury at Augusta (*Praepositus thesaurorum Augustensium*), who appear to owe no obedience to the *VICARIUS*, but are directly subordinate to the *COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM* (at Rome or Ravenna). Similarly the Accountant of the Emperor's private estate in Britain (*Rationalis rei privatae per Britannias*) reports himself immediately to the Illustrious the *COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM*.

**Admini-
stration of
Italy.**

This illustration, drawn from the Roman government of our own island in the fourth century, may help us to understand the similar details which are given of the civil and military administration of Italy. The system is here, however, somewhat complicated by the extraordinary powers vested, as we have before seen, in the *PRAEFECTUS URBIS*. Though the geographical limits of his power are not expressly indicated in the *Notitia*, we find that his subordinate *VICARIUS*, who is not likely to have had a wider jurisdiction than himself, controlled the administration of seven Provinces in Italy, besides the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. These seven Provinces in fact made up the whole of Italy south of Ancona on the east coast, and Spezia on the west ; and thus, little beside the valley of the Po and the countries at the foot of the Alps was left to the somewhat hardly-treated official who bore the high-sounding title of *Spectabilis VICARIUS ITALIAE*².

**Vicarius
Italiae.**

¹ Ammianus, xxviii. 3. 1.

² The ten Provinces subject to the *VICARIUS URBIS ROMAE* were

nd
Im-
m

To indemnify him,—but in those days of trouble with the heaving nations of Germany the charge must have brought more toil than profit,—he superintended the government of the Raetias, provinces which reached from the Alps to the Danube, and of which Coire and Augsburg were the respective capitals ¹.

Of high military officers in Italy we read very little in the Notitia, doubtless because the great masters of the horse and foot 'in Praesenti' overshadowed all other commanding officers in the near neighbourhood of the court. There is a COMES ITALIAE, whose duty it was to look after the defence of the country close round the bases of the Alps ('Tractus Italiae circa Alpes'), and whose charge is illustrated in the effigy at the head of the chapter by two turreted fortresses climbing at an impossible angle up two dolomitic mountain peaks.

The DUX RAETIAE also is mentioned, who with twenty-one detachments of auxiliary troops—among them a cohort of Britons stationed near to Ratisbon—held the posts on the Danube and by Lake Constance and in the fastnesses of the Tyrol.

Reviewing now this great civil and military hierarchy, which was invented by Diocletian, perfected by Constantine, and was still majestic under Theodosius, we

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Military
commands
in Italy.

Titles and
ideas of
Roman Im-
perialism
perpetu-

(1) Campania, (2) Tuscia et Umbria, (3) Picenum Suburbicarium, (4) Sicily,—each under the administration of a *Clarissimus Consularis*; (5) Apulia et Calabria, (6) Bruttii et Lucania,—under a *Clarissimus Corrector*; (7) Samnium, (8) Sardinia, (9) Corsica, (10) Valeria,—under a *Perfectissimus Praeses*.

¹ The Provinces subject to the VICARIUS ITALIAE were apparently (1) Venetia et Istria, (2) Aemilia, (3) Liguria, (4) Flaminia et Picenum Annonicarium, (5) Alpes Cottiae, (6) Raetia Prima, (7) Raetia Secunda, But his page in the Notitia is lost, and a good deal has to be left to conjecture.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

ated in
modern
Europe.

see at once how many titles, and through them how many ideas, modern European civilisation has borrowed from that subtly elaborated world of graduated splendour. The Duke and the Count of modern Europe—what are they but the Generals and Companions (*Duces* and *Comites*) of a Roman province? Why or when they changed places, the Duke climbing up into such unquestioned pre-eminence over his former superior the Count, it might be difficult to say, as also by what process it was discovered that the latter was the precise equivalent of the Scandinavian *Jarl*. The Prefects of France are a closer reproduction both of the name and of the centralised authority of the *Praefecti Praetorio* of the Empire. Even the lowest official who has been here named, the Corrector of a province, survives to this day in the Spanish *Corregidor*. In ecclesiastical affairs the same descent exhibits itself. The Pope, who took his own title of *Pontifex Maximus* from Caesar, and named his legates after Caesar's lieutenants, now sits surrounded by his purple-robed councillors to hold what he calls, after Constantine, his Consistory. Diocese and Vicar are words which have also survived in the service of the Church, both, it may be said, with lessened dignity; yet not altogether so, for if the Vicarius of Britain or Africa was greater than the modern Vicar of an English parish, he was less than the mighty spiritual ruler who, claiming the whole world as his Diocese, asserts his right to rule therein as 'The Vicar of Christ' ¹.

¹ The ceremony of kissing the Pope's toe is probably also derived from the Emperor's Court. Dion says of Caligula, 'He kissed very few [of his courtiers]. For to the greater number even of the Senators he only stretched out a hand or a foot for them to kiss,' lib. lix, c. 27.

Thus do the strata of modern society bear witness to the primary Imperial rock from which they sprang. On the other hand, it is curious to observe how few of the titles of old republican Rome survived into these latter days of the Empire. Tribunes indeed we do find in the *Notitia*, but they are chiefly military officers. Of Quaestors, Aediles, Praetors, the offices which in old days formed the successive steps on the ladder of promotion to the highest dignities of the state, we find traces indeed, but of the faintest possible kind, in the *Notitia*. The Consulate, it is true, still retained much of its ancient splendour. The Emperor was generally invested with this dignity several times during his reign. Claudian's enthusiastic congratulations show how it was prized by the sons of Probus. Pacatus speaks of it as the highest honour which Theodosius was able to bestow upon his friends¹. Sidonius, eighty years later, says that he and his brother-in-law, who were by birth sons of Prefects, have attained the honour of the Patriciate, and he hopes that their sons may crown the edifice by the Consulate. But though the office of Consul retained its social pre-eminence it had no practical power. Not once does the name occur in the *Notitia*; not the meanest functionary is mentioned as being 'under his control.' The Vicar reflected the Prefect and the Prefect the Emperor. Power earned by the suffrages of the people was nowhere; power delegated by the Divine Emperor was irresistible and all-prevailing.

One office indeed there was which might seem to require some limitation of the statement which has just been made. The *Defensor Civitatis* derived his

Office of
the De-
fensor.

¹ Paneg. xvi.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

power, theoretically at any rate, from the popular vote, and was in theory a counterpoise to the otherwise uncontrolled dominion of the Imperial officials ; and yet it might with some fairness be argued that the history of the Defensor's office is the most striking illustration of the tendency of all power in the Empire to become Imperial.

It is believed that these Defenders of the Cities came into being in the first half of the fourth century, but the first distinct trace of them in the Statute-book is in a law of 364¹, addressed by Valentinian and Valens to the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum, Probus, a governor whose unjust exactions² must often have made the Provincials under his rule sigh for a Defender from such a ruler. The functions of the *Defensor* were eloquently expressed in an edict addressed by Theodosius to a holder of the office³. 'The *Defensores* of all the Provinces are to exercise their powers for the space of five years⁴. Thou must in the first place exhibit the character of a father to the commonalty : thou must not suffer either the rustics or the city-dwellers to be vexed with inordinate assessments. Meet the insolence of office and the arrogance of the Judge with proper firmness, yet always preserving the reverence which is due to the magistrate. Claim thy right of freely entering into the Judge's presence when thou shalt desire to do so. Exclude all unjust claims and attempts at the spoliation of those whom it is thy duty to cherish as thy children, and do not suffer anything beyond the accustomed imposts to be demanded of

¹ Cod. Theod. i. 29. 1.

² See p. 225.

³ Cod. Justin. i. 55.

⁴ Afterwards reduced to two by Justinian, Nov. 15, c. 1.

these men who certainly can be guarded by no arm but thine.'

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

We can gather with sufficient clearness from this edict what were the duties of the new officer, whom, perhaps with some slumbering memories of the Tribunes of the Plebs in republican Rome, the Emperors were now creating to be a check on the venal rapacity of their own judges and tax-collectors. He was to be the perpetual advocate of the municipality, to maintain its rights against usurping officials, to resist all attempts at illegitimate and excessive taxation, to be a sort of embodied Habeas Corpus Act on behalf of the poorer and friendless citizens. He was chosen by the voice of the whole community, but his name had to be submitted to the Praetorian Prefect for his approval, and he was confirmed in his office by that high functionary. In order to secure in the new officer a sufficient amount of courage and independence for the exercise of his duties, it was expressly provided that he should not be chosen from the class of *decurions*, the local vestry-men, corresponding to those Senators of Antioch whose woes we were recently considering¹. For the *decurion*, as we shall see more plainly in a later chapter, was a being born to be pillaged and oppressed, and was always trembling before the frowns of power.

But this requirement, that the *Defensor* should be a man of rank and importance in the State, ruined a well-meant plan. The *Defensor* took upon himself the airs of a great official; he gradually became a real magistrate; his jurisdiction, which at first extended only to cases where an amount of sixty *solidi* (£36) was at stake, was enlarged so as to include cases

¹ See chap. 9.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

485.

relating to five times that amount. And as he grew in importance and power, he evidently became more and more unapproachable by his 'children,' the humbler class of tax-payers, so that before the end of a century from the first appearance of the name in the Statute-book, we find a law passed to repress the insolence and injustice of the *Defensor*, and to recall him to a remembrance of the object for which he was appointed. So true it is that every office takes the colour of the State on which it is engrafted. In a monarchy which has become democratic we see even the professed servants of the monarch pandering to the passions of the crowd; while in a republic which had become Imperial even the constituted champions of the commonalty were found before long in the ranks of its oppressors.

Military
organisa-
tion of the
Empire.

In conclusion, though the proper subject of this chapter is civil administration, we may give a glance at another most interesting subject brought before us by the *Notitia Dignitatum*, namely, the condition of the army of the Empire. The information with which the *Notitia* furnishes us on this subject is tantalising by its very fullness. At first sight we seem to have a complete picture of the disposition of all the legions and all the corps of 'federate' infantry and cavalry over the whole Empire. But on closer examination we find that there are great gaps in the statement thus laid before us. Deficiencies in one place, redundancies in another, bewilder us in our attempt to construct a definite scheme of the military organisation of the State. It will probably require some years of patient labour, especially of comparison of this ill-edited army-list with the slowly accumulating evidence of inscriptions, before

anything like safe and definite conclusions can be reached as to the magnitude and the composition of those armies on the Danube and the Rhine, which did not avail to save the Empire from the impact of the barbarians.

Meanwhile, however, it may be stated very roughly, that the Notitia appears to display to us a force whose nominal strength was nearly a million of men, and that this force was pretty evenly divided between the Eastern and the Western portions of the Empire¹. There can be no doubt, however, that this number is enormously in excess of the troops which Rome could actually put in the field. The legions especially (the theoretical strength of which at this time was 6100 foot soldiers, with cavalry attached to the number of

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Nominal
strength
of the
Imperial
army.

¹ If we take, with a little necessary correction, the numbers which Von Wietersheim deduces from the Notitia, we get these results:—

	Eastern Empire.	Western Empire.	Total.
Infantry	70 legions . . = 427,000	62 legions . . = 372,600	799,600
	43 auxilia, and other bodies of infantry, not legions . . . = 21,500	65 auxilia, &c. = 32,500	54,000
Cavalry	43 vexillations, and other bodies of cavalry . . = 21,500	48 vexillations, &c. . . . = 24,000	45,500
	470,000	429,100	899,100

But there is a great deal of guess-work in all this. Especially the estimate of 500 men for the non-legionary bodies of infantry is probably too low for their *nominal* strength.

Marquardt, a very careful writer, reckons, besides the above total of 132 legions, ‘43 other legions besides: thus in all 175 legions,’ which at 6100 men to a legion would give a total of 1,067,500 men on paper, exclusive of cavalry and irregulars. He however accepts the view of the greatly diminished strength of the legion: and he wisely observes, ‘I give these numbers only as approximations. Their verification involves some difficulties, to solve which a thorough investigation would be required.’ (Römische Staatsverwaltung, ii. 588.)

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

730¹) appears sometimes in history in such a miserably attenuated condition, that some writers² have asserted that even in theory it only consisted of 1000 men, an alteration which would require us to reduce the estimate just given to little more than a sixth. For any such formal and theoretical reduction, however, there does not appear to be sufficient authority. The following sentences from a contemporary author probably set forth the true state of the case. 'The name of the legions still abides in our army, but through negligence the strength which it possessed in old days is broken, the rewards of valour being now given to intrigue, and the soldier's promotion which he used to earn by toil being now given by favour. When the veteran has earned his discharge, having completed his term of service, there is no one to take his place. Moreover, some must be incapacitated for service by disease, others will desert or perish by one accident or another, so that unless every year, I might almost say every month, a troop of young recruits is brought in to fill the places of those who fall out, a legion, however numerous at the outset, soon dwindles. There is another reason for our attenuated legions, namely, the great labour of service therein, their heavier arms, their more numerous duties, their severer discipline. In order to escape these, most recruits rush to take the military oath in the auxiliary forces where the toil is less and the rewards sooner earned³.'

Classifica-
tion of the
soldiery.

This last remark leads us to consider the different

¹ Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, ii. 6.

² Including Gibbon, cap. xvii. n. 132.

³ Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, ii. 3.

classes of troops, which, according to the Notitia, composed the Imperial army. The 132 legions which were enumerated above are divided into three ranks. These are :—

25	<i>legiones Palatinae.</i>
70	<i>legiones Comitatuses.</i>
37	<i>legiones Pseudo-Comitatuses.</i>
<hr/>	
132	

The first class, the 'legions of the Palace,' speak for themselves. If not in the strictest sense the body-guard of the sovereign, a title which more fittingly belongs to the high-born and brilliantly accoutred *Domestici* and *Protectores*, they are at any rate those troops who are most immediately under the eye of the Emperor, and who will be first grouped round his standard when he goes forth to war.

Over against these 'legiones Palatinae' are found certain non-legionary bodies of troops, forty-three in number in the East and sixty-five in the West, called the *Auxilia Palatina*. To read through the titles of these regiments is to study the morbid anatomy of the dying Empire. You find there the name of almost every barbarian nationality that was hovering on its borders, the cannibal Atacotti of Scotland, the Heruli, the Thervingi, the Moors. Then there are names like those of our battle-ships, the *Petulantes*, the *Invicti*, the *Victores*; and names derived from the reigning Emperor, the *Valentinianenses*, the *Gratianenses*, the *Felices Theodosiani*, the *Honoriani Victores*, the *Felices Arcadiani*. The terrible name of Goths does not appear on the list, but there can be little doubt that among these barbarian satellites of the Emperor were to be

BOOK I. found a large number of those yellow-haired Visigothic
 CH. 12. *foederati*, whose golden collars roused the envy, and whose arrogant demeanour kindled the resentment of the Roman legionaries. In the regiment of Gratianenses there may very likely have still been serving some of those very Alans, his partiality for whom cost the ill-fated Gratian his life.

Legiones
 Comitatus-
 tenses.

From the *legiones Palatinae* and their attendant *auxilia* we pass to the *legiones Comitatusenses*, evidently a large and important portion of the Imperial army. In the laws of this period they are generally coupled with the *Palatini*, and it is not easy to see what was the difference between them, for *Comitatus* is used for court as *Palatium* for palace. It is conjectured with some probability that the *legiones Comitatusenses*¹ may have held something like the same position towards the 'Masters of the Soldiery' that the *legiones Palatinae* held towards the Emperor. And though we cannot prove the point, there seems some reason to connect these 'Comitatusian' legions with the assertion of Zosimus², that Constantine withdrew the bulk of his troops from the fortresses on the frontier and stationed them in the cities of the interior, where they became demoralised by urban pleasures and a long peace.

Legiones
 Pseudo-
 Comitatus-
 tenses.

For it seems clear that the duty of guarding the frontier, taken off from these pampered 'courtly' legions, was in great measure devolved upon their inferiors, who went by the uncouth name of *Pseudo-Comitatusenses* or 'sham-courtly' troops. These plebeians of the army received only four rations where the *Comitatusenses* received six; they were probably

¹ By Von Wietersheim, i. 317 (ed. 1880).

² ii. 34.

of lower stature¹, received in several ways fewer privileges than their envied superiors.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

Lastly, there was a class of troops of whom the Notitia gives us only fragmentary and imperfect information, the *Limitanei* or *Ripenses*. These were apparently a kind of militia stationed on the frontiers of the Empire, along the great rivers, the Rhine and the Danube; where Egypt looks forth upon the desert; or where the Parthian was hovering round Mesopotamia. They were probably not mere soldiers, but cultivated the soil and practised the arts of peace; always, however, under special obligation to take up arms at the approach of an enemy and defend the land which they tilled. We would gladly receive further information as to this body of men whose status in some degree foreshadows that of the feudal soldiers of the Middle Ages, while at the same time some of them must surely have been found among the defenders of the great Roman Walls in Britain and in Germany.

Limitanei
or *Ri-*
penses.

A survey of this most interesting document, the Notitia, as a whole, and a comparison of it with the Theodosian Code, suggest some reflections as to the relative capacity of the Romans as warriors and as administrators. The citizens of the little stronghold by the Tiber had first made their mark on Latium by their fierce determination in war. As their territory grew, their powers of government developed, and when they were the undisputed lords of all the fair countries

Roman
military
organisa-
tion in-
ferior to
the civil.

¹ By Cod. Theod. vii. 13. 3 the stature of the recruit is to be not less than 5 feet 7 inches. I imagine this to be the *comitatensis*, but we have no proof on the subject. By vii. 22. 8 it is enacted that the sons of veterans who in strength or stature do not come up to the standard of a *comitatensis* shall serve in the *Militia Ripensis*.

BOOK I.
CH. 12.

round the Mediterranean Sea they did in truth fulfil with wonderful success the charge given to them in the poet's imagination by the spirit of their ancestor:—

‘Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.’

At the period which we have now reached in the history of that vast accumulation of peoples which still called itself the Roman Republic, the old Roman spirit of delight in battle was departed, but the Roman genius for law and administration still remained. The Seventh Book of the Theodosian Code gives us a dreary picture of the military state of the Empire. The sons of the veterans have to be forced to follow the profession of their fathers. Self-mutilation to avoid military service is frequent. The man who does enter the army seems to be only intent on avoiding his obligations as a tax-payer, or oppressing his fellow-citizens by unreasonable demands when he is billeted upon them. And while the pages of the *Notitia*, which deal with the civil constitution of the Empire, display to us a great, well-organised, official hierarchy,—corrupt it may have been, oppressive it may have been, but one in which every wheel of the great administrative machine knew its place and performed its office,—the military chapters of that book seem to be a perfect chaos. Fragments of the same legion are dispersed hither and thither, some under the command of the *Magister Militum in Praesenti*, some under the Duke of a province. It would seem to have been in the last degree difficult for the Prefect of a legion to ascertain accurately who were subordinate to him, and to whom he was subordinate. All the mistakes and the heart-burnings to which divided responsibility and ill-defined

prerogatives give birth, seem to be here prepared in abundant measure. Instead of keeping the noble legions of the early Empire, the 25 of Augustus or the 33 of Severus, up to their full strength, and enabling them to do deeds worthy of their great traditions, each Emperor seems to form a number of fresh legions, some of which he calls after his own name and some after the name of the latest tribe of barbarians to whom he has taken a fancy. But whether they be called 'Happy Honorians,' or 'Senior Britons,' or 'Lancers of Comagene,' in any case we feel certain that they are not a legion in the old magnificent sense of the word. The full complement of officers may be there, exhausting the treasury by their exorbitant *Annonae*, or parading their gorgeous equipments before the eyes of a gratified Emperor, but when the Goth or the Frank appears upon the frontiers of the Empire where such a mushroom legion is stationed, we feel sure that he will not find 6000 stout soldiers ready to resist him.

In short, the perusal of the *Notitia* and the Code leaves us with the conviction that not even Valentinian nor Theodosius, and certainly none of their successors, was a Carnot or a von Moltke, able to 'organise victory.' The civil administration of the Empire was marvellous, and it left its mark upon Europe for centuries, but the military administration at the close of the fourth century was a fabric pervaded by dry-rot, and it crumbled at the touch of the barbarian.

CHAPTER XIII.

HONORIUS, STILICHO, ALARIC.

Authorities.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

Sources :—

As we shall have for the next two chapters to depend to a large extent on CLAUDIAN, it may be convenient to have the following table of his historical poems to refer to :—

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Subject.</i>
395.	Consulship of Probinus and Olybrius.
396.	Against Rufinus (two books). Third Consulship of Honorius.
398.	Fourth Consulship of Honorius.
.	Poems on the Marriage of Honorius and Maria. On the War with Gildo.
399.	Consulship of Fl. Mallius Theodorus. Against Eutropius (two books).
400.	First Consulship of Stilicho (three books). (The so-called poem on the Second Consulship of Stilicho is the third of these.)
402 or 403.	On the Gothic War (De Bello Getico).
404.	On the Sixth Consulship of Honorius.
406 (?).	Praise of Serena.

It can hardly be necessary to warn the reader to receive with the utmost caution everything that Claudian utters by way of praise of Stilicho or depreciation of Stilicho's enemies. One reason why I have generally preserved the metrical form in

quoting from Claudian's poems has been to keep the unhistorical character of this source prominently in view. It is impossible not to use an author who supplies us with almost all the life and colour which historical portraiture requires, but he must be used with continual distrust when the characters of his patrons or their enemies are at stake. Also, a history which has to depend so largely on poetical materials, is almost of necessity incomplete, as if one should attempt to write the history of the early part of Charles II's reign from Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, or that of the Peninsular War from a series of University Prize Poems.

ZOSIMUS (previously described) and

OROSIUS are the chief authorities upon the side unfavourable to the character of Stilicho.

Paulus Orosius, a native of Tarragona in Spain, and a friend of Augustine, wrote his Seven Books of 'Histories' about the year 417, while he was still a young man ('*religiosus juvenis*'), at the request of the Bishop of Hippo. They were to form a history of the world from the Deluge down to his own time (the last entry relates to the year 417), and the object of the book was to show that bloodshed, oppression, and misery, had ever been the staple of human history, and that 'Christian times' were unjustly blamed for the woes which the barbarians were then inflicting on the Empire. It is a necessary feature in a work undertaken with this view that it should deal rather with universal than contemporary history, and in fact only the last half of the seventh book is devoted to the events of the fourth and early part of the fifth centuries. That portion of the book which might have been of some value as a contemporary authority is thus reduced within somewhat narrow limits, and, unfortunately, the deficiency in quantity is not atoned for by excellence in quality. Vague, passionate, and declamatory, Orosius represents only the narrow prejudices of an orthodox provincial of the Empire in his judgments concerning the men and the events of that mighty crisis. Neither barbarians nor unsound Christians have any chance of fair treatment at his hands, and under both categories Stilicho is odious to him. Yet even Orosius is not without his use as furnishing a corrective to the extravagant and indiscriminate flattery of Claudian.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.*Guides :—*

Amédée Thierry's 'Trois Ministres des fils de Théodose—Rufin, Eutrope, Stilicon' (Paris, 1865). The style and arrangement of this book are admirable, but there is a want of accuracy in the details, and a not sufficiently close adherence to the authorities. When, for instance, M. Thierry develops (p. 326) from one slight and vague hint in a poem of Claudian's a long story about the attempts to force Placidia to marry Eucherius, son of Stilicho, and her obstinate struggle to preserve her freedom, he is writing not a history but a romance; and this is the more to be regretted because a novelistic incident like this, so confidently stated by a historian of eminence, is eagerly caught up by his successors and soon becomes part of the *Textus Receptus* of History.

E. von Wietersheim's 'Geschichte der Völker-Wanderung' (Leipzig, 4 vols. 1859–64, and a new edition in 2 vols. revised by Felix Dahn, 1880–1) is especially valuable as containing the reflections of one who had been himself engaged in the work of administration, on the causes of the disruption of the Roman Empire. The Roman, official side of the history was in the original work more satisfactorily treated than that which concerned the life of the barbarian invaders of the Empire. In Prof. Dahn's edition this inequality is removed by the hand which was best fitted to paint the Teutonic background of the history.

J. B. Bury's 'History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene' (London, 2 vols., 1889) is a book to which henceforth I wish continually to refer my readers for a fuller description of those events in the Eastern Empire which lie from this time beyond my proper horizon. Having worked in the same field I can perhaps appreciate better than many the enormous amount of patient labour which is represented by these two modest volumes; and I am bound to add that where he expresses dissent from my conclusions he generally convinces me that I am wrong. He takes a much more unfavourable view than I do of the character of Stilicho; but this is just one of the points on which a jury of historians is not likely to be unanimous, I might perhaps say, ought not to be unanimous; and I gladly refer the student to Mr. Bury's pages for a fair and powerful statement of the case against Stilicho.

Dr. Güldenpenning's 'Geschichte des Oströmischen Reiches

unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II' (Halle, 1885) is as good a piece of work as its predecessor, so frequently referred to in the foregoing pages.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

By the death of Theodosius a division, which proved to be practically a final division, was made between the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire, and Honorius, a boy eleven years of age, began to rule over its Western portion.

Britain, Gaul, Spain, the south-west corner of Germany, the western half of the province of Illyricum (comprising Austria west of the Danube, and Dalmatia), Italy, and the African shore of the Mediterranean as far east as Tripoli, were all included in the dominions of the young monarch. The whole of this territory, except the northern part of the British province and the Roman lands east of the Rhine, was still virtually untouched by barbarian invasion. It was the Eastern half of the Empire which had suffered the dangerous aneurism of the Gothic settlement south of the Danube, and which had seen the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, so near to its capital, harried by the yearly incursions of the barbarians: it was the East which, could a prophet have arisen to announce the impending ruin of one half of the Empire, would have seemed likely to fall the first sacrifice. But the marvellous foresight of Constantine, instructed by the difficulties of his own campaign against Licinius, had led him to root his dynasty in a stronghold which, for the space of nine centuries, was to defy external assault; and that city, the offspring of Imperial Christianity, cherished with grateful devotion the powers to which it owed its being. Old Rome, on the other hand, unfavourably situated for defence, and penetrated with memories of Republican

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

freedom and Pagan art, visited only at distant intervals by the Emperors, was sinking into a state of sullen isolation, fearing the ruin of the state, yet almost prepared to view with indifference the ruin of the Caesar.

Simultaneously with this renewed division of the Roman Empire a new generation of men, and one destined to witness and to share in mighty revolutions, appeared on the scene. Theodosius is gone. Most of the counsellors and warriors who stood round his throne have disappeared, some having perished in civil war and some having fallen victims to the intrigues of their adversaries. Ambrose, though not in advanced old age, has but two years more to live, and takes no more a conspicuous part in public affairs¹. The three persons with whom for the next decade and a half we have chiefly to deal are those whose names appear at the head of this chapter—Honorius, Stilicho, Alaric.

Birth of
Honorius.

We begin with 'Our Master, the Eternal and ever-August Honorius.' What was the character and appearance of the lad who from his palace at Milan issued his edicts to the Western world? Hear first the courtly Claudian :—

III Cons.
Honorii,
10-23.

'Thee from the fair first dawning of thy life
A palace nurtured; in triumphal strife
A camp, bright with the flashing swords of men,

¹ Ambrose died 4th April, 397. (His birth is generally assigned to the year 340, as stated on p. 385, but I am not sure that 333 is not a more probable date.) When he was attacked with his fatal illness Count Stilicho is said to have observed that the death of such a man would be the ruin of Italy. He therefore persuaded some noblemen of Mediolanum whom he knew to be dear to Ambrose to visit him and ask him to pray to God for his own recovery. The Bishop answered, 'I have not so lived among you that I should be ashamed of life: but I fear not to die, for we have a good Lord;' and not many days after he breathed his last.

Nourished thine infancy; for even then
Thy lofty fortunes brooked no humble home,
But gave thee life with empire. Thou didst come,
Meet present from an Empress to her Lord,
And thee, in purple swathed, his realm adored.
Rome's victor eagles marked thy earliest day,
And in the midst of spears thy cradle lay.
When thou wast born, to Rhine's extremest floods
Germania trembled, the Caucasian woods
Shook with new terror. Meroë¹ no more
—Fearing thy power divine—her quiver bore,
But from her hair the useless arrows tore.
Crawling, o'er shields thou mad'st thy childish way,
And spoils of mighty princes were thy play.'

And again:—

IV Cons.
Honorii,
127-158.

'Spain reared thy sire her golden streams beside,
But Bosphorus recalls thy birth with pride.
From the Hesperian threshold rose thy line,
But bright Aurora was thy nurse divine.
For such a prize what eager strife is shown
Since, of two worlds, each claims thee for her own.
Thebes gloried in the might of Hercules
And joy of Bacchus, both her offspring these;
Delos stood still to mark Apollo's birth,
The tiny Thunderer crept o'er Cretan earth;
But more than Delos, more than Crete, must be
The land which fostered thy divinity.
No narrow shores could our new god receive,
Nor might rough Cynthian rocks thy members grieve.
Thy mother lay on gold, with gems arrayed,
When upon Tyrian cushions thou wast laid.
A palace echoed to her labour's cry,
And oh! what tokens of thy fortunes high
Abounded then! what flight, what call of birds,
And from pale prophets what mysterious words!
Of thy great name the hornèd Ammon spoke,
Delphi for thee her age-long silence broke.
The Persian Magi sang of thee; thy power
Thrilled through the Etrurian Augurs; in that hour
Babylon's sages gazing on the stars
Read with blank fear the triumph of thy wars.

¹ Ethiopia.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

And now once more the rocks of Cumae's cave
Rang with the shrieks the frenzied Sibyl gave.

No Corybantian priests thy birth-cry drowned
With cymbals' clash; an army stood around
In glittering steel; their standards waved above
Thine infant head, oh, more august than Jove!
Thou saw'st adoring legions round thee fall,
And thy shrill cries gave back the trumpet's call.
Empire and life were thine the selfsame day,
And in thy cradle did a consul play¹.
By thy new name the new-born year was known,
It gave thee being, 'twas given thee for thine own.
Quirinus' robe thy mother made thee wear,
And helped thee, crawling, to the curule chair.'

Porphyrogenitus, 'born in the Purple Chamber,' is the key-note of the poet's panegyric. This fortunate accident of birth amid the splendours of royalty was not shared by Arcadius, who came into the world while Theodosius was still in a private station.

The childhood of the 'New Divinity' is thus sketched:—

III Cons.
Honorii,
23-38.

'First wast thou wont thy victor-sire to greet,
When he from Ister homeward turned his feet.
'Twas thou who first didst softly soothe the glance
Of that still war-o'ershadowed countenance.
Coaxing, thou pray'dst for trophies from the foe,
A belt Gelonian, or a Scythian bow,
A Dacian javelin, or a Suevic rein.
He on his shining shield, how oft again
Would raise thee smiling; to his panting breast
How oft thy little eager form was pressed.
Thou from the gleaming steel didst fear no harm,
But to the helmet's crest stretched forth thine arm.
And then thy sire would say with holy joy,
King of Olympus! grant that this my boy
Thus may return victorious from his foe,
From wasted Parthia, Babylon laid low.

His child-
hood.

¹ There is a slight poetical licence here. Strictly, Honorius's consulship did not begin till he was fifteen months old, in 386.

Red be his sword like mine ; like mine his breath
Come panting fast from the great game of Death.
Be war's delicious dust on every limb,
And let him bring me spoils as I to him.'

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

This pretty little picture, borrowed from the Iliad, in which Theodosius is equal to Hector, and Honorius is more than Astyanax (for Astyanax did fear 'the dazzling helm and nodding crest'), need not of course have had any existence in reality.

His real character. Crowned nothingness.

Let us now turn from poetry to fact, and see what mark the real Honorius made upon the men and things that surrounded him. None. It is impossible to imagine a character more utterly destitute of moral colour, of self-determining energy, than that of the younger son of Theodosius. In Arcadius we do at length discover traces of uxoriousness, a blemish in some rulers, but which becomes almost a merit in him when contrasted with the absolute vacancy, the inability to love, to hate, to think, to execute, almost to be, which marks the impersonal personality of Honorius. After earnestly scrutinising his life to discover some traces of human emotion under the stolid mask of his countenance, we may perhaps pronounce with some confidence on the three following points.

1. He perceived, through life, the extreme importance of keeping the sacred person of the Emperor of the West out of the reach of danger.

2. He was, at any rate in youth, a sportsman.

3. In his later years he showed considerable interest in the rearing of poultry.

Claudian,
de IV Cons.
Honorii,
527-529.

Procopius,
de Bello
Vandalico,
i. 2.

We must not do him injustice. He was also religious, after the fashion of his time ; and he found leisure in some of the direst emergencies of his country to put

BOOK I. forth fresh edicts for the suppression of Heresy and
 CH. 18. Paganism.

It is natural to ask, Why this sudden decay of energy in the Theodosian line? Why in Arcadius and Honorius do we find no trace of the impetuous will of their father? It is possible that the character of the mother may here, as in so many other cases, have been more faithfully reproduced in her sons than the character of the father. For Flaccilla, though a devout and charitable woman, was one whom we hear praised for the sweetness rather than the strength of her nature, and often trembled before the passionate outbursts of her husband's wrath. Thus says Claudian in addressing Serena, the niece and adopted daughter of the Emperor:—

Laus
 Serenae,
 134-138.

'When harassed with the heavy cares of State
 Home he returned, moody and passionate,
 When from their angry sire his children fled,
 And e'en Flaccilla saw his scowl with dread,
 Then thou alone couldst stem his roaring rage,
 Alone, with soothing speech, his wrath assuage.'

But probably, after all, the chief cause of the want of energy shown by the sons of Theodosius was the enervating moral atmosphere which surrounded them from childhood. Passing their early years in the sacred recesses of the palace, shut out from contact with the healthy world outside by the purple veil and the brightly clothed *Silentiarii*, hailed in childhood with the great name of Augustus, surrounded by adoring courtiers and listening to flattery as fulsome, but not always as eloquent, as that of Claudian, it is not surprising that these unfortunate lads grew up to manhood flaccid, nerveless, and ignorant, the mere tools of the ministers who governed in their names, and utterly unable to

support, themselves, any of the real weight of the Empire. BOOK I.
CH. 18.

But let us pass on from Honorius to describe the character and fortunes of the real ruler of the Western world, Stilicho.

Stilicho was born probably between 350 and 360¹. He was the son of a Vandal chief who had entered the service of the Emperor Valens, and had apparently commanded his squadrons of barbarian auxiliaries in a creditable manner. Had there been any worse stigma than the fact of his Vandal descent attaching to Stilicho's parentage, we should certainly have heard it from his captious critic Orosius; had he by either parent been linked to any noble Roman family, we should have had it impressed upon our recollection by his flatterer Claudian, who, moreover, if his father had been a great general, would certainly not have dropped the hint that 'even though he had wrought no illustrious deed, nor with faithful allegiance to Valens ever guided his chestnut-haired squadrons, it would have been enough for his fame that he was the begetter of Stilicho².' Stilicho's
birth and
parentage.

When the young Vandal, tall³, and of stately presence, moved through the streets of Constantinople, the His youth;

¹ Claudian (in his poem on the First Consulship of Stilicho) speaks of him as still a young man when married to Serena (apparently about 385). He could not therefore be born earlier than 350. On the other hand, in the *De Bello Getico*, 459-460, Claudian speaks of his 'well-known white hair'—

'Emicuit Stilichonis apex et cognita fulsit
Canities.'

He therefore could hardly have been born later than 360, since this poem relates to the events of 402 or 403.

² In *Prim. Cons. Stilich.* i. 36-39.

³ *Ib.* 51-70.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

and marriage to
Serena.

crowds on either hand deferentially made way for him. He was still only a private soldier, but the instinct of the multitude foretold his future advancement. Nor was that advancement long in coming: scarcely had he attained manhood when the Emperor sent him on an embassy to the Persian court¹. Arrived at Babylon (continues the flattering bard) his proud deportment struck awe into the hearts of the stern nobles of Parthia, while the quiver-bearing multitude thronged eagerly to gaze on the illustrious stranger, and the Persian ladies, smitten by his goodly appearance, nourished in secret the hopeless flame of love. Hopeless,—for a higher alliance than that of any Persian dame was in store for him on his return to Constantinople. There, in the court of her uncle Theodosius, dwelt the learned and dignified Serena. She was the daughter of his brother, the elder Honorius, and was older than any of his own children. In the old days, when they were all dwelling together in Spain, and when Theodosius was still in a private station, he took a fancy to the little maiden, and often carried her back with him from her father's house to cheer his own still childless home. When the elder Honorius died, and Theodosius found himself at the summit of the world, he remembered his old favourite, and summoned her, with her sister Thermantia, to his court. Both were adopted by him as his daughters, but Serena retained the stronger influence over him, and, as we have already seen, ventured to approach and to soothe him in those angrier moments when his gentle Empress dared not face his wrath.

¹ This embassy was probably in connection with the treaty between the two monarchies solemnly concluded at Constantinople in 384.

Such was the bride whom the Emperor (probably about the year 385) bestowed on the young warrior. Henceforward his promotion was certain. He rose to high rank in the army, being made Magister Utriusque Militiae some years before the death of Theodosius, he distinguished himself in many campaigns against the Visigoths, he avenged the death of his veteran friend Prometus on the barbarians of the Danube, and finally, when his wife Serena had brought her little cousin Honorius to his dying father at Milan, Stilicho received from his sovereign, whom he had no doubt accompanied in his campaign against Arbogast, the guardianship of his son and the regency of the Western Empire. It is also stated, with some probability, that Theodosius on his death-bed gave to this stalwart kinsman a general charge to watch over the safety of the East as well as the West, thus constituting him in some measure guardian of Arcadius as well as of Honorius.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

Made
Master
of the
Soldiery ;

and Regent
of the
West.

Of the great abilities of Stilicho as a general and a civil administrator there can be no doubt. As to the integrity of his character there is a conflict of testimony. We are met at the outset by the words of Zosimus, who couples Rufinus and him in the same condemnation, declaring that on the death of Theodosius everything was done in the Western and Eastern Empires according to the mere pleasure of these two men, that they took bribes without any pretence of concealment, that large possessions came to be accounted a calamity, since they marked out the owner for the calumnies and false accusations of informers in the minister's service, that through the perversion of justice all manner of wickedness increased in the cities, and that ancient and substantial families were rapidly sunk into penury,

Difficulty
of deciding
as to
Stilicho's
integrity.

Hostile
testimony
of Zosimus,
v. i.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

while vast masses of wealth of all descriptions were being accumulated in the dwellings of Rufinus and Stilicho.

In Rufi-
num, i.
182-195.

His pane-
gyric by
Claudian.

Claudian, in a fine torrent of angry verse, brings the very same idea of widespread corruption and robbery forcibly before us, but of course with him Rufinus is the only guilty one. Of Stilicho's moral character he draws a flattering picture. His clemency¹ is depicted in twenty-four lines, his truthfulness² in twenty. His justice³, patience, temperance, prudence, constancy, are more rapidly sketched; but great stress is laid on his utter freedom from avarice⁴, the mother of all the vices, on his firmness in suppressing the too common practice of delation (false and frivolous accusations against the rich for the sake of hush-money), and on his bestowal of the offices of the state on merit alone, irrespective of all other considerations.

With this conflict of testimony before us, and feeling that the prejudices of Zosimus may make his testimony almost as valueless as the venal verses of Claudian, our best course will be to watch the life of the great Vandal for ourselves, and draw our own conclusion at its close.

Animosity
between
the Eastern
and West-
ern Em-
pires.

One thing is certain, that the animosity existing between Stilicho and the successive ministers of the Eastern Emperor (an animosity which does not necessarily imply any fault on the part of the former) was one most potent cause of the downfall of the Western Empire. In part this was due to the peculiar position of military affairs at the time of the death of Theodosius. The army of the East, the backbone of which was the

¹ In Cons. Stilichonis, ii. 6-29.

² Ib. 100-110.

³ Ib. ii. 30-49.

⁴ Ib. 110-124.

Gothic auxiliaries, had just conquered, at the river Frigidus, the army of the West, which similarly depended upon the Frankish and West German soldiery. The two hosts coalesced in devotion to Theodosius; they were perhaps ready to follow the standards of a rising general like Stilicho, but they were in no great haste to march off to wearisome sentinel duty on the frontiers of Persia or Scythia, nor was Stilicho anxious so to scatter them. Hence heart-burnings between him and the Eastern court, and complaints, perhaps well-founded, made by the latter, that he kept all the most able-bodied and warlike soldiers for himself and sent the cripples and good-for-nothing fellows to Constantinople. Whatever the original grievance, for a period of thirteen years (from 395-408) hearty co-operation between the courts of Rome and Constantinople was unknown, and intrigues which it is impossible now to unravel were being woven by the ministers of Arcadius against Honorius, perhaps by Stilicho against them. The Roman Empire was a house divided against itself, and it is therefore no marvel if it was brought to naught.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.
395.

Zosimus,
v. 4.

Odious as the character of Rufinus was, it must be admitted in justice to him that his position was a difficult one. He was expected to administer the Eastern Empire for the obviously incapable Arcadius, but the chief forces of that Empire were under the command of his avowed enemy, Stilicho, who also put forward a claim of indefinite magnitude to joint or superior guardianship of the helpless sovereign. To make his situation still more difficult, he was at this time foiled by a yet more artful villain than himself in a palace intrigue. Rufinus proposed to himself to

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

395.

marry his daughter to Arcadius, but during his temporary absence from the capital, the Eunuch Eutropius (the same man whom Theodosius had despatched on a mission to the hermit John before his last campaign) contrived to bring under his young master's notice the picture of a young Frankish maiden of surpassing beauty. This was Eudoxia, the daughter of the late Count Bauto, who had been brought up in the house of Promotus, and who had among her foster-brothers and sisters doubtless imbibed undying enmity to the crafty minister who had contrived the death of that veteran. In the feeble soul of Arcadius the flame of love was easily kindled, and he gladly gave command (during a temporary absence of the terrible guardian) that the fair Frankish maiden should be won. Eutropius bade the people make holiday and deck their houses for an Imperial wedding. He set forth with his attendants bearing the Imperial crown, the bright robes of an Imperial bride ; and with dance and song the festive procession moved through the streets of Constantinople. All men expected that the chamberlain would proceed to the house of Rufinus, whose ambitious designs were well known. But no ; the attendants moved on to the humbler abode of Promotus, brought forth from thence Eudoxia in all her radiant Northern beauty, and led her to the palace, where for the next nine years she reigned supreme. Rufinus on his return to Constantinople found that his position was undermined, and that henceforward he would have a covert rival at Constantinople besides the avowed rival at Milan.

27 April,
395.

Birth and
early his-
tory of
Alaric.

The third name on our list is Alaric, the great Visigothic chieftain whose genius taught him the best means of turning the estrangement between the two

Empires to account. Alaric was sprung from one of those royal or semi-royal houses which, among the German nations, proudly traced back their lineage to the gods of Walhalla. His family, the Balthi, ranked, some said, only second in nobility to the Amals; and when Alaric in after-days had performed some of his daring deeds against the great world-Empire, men said, remembering the meaning of the name of his forefathers, 'Rightly is he called Baltha (Bold), for he is indeed the boldest of mankind¹.' As for the year of his birth we have no certain information. It may have been any time between 360 and 370, but can hardly have been much earlier than the first or much later than the second date. His birthplace was the island Peuce, in the Delta of the Danube, apparently south of what is now termed the Sulina mouth of that river. We have already met with him crossing the Alps as a leader of auxiliaries in the army of Theodosius, when that Emperor marched to encounter Eugenius and Arbogast. With the accession of the two young Princes the spell of the Theodosian name over the barbarian mind was broken. The ill-timed parsimony of Rufinus, perhaps of Stilicho also, curtailed the largesses hitherto given to the Gothic troops², and thus yet further estranged them from the Empire. Then individual grievances were not wanting to their general. He was still only a leader of barbarian auxiliaries, bound to difficult and little-honoured labour on the

¹ This is Köpke's explanation (*Anfänge des Königthums*, p. 122) of the difficult passage in Jordanes, 'Alarico, cui erat post Amalos secunda nobilitas Balthorumque ex genere origo mirifica, qui dudum ob audaciam virtutis, Baltha, id est audax, nomen inter suos acceperat.'

² Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, cap. 29.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

395.

wings of the Imperial armies, though Theodosius had led him to believe that if the campaign against Eugenius prospered he would be promoted to high military office in the regular army, and thus earn the right to command Roman legionaries in the centre of the line of battle¹. And already perhaps in the very outset of his career he felt that mysterious, irresistible impulse, urging him onwards to Rome², which fourteen years after he spoke of to the Italian monk who had almost succeeded by his intercessions in inducing him to turn back from the yet uncaptured city.

But however varied the causes might be, the effect is clear. From the day when Alaric was accepted as leader of the Gothic people their policy changed, or rather they began to have a policy, which they had never had before. No longer now satisfied to serve as the mere auxiliary of Rome, Alaric adopted the maxim which he himself had probably heard from the lips of Priulf just before his murder by Fravitta, that the Goths had fought Rome's battles long enough, and that the time was now come for them to fight their own. And though the career which he was thus entering upon was one of wide-wasting war and invasion, it would be a mistake to think of the young king as a mere barbarian marauder. Knowing the Roman court and army well, and despising them as heartily, educated in the Christian faith, proud of the willing allegiance of a nation of warriors, fated to destroy, yet not loving the work of mere destruction, Alaric, and the kings of the Visigoths who followed him, are in fact knights-errant who rear the standard of chivalry—with its errors as well as its noble

¹ Zosimus, v. 5.

² Sozomen, ix. 6.

thoughts—in the level waste of the Orientalised despotism and effete civilisation of the Roman Empire.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

Such then was the chief whom the Visigothic warriors, in accordance with the usages of their forefathers, raised upon the buckler and held aloft in the sight of all men as their newly-chosen king. The actual date of this election is uncertain¹, but it is much the most probable conjecture that it occurred in 395, immediately after the death of Theodosius, and was consequent upon the change of policy adopted by the ministers of his sons.

395.
Alaric
made King
of the
Visigoths.

If the date is not quite clear, the purpose of this election is not clouded by any doubt. As Jordanes says, 'After Theodosius, that lover of peace and of the Gothic nation, had departed this life, and when his sons, living luxuriously, began to annihilate both Empires², and to filch from their auxiliaries, I mean the Goths, their accustomed gifts, soon the Goths conceived an increasing dislike for those princes; and fearing lest their own valour should be relaxed by a long peace, they ordained over themselves a King, named Alaric.... Presently then the aforesaid Alaric, being created King, and entering into deliberation with his people, persuaded them to seek kingdoms for themselves by their own labours rather than quietly to lie down in subjection to others, and therefore gathering together an army he marched against the Empire³.' Little as

¹ Clinton, following Isidore (an inaccurate guide), decides on 382: Gibbon argues, not very convincingly, for 400.

² 'Utramque rempublicam.'

³ *Getica*, xxix. Jordanes, who knows nothing of the Grecian campaigns, proceeds at once to Alaric's invasion of Italy in 400. This is the only pretext for postponing Alaric's elevation to that year.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

395.
What consequences
flowed
from that
kingship.

they knew what they were doing, the flaxen-haired barbarians who in the Illyrian plains raised amid shouts of *Thiudans, Thiudans* ('the king! the king!') the shield upon which Alaric stood erect, were in fact upheaving into reality the stately monarchy of Spain, with her Pelayos and San Fernandos, her Alonsos and Conquistadors, her Ferdinand and Isabella, with Columbus landing at Guanahani, and Vasco Nunez wading knee-deep into the new-found ocean of the Pacific to take possession of its waves and shores for Spain. All these sights, and, alas, also her Inquisition, her Autos-da-fé, her wrecked Armada, the impotence and bankruptcy of Iberia in these latter days, might have passed before the unsealed eyes of a seer, had there been such an one among those Gothic warriors, for all these things were to spring from that day's decision.

His expedi-
tions into
Greece.

Thus then the spring of 395 was a time of terror and dismay to the inhabitants of the Eastern Empire. While the savage Huns, passing through the Caucasian Gates, laid waste the provinces of the Empire on the Upper Euphrates, and even appeared in sight of the walls of Antioch, Alaric with his Visigothic followers, in the first fervour of the enthusiasm of revolt, ravaged Moesia and Thrace, and carried consternation to the environs of Constantinople. Induced by some means or other to turn his face southward, he departed from these old battle-fields of his race, penetrated Thessaly, passed the unguarded defile of Thermopylae, and, according to the story of Zosimus (coloured of course by his heathen prejudices), 'having gathered all his troops round the sacred city of Athens, Alaric was about to proceed to the assault. When lo! he beheld

Athene Promachus, just as she is represented in her statues, clothed in full armour, going round about the walls thereof, and Achilles standing upon the battlements, with that aspect of divine rage and thirst for battle which Homer ascribes to him when he heard of the death of Patroclus. Awe-struck at the sight Alaric desisted from his warlike enterprise, signalled for truce, and concluded a treaty with the Athenians. After which he entered the city in peaceful guise with a few of his followers, was hospitably entertained by the chief inhabitants, received presents from them, and departed, leaving both Athens and Attica untouched by the ravages of war.'

BOOK I.
CH. 18.
395.

He did not turn homewards, however, but penetrated into Peloponnesus, where Corinth, Argos, and Sparta all fell before him.

The precise details of these campaigns are difficult to recover, and lie beyond our present horizon. What is important for us is their bearing on the relations between the two ministers Stilicho and Rufinus. The latter is accused of having actually invited Alaric to invade his master's dominions, or, at any rate, of having smoothed Alaric's passage into Greece in order to remove him from his too menacing neighbourhood to Constantinople. He was jealous of the overshadowing power of Stilicho, he was too conscious of his own intense unpopularity with all classes; even the dumb loyalty of his master was beginning to fail him. The beautiful barbarian Empress was now putting forth all her arts to mould the plastic soul of her husband into hostility to his chief minister. Surrounded by so many dangers Rufinus perhaps conceived the desperate idea of playing off one barbarian against another, of

The double
game of
Rufinus.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

395.

saving himself from the Vandal Stilicho by means of Alaric the Goth. We can only say 'perhaps,' because we hear of these events only from men who were bitter enemies of the minister and who wrote after his fall, and because some of the misdeeds imputed to him look more like the acts of a bewildered and panic-stricken man than like the skilful moves of a cunning traitor. Suspicion was aroused by the fact that in all the wide-wasting raids of the soldiers of Alaric the vast estates of Rufinus in Moesia and Thrace were ostentatiously spared; but it might be part of the Visigoth's plan to arouse that very suspicion. Rufinus paid a visit to the camp of the barbarian to endeavour to bring him back to his old loyalty to the Empire, and in that visit, to the grief and indignation of the Byzantines, he even affected a certain barbaresque fashion in his own costume, changed the flowing toga, which became the Roman magistrate, for the tight leathern garments of the Teutons, and carried the large bow and displayed the heavy, perhaps silver-mounted, bridle which distinguished the auxiliaries from the legions. But this again was not necessarily a proof of disaffection to the Empire. It might be only a clumsy imitation by an upstart civilian of the arts by which the great soldier Theodosius had won the love of his barbarian *foederati*. It is probable enough that Rufinus may at this interview have suggested to Alaric the policy of withdrawing from before the strong defences of Constantinople and gratifying his barbarians with the spoil of the yet unwasted provinces of Greece. A base and cowardly expedient certainly; but we need not perhaps believe the accusation of Zosimus that he actually committed the government of Greece to the dissolute Musonius,

the defence of Thermopylae to the treacherous Geron-
tius, in order to ensure the success of Alaric's invasion.
When a man is so universally hated as was the grasping
Rufinus, his very blunders and weaknesses are easily
interpreted as evidence of yet more and deeper wicked-
ness.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

395.

To Stilicho an appeal was naturally addressed to
bring or to send the Eastern army to the defence of the
Eastern Empire. He came: it was still early spring¹,
for events had moved rapidly since the death of Theo-
dosius. He had under his command a mighty host
collected from various provinces of the Empire, some
of whose legions had fought under Arbogast, some
under his conqueror, on the great day of the battle
of the Frigidus, but all were now welded together into
one body by their enthusiastic confidence in their great
leader, Stilicho, and all were eager for the fray.

Stilicho
marches
against
Alaric, but
is ordered
by Ar-
cadius to
withdraw.

The Imperial army had come up with the Visigoths
at some unnamed place within the confines of Thessaly.
Alaric recalled his marauding squadrons, gathered all his
forces into one plain, surrounded the herds of cattle
which he had collected with a double fosse and a
rampart of stakes. All men in both armies knew that
a great battle was impending, a battle which, as we
the after-comers can see, might well have changed the
course of history. Suddenly letters arrived from Con-
stantinople, subscribed by the hand of Arcadius, com-
manding Stilicho to desist from further prosecution of
the war, to withdraw the legions of Honorius within
the limits of the Western Empire, and to send the
other half of the army straight to Constantinople.
This infatuated decree, which can only be explained by

¹ Claudian, *In Rufinum*, ii. 101.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

395.

the supposition that Arcadius had really been persuaded of the disloyalty of Stilicho, and feared the rebel more than the barbarian, had been wrung from the Emperor by the cajolery and menaces of Rufinus.

Stilicho obeyed at once, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasions of the soldiers, with a promptness which must surely be allowed to count heavily in proof of his loyalty to the Theodosian line, and his reluctance to weaken the commonwealth by civil war. The army of the whole Roman Empire had appeared for the last time in one common camp¹; the Western portion set off for Italy, the Eastern for Constantinople. With deep resentment in their hearts the latter passed through Thessaly and Macedon, revolving silently a scheme of revenge which, if it passed from the domain of thought into that of uttered words, was faithfully kept from all outside, an army's secret².

Revenge of
the army
on Rufinus.

27 Nov.

On their return to Constantinople, Rufinus, who deemed himself now secure from Stilicho's hatred, and who had extorted a promise from Arcadius that he should be associated with him in the sovereignty, caused coins to be struck with his effigy, and prepared a liberal donative for the troops in commemoration of his accession to the Empire. In a plain near the capital the greedy minister and the helpless sovereign proceeded to review the troops. Rufinus, who already practised the condescending suppleness of an imperial bow, addressed individual soldiers by name, informed them of the health of their wives and families, and appropriated to himself the cheers which were meant for the son of

¹ Possibly an exception should be made for the joint campaign of East and West against Carthage in 468.

² 'Et fuit arcanum populo.' Claudian, *In Ruf.* ii. 290.

Theodosius. While this was going on, and while, on the high platform on which he and Arcadius stood, he could be seen plucking the Emperor by the mantle, beseeching, almost commanding him, to fulfil his promise, and at once declare him co-emperor, the army in the meantime was spreading out both its wings, not to protect but to destroy, and enclosed the imperial platform in a narrower and ever-narrower circle. At length Rufinus raised his head, and saw everywhere around him the lowering faces of his foes. One moment of awakening he had from his fond dream of Empire, and then a soldier stepped forth from the ranks, and with the words, 'With this sword Stilicho strikes thee,' plunged the weapon into his heart.

Then as many as were able to do so clustered round the corpse, hacked it to pieces, carried off the limbs in triumph, sowed them over the fields as the Maenads sowed the fragments of the flesh of Pentheus, but fixed the head on a spear, where they made it practise its newly learned lesson of condescending salutation, and carried round through the city the dead hand and arm, with grim ingenuity making the fingers unclose and close again upon imaginary wealth, and crying out, 'Give, give to the insatiate one.'

There is no doubt that the minister had made himself thoroughly hateful to both the people and the army, but we need not accept too literally the statement (taken from Claudian) that the murder was entirely planned by the soldiery. The general under whose command they marched back to Constantinople was Gainas the Goth, a friend of Stilicho's. Zosimus states that Gainas gave the signal for the murder, and had arranged the whole pageant of the review for this

The deed was probably instigated by Gainas.

BOOK I. express object, a statement which we can easily believe
 CH. 13.

395.

when we find that for the next five or six years the chief power over the feeble soul of Arcadius was divided between three persons, his fair Frankish Empress Eudoxia, Eutropius, the haggard old eunuch who had placed her on the throne, and Gainas the Goth, commander of the Eastern army.

Campaign
 of 396.

In the following year Stilicho made a rapid march—rather a journey than a campaign—to the banks of the Rhine, and may have thus succeeded in confirming the wavering loyalty of some Frankish and Alamannic chiefs¹. Then, with some of his Western legions, he crossed the Adriatic and again appeared on its Eastern shore, this time in the Peloponnesus, as the champion of the Empire against the Visigoths. We must suppose that for a time the tremors of Arcadius had been soothed by his new ministers, and that he was willing that his realm should be delivered by Stilicho. The outset of the campaign was successful. The greater part of Peloponnesus was cleared of the invader, who was shut up in the rugged mountain country on the confines of Elis and Arcadia. The Roman army expected soon to behold him forced by famine to an ignominious surrender, when they discovered that he had pierced the lines of circumvallation at an unguarded point, and marched with all his plunder northwards to Epirus. What was the cause of this unlooked-for issue of the struggle? ‘The disgraceful carelessness of

¹ We can only speak in these doubtful terms of a movement of which we know nothing but what is told us in a few vague lines of Claudian (*De IV Cons. Honorii*, 439–460). This Rhenish march is generally assigned to the year 395, but it seems to me that the only time in which we can find room for it is the first half of 396.

Stilicho,' says Zosimus. 'He was wasting his time with harlots and buffoons when he should have been keeping close watch on the enemy.' 'Treason,' hints Orosius. 'Orders from Constantinople, where a treaty had been concluded with Alaric,' half suggests Claudian, but he does not tell the story as if he himself believed it. The most probable explanation of this and of some similar passages in Stilicho's subsequent career is that Fabian caution co-operated with the instinct of the *Condottiere* against pushing his foe too hard. There was always danger for Rome in driving Alaric to desperation: there was danger privately for Stilicho if the dead Alaric should render him no longer indispensable.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

396.

Whatever might be the cause, Stilicho returned to Italy, and henceforward he interferes no more with the armed hand in the affairs of the Eastern Empire. Left alone with the Visigothic King, the ministers of Arcadius soon concluded one of those treaties (*foedera*) of which the history of the Eastern Empire is full. With almost sublime cowardice they rewarded the Grecian raids of Alaric by clothing him with the sacred character of an officer of the Empire in their portion of Illyricum. The precise title under which he exercised jurisdiction is not stated¹, but the scope of his powers and his manner of wielding them are thus described by Claudian—

Alaric invested by the Eastern statesmen with official authority in Illyricum.

'He who, unpunished, laid Achaia waste
And smote Epirus, foremost now is placed

¹ Gibbon's 'Master-General of Illyricum' is, I think, only a conjecture, though a very probable one. The last extract from Claudian on the next page looks as if the title were Duke, perhaps 'Dux Daciae Ripensis et Moesiae Primae.'

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

396.

In all the Illyrian land¹. Each city's gate
Greet the new friend, the armed destroyer late:
And in law's name he sways the trembling crew
Whose wives he ravished, and whose sons he slew².

And again³, where Alaric is supposed to be himself
rehearsing the matter to his followers—

'Our race, of old, by its own strength prevailed,
When still it fought unweaponed and unmailed;
But now, since Rome gave rights into my hand,
And owned me Duke of the Illyrian land,
How many a spear and sword and helmet fair
Did not I make the Thracian's toil prepare,
And, bidding Law my lawless purpose crown,
Took iron tribute from each Roman town⁴.
So Fate was with me. So the Emperor gave
The very race I plundered as my slave.
The hapless citizens, with many a groan,
Furnished the arms for havock all their own:
And in the flame, o'erwatched by tears and toil,
The steel grew red, its craftsman's home to spoil.'

From what has been before said, it will be understood
that these last expressions of the poet must not be
interpreted literally. It was not the inhabitants of
Illyricum itself against whom the collected arms of
Alaric were to be used. But, taking the Roman
Empire as a whole, the statement is true enough that
during an interval of quiescence, which lasted ap-
parently about four years, the Visigothic King was
using the forms of Roman law, the machinery of Roman

¹ 'Praesidet Illyrico.'

² In Eutropium, ii. 214-218.

³ De Bello Getico, 533-543.

⁴ 'At nunc Illyrici postquam mihi tradita jura
Meque suum fecere ducem, tot tela, tot enses,
Tot galeas multo Thracum sudore paravi;
Inque meos usus vectigal vertere ferri
Oppida legitimo jussu Romana coegi,' &c.

taxation, the almost unbounded authority of a Roman provincial governor, to prepare the weapon which was one day to pierce the heart of Rome herself.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

396.

The precise geographical position occupied by Alaric while 'presiding over Illyricum' is not more clear than his exact official rank in the Notitia, but we may conjecture that he was in the extreme west of that portion of Illyricum which obeyed Arcadius, that is in the regions which we now know as Bosnia and Servia. For a chief who nourished the vast designs which were now ripening in his soul, the position was an alluring one. Both Empires in their weakness lay before him. He could either make his way through those Julian Alps over whose passes he had followed Theodosius to victory and so descend upon Italy, or by the southern bank of the Danube he could march down to the old Moesian battlefields and so descend upon Constantinople. Hovering thus on the frontiers both of Honorius and Arcadius he, in the words of Claudian,—

'Sold his alternate oaths to either throne¹.'

But as he remembered the long years of purposeless battle which his predecessors had waged with the East and how they had ever dashed themselves in vain against the impregnable battlements of Constantinople, his thoughts evidently turned more and more towards the West, and already, we may believe, a prophetic voice began to whisper to his soul—

'Penetrabis ad Urbem.'

'Thou shalt pierce to the very City of cities, to Rome herself.'

¹

'Foedera fallax

Ludit et alternae perjuriam venditat aulae.'

De Bello Getico, 566-7.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

The dependence of Rome upon Africa for her food-supply.

Not yet however was the Imperial City immediately threatened with war: but she was already suffering from famine, and famine brought upon her by an ignoble foe, Gildo the Moor. For centuries, as the rural element in the population of Italy had grown weak and the urban element had grown strong, the dependence of Rome for her food-supply upon foreign lands, and especially on the great grain-producing countries which lined the southern shore of the Mediterranean, had become more absolute and complete. In fact, the condition of Rome, from the point of view of a political economist, was during the whole period of the Emperors as unsatisfactory as can well be imagined. She had long passed (nor is that surprising) out of the self-sufficing stage, in which she produced within her own territory all the necessaries of life for her citizens. But then, having devoted herself so exclusively to the arts of war and the science of politics, she was not producing any mercantile equivalent for the food which she needed. Her sole manufacture, we may almost say, was the Roman legionary, her chief exports armies and praetors; and in return for these, through the taxation which they levied, she imported not only the ten thousand vanities and luxuries which were consumed by her wealthy nobles, but also the vast stores of grain which were distributed by the Caesar, as a Terrestrial Providence, among the ever-increasing, ever-hungrier swarms of needy idlers who represented the *Plebs Romana*.

The corn of Egypt diverted to Constantinople.

Since the foundation of Constantinople, the area of supply had been diminished by one-half; Egypt had ceased to nourish the elder Rome. No longer now, as in the days of a certain Jewish prisoner who appealed

to Nero, would a Roman centurion easily find in Lycia 'a ship of Alexandria' with a cargo of wheat 'about to sail for Italy.' Ships from that port now preferred the nearer and safer voyage through the land-locked Archipelago, and discharged their cargoes at Constantinople.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

Acts xxvii.
6.

Rome was thus reduced to an almost exclusive dependence on the harvests of Africa proper (that province of which Carthage was the capital), of Numidia, and of Mauretania, whose corn-growing capacities must not be measured by the scanty dimensions to which they have now dwindled under centuries of Mohammedan misrule. But this supply, ever since the death of Theodosius, had been in a precarious condition; and in the year 397 was entirely stopped by the orders of Gildo, who had made himself virtual master of these three provinces.

It has been before stated¹ that the war which the elder Theodosius brought to a successful issue in Africa in the year 374 was waged with a certain Mauretanian rebel named Firmus. The son of a great sheep-farmer, Nabal², he had left behind him several brothers, one of whom, Gildo, had in the year 386 gathered up again some portion of his brother's broken power³. We find him, seven years later (in 393), holding the rank of Count of Africa in the Roman official hierarchy. Probably the troubles in the house of Valentinian II had enabled him, though a doubtful friend to the Empire, to force himself into this position. While the great

Gildo the Moor.

His doubtful loyalty in 394.

¹ p. 291.

² Will Punic influence justify us in coupling this Semitic-sounding name with the churlish Nabal of the Bible?

³ In the year 398 Africa complains, according to Claudian (*De Bello Gildonico*, 153), that she has been for twelve years subject to the tyranny of Gildo.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

duel between Theodosius and Arbogast was proceeding, he held aloof from the contest, rendering indeed a nominal allegiance to the former, but refusing to send the men or the ships which he called for. Had not the death of Theodosius followed so promptly upon his victory, men said¹ that he would have avenged this insincere adhesion, worse than open enmity, upon the Count of Africa, in a way which would have recalled the early days of Roman history, when Tullus Hostilius tied the dictator of Alba, Mettius Fuffetius, to chariots driven in opposite directions, and so tore asunder the body of him whose mind had wavered between loyalty and treason.

397.
and open
rebellion
in 397.

De Bello
Gildonico,
19-25;

But the great Emperor having died in his prime, Gildo's day of punishment was deferred. Nay, more, he turned to his own account the perennial jealousy existing between the ministers of the Eastern and Western Courts, renounced his allegiance to Rome, and preferred to transfer it to Constantinople. What brought matters to a crisis was his refusal to allow the grain crops of 397 to be conveyed to Rome. Our often-quoted poet represents the Mistress of the World calling, in the agony of hunger, upon Jove, 'not now with her wonted look of pride; not with that commanding mien with which she dictates her laws to Britain or lays her *fascēs* upon trembling India. No, but with weak voice and tardy steps and eyes dimmed of their lustre, with hollow cheeks and thin hunger-wasted arms that scarce could upbear the shield; her unloosed helmet showed her whitened hair, and she trailed her rusted spear feebly behind her.' Then, in the bitterness of her soul, she addressed the Thunderer, telling him that her con-

¹ Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 254-5.

quest of Carthage had been in vain if Gildo, a meaner and more odious Hannibal, was to lord it over Africa. 'Even the magnitude of my Empire oppresses me. Oh! for the happy days when Veii and the Sabines were my only foes. Oh! that I could return to the old limits and the walls of good King Ancus. Then the harvests of Etruria and Campania, the acres which the Curii and Cincinnatus ploughed and sowed would be sufficient for my need.' The return to these narrow limits, which he introduces as a mere flower of poetry, was nearer than the poet thought.

BOOK 1.
CH. 18.

397.
105-111.

The Roman Senate declared war in the early winter months of 398 against Gildo. Stilicho, who, of course, undertook the fitting out of the expedition, found a suitable instrument for Rome's chastisement in one who had had cruel wrongs of his own to avenge upon Gildo. This was yet another son of Nabal, Mascezel, who, not favouring his brother's ambitious schemes, had withdrawn to Italy. To punish this defection Gildo had caused his two sons to be slain, and their bodies to be left unburied. Now at the head of a Roman armament consisting of six legions¹, (which ought to have numbered 36,600 men,) Mascezel set forth.

398
The Gildonic war.

Mascezel. •

Claudian brings vividly before us the embarkation from the harbour of Pisa, which the shouts of the soldiers and the bustle of the armament filled, even as Agamemnon's warriors made Aulis echo when they were assembling for the war against Troy. Then we see the fleet set forth: they leave the Riviera on their right, they give a wide berth to Corsica, they reach

The armament despatched from Pisa.

¹ The Jovian, Herculean, Nervian, Felix, Augustan, and 'the Leones' (Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 415-424).

BOOK I. Sardinia, and land at Cagliari, where they wait for
CH. 18. favouring zephyrs.

398.
The monks
of Caprera.

Here, unfortunately, our mythological poet breaks off, and we are handed over to the very different guidance of the devout but foolish Orosius. He describes how Mascezel, having learned from Theodosius the efficacy of prayer, made sail for the island of Capraria¹, and there took on board certain holy servants of God (monks) with whom he spent the following days in prayers, fastings, and the recitation of psalms, and thus earned a victory without war, and revenge without the guilt of murder.

Defeat and
death of
Gildo.

For when they reached a river which seems to have been the frontier between Numidia and the province of Carthage, and when he found that on the opposite side the enemy, 60,000 strong, were drawn up prepared to join battle with his inferior numbers, in the night that holy man, Ambrose of Milan, then lately deceased, appeared to him in a vision, and striking the ground thrice with his staff said, 'Here, here, here.' The prophecy was clear: that place was to be the scene of the victory, which they were to achieve on the third day. After waiting the appointed time, and passing the third night in prayers, the singing of hymns, and the celebration of the Sacrament, they moved onward and met their foes with pious words. A standard-bearer of the enemy pressed insolently forward. He was wounded in the arm, the standard fell, the distant cohorts thought that Gildo had given the signal for surrender, and came in by troops to give themselves up to Mascezel. The Count of Africa fled, escaped on ship-board, was pursued, brought back to land, put to

¹ Garibaldi's Caprera.

death (some say ¹ he committed suicide) ; but all this was done by others, so that the hands and the conscience of Mascezel were clear from his brother's blood, and yet he had the revenge for which he longed. The scene of Gildo's death was Tabraca, a little town still existing under the name Tabarca, on the frontiers of Tunis and Algiers.

BOOK I.
Ch. 13.

39⁸.

And thus the provinces of Africa were for the time won back again for the Empire of the West, and Rome had her corn again ².

The fate of Mascezel, the re-vindicator of Africa, is an enigma. The version given by Zosimus is that generally accepted. He says ³, that he returned in triumph to Italy ; that Stilicho, who was secretly envious of his reputation, professed an earnest desire to advance his interests ; but that when the Vandal was going forth to a suburb (probably of Milan), as he was crossing over a certain bridge, with Mascezel and others in his train, at a given signal the guards crowded round the African and hustled him off into the river below. 'Thereat Stilicho laughed, but the stream hurrying the man away, caused him to perish for lack of breath.'

Death of
Mascezel
attributed
to Stilicho.

Orosius, however, makes no mention of all this. In his narrative, which is written with a bias towards religious edification, Mascezel, in the hour of his

¹ Zosimus, v. 11.

² The patrimony of Gildo, perhaps representing that of the whole house of Nabal, was confiscated to the use of the state, that is of the Emperor, and was so extensive that in the *Notitia Occidentis*, cap. xi, the 'Count of the Patrimony of Gildo' is placed in the first class of officials subject to the Administrator of the Imperial Domains ('Comes Rerum Privatarum'). Compare also *Cod. Theod.* vii. 8 (*De Metatis*) 7 and 9.

³ v. 11.

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

398.

triumph, is described as neglecting the society of the holy men whom he had taken on board at Caprera, and even daring to violate the sanctity of the churches by laying hands on some of the rebels who had taken refuge there. 'The penalty for this sacrilege followed in due course, for after some time he himself was punished under the very eyes and amid the exulting cries of those whom he had thus sought to slay. Thus when he hoped in God he was assisted, and when he despised Him he was put to death.'

This does not seem to describe the same scene as the tumultuary assassination of which Zosimus speaks. As Orosius hates Stilicho, and omits no opportunity of insinuating calumnies against him, his silence appears to outweigh the hostile testimony of Zosimus, who generally leans to the side of detraction. Possibly the Roman ministers who had seen Firmus rise again in Gildo may have feared that Gildo would rise again in Mascezel, and may have determined by fair means or foul to crush the viper's brood of the house of Nabal; but such a crime, committed for reasons of state, however foul a thing in itself, is different from the assassination prompted by mere personal envy, which has been on insufficient grounds attributed to the Vandal hero.

Marriage
of Honorius
to Maria
daughter
of Stilicho.

The glory and power of Stilicho were now nearly at their highest point. Shortly before the expedition against Gildo he had given his daughter Maria in marriage to Honorius, and the father-in-law of the Emperor might rightly be deemed to hold power with a securer grasp than his mere chief minister. In the poem on the nuptials of Honorius and Maria, a poem in which the mythological element—Cupid, Venus, the

Nereids, and the like—is more than usually prominent, Claudian seems perplexed to know which he is to praise the most—the Emperor, the bride, or the bride's father. He settles at length, however, on Stilicho, even daring to say—

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

398.

‘More of our duty e'en our prince hath won
Since thou, unconquered captain, call'st him son¹.’

And to this quarter of the compass, during the remaining six years over which his poems extend, the needle of his Muse's devotion pointed faithfully. He tells us, and one is disposed to believe that the flattery is not wholly baseless, that when Stilicho trod the streets of Rome there was no need of any herald to announce his advent². Even when surrounded by the throng of citizens, his lofty stature, his demeanour, stately yet modest, his voice, accustomed to command, yet free from the loud arrogance of the mere military swash-buckler; above all, his capacious forehead and his hair, touched with an early whiteness by the cares of state, and suggesting the gravity of age combined with the vigour of youth, all proclaimed his presence to the people; all forced the by-stander to exclaim, ‘*Hic est, hic Stilichon.*’ (‘This, this can be none else than Stilicho.’)

In the same poem, Claudian indulges in anticipations of the birth of a little ‘Honoriables,’ who should climb the knees of his grandfather³, an anticipation, however, which was not realised. There was no issue of the marriage, and though there can be no doubt that the

¹ ‘Plus jam, plus domino cuncti debere fatemur
Quod gener est, invicte tuus.’

De Nupt. Honor. et Mariae, 335–6.

² De Nupt. Honor. et Mariae, 318–325.

³ De Nupt. Honor. et Mariae, 340–1.

BOOK I. birth of an Imperial grandson would have, more than
 CH. 18. anything else, consolidated the power of Stilicho, even
 398-9. this failure of issue was, at a later day, attributed to
 the magical arts of Serena and included in the indictment against her too prosperous family.

Consulship
 of Eutro-
 pius and
 Theodorus.

The years 399 and 400 were memorable ones in the Consular Fasti. For the first of these years, Eutropius, the chamberlain and ruling favourite at the Court of Constantinople, was nominated Consul on behalf of the East, while Mallius Theodorus, a Roman of respectable rank and character, was the colleague given him by the West. For though the Consul's titular dignity was connected properly with Old Rome alone, this divided nomination between the two portions of the Empire seems to have been usual, if not universal.

Degrada-
 tion of the
 consulship.

Slaves and freedmen, even of the degraded class of eunuchs to which Eutropius belonged, had before now, under weak Emperors, and especially under Constantius, exercised great power in the state, but it had been always by keeping themselves in the background and working upon the suspicions or vanity of their lord. But that a slave who had sunk lower and lower in the menial ranks as he passed from one master to another till he at length received his freedom as the contumelious prize of his age and ugliness, that an old and wrinkled eunuch, who had combed the hair of his mistress and fanned her with peacocks' feathers, should sit in the chair of Brutus, be preceded by the lictors with the fasces, and affect to command the armies of Rome, was too much for the still remaining pride of the *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*. The populace of Constantinople only laughed at the effeminate voice and faded prettinesses of the Eunuch-Consul, but the

Western Capital refused to defile her annals with his name, and wrote down Mallius Theodorus as sole Consul. By a not unnatural blunder, in after years the blank space was filled up by the division of the Western magistrate's name, and the year 399 (A.U.C. 1152) was assigned to 'Mallius *et* Theodorus, Consules.'

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

399.

In the following year (400) Stilicho himself was raised to the Consulship. The promotion seems to have come somewhat tardily to one whose power and whose services were so transcendent, but there was perhaps a reluctance to confer this peculiarly Roman office on one so recently sprung from a barbarian stock¹. Claudian's muse was roused by this exaltation of his patron to some of her finest efforts. In the trilogy of poems celebrating the first Consulship of Stilicho², the enthusiastic bard furnishes us with many of those details as to the youth and early manhood of the General, which have been already quoted: he describes how he had by the mere terror of his name brought Germany into such a state of subjection and civilisation, that the perplexed traveller sailing down the Rhine was fain to ask himself which was indeed the German, which the Roman shore; he celebrates the civic virtues of his hero, and he closes with a rapturous description of the sports in the amphitheatre which were to celebrate the joyful event, and for which Diana and all her nymphs with glad willingness purveyed the needful animals.

400.

Consulship
of Stilicho.

From amidst the prophecies of future glory and

Claudian's
congratu-
latory
prophecy.

¹ Yet that this cannot have been the only reason is sufficiently shown by the examples of Bauto, Merobaudes, and Dagalaiphus.

² The so-called poem on the Second Consulship evidently bears an erroneous title, and really belongs to the First.

BOOK 1.
CH. 13.

400.
De consu-
latu Stili-
chonis II,
424-476.

victory, which are, as it were, a common form in such compositions, one may be selected which concludes the second poem. The personifications are doubtless less vivid than those of the great Epic Poets, and some of the images are perhaps blurred in the original, and must be yet more so in a translation. Still, as one of the latest mythological pictures in Roman art, and as a forecast of the future of the Empire, delivered at the very commencement of the fifth century (according to our reckoning), the passage may be found not devoid of interest—

The Cave
of Time.

‘Far off, in some wild spot, unknown of men,
Scarce to be traced by e’en Immortals’ ken,
Yawns the vast Cave, dark mother of the years,
Forth from whose depths each new-born time appears,
Whither it hastes, when ended. All the place
Is girdled by a serpent’s coiled embrace :
For ever fresh each green and glittering scale,
And the jaws close upon the back-bent tail,
End and beginning one. Before the Gates
Primeval Nature, stately guardian, waits,
And all around her, as in act to fly,
- Hang the swift souls, soon to be born or die.

Time.

Meanwhile a man, of venerable age,
Writes Fate’s firm verdicts on his opened page.
He tells the stars, he knows their devious way,
The secret cause of every orb’s delay,
And the fixed laws which death and life obey.
He knows what prompts the mazy dance of Mars,
The Thunderer’s steadfast course among the stars,
The Moon’s swift orbit, Saturn’s sluggish pace,
Why Venus, Mercury, haunt Sol’s resting-place.

The Sun
enters upon
the new
year.

Soon as that threshold feels the Sun-god’s feet,
The mighty Mother runs his steps to greet.
That ancient mage, before the sunbeam’s glare,
Bends all the snow-white honours of his hair,
And then, self-moved, the adamantine doors
Turn backwards; gleam upon the spacious floors

The conquering rays; Time's mysteries old and new,
In Time's own realm, lie open to the view.

Here, each apportioned to its separate cell,
By various metals marked, the ages dwell.
Here are the brazen years, a crowded line,
Here the stern iron, there the silvern shine.
Oh! safely guarded, rare for earth to hold,
Lie the great boons, the ruddy years of gold.
Of these the Titan chooses the most fair,
The noble form of Stilicho to wear,
Bids all the rest to follow, and as they fly
Salutes them thus, and tells their destiny.

"Lo! he, for whom the better age so long
Has tarried, comes, a Consul. Oh ye throng
Of years that men have yearned for, haste amain
And all the Virtues carry in your train.
Once more from you let mighty minds be born,
The joy of Bacchus, Ceres' wealth of corn.
Let not the starry Serpent, by the Pole,
Hiss forth the icy breath that chills the soul:
Nor with immoderate cold let Ursa rage,
With heat the Lion; Cancer's heritage
Let not the fury of the summer burn,
Nor let Aquarius, of the lavish urn,
Wash out the seeds from earth with lashing showers.
Let Phrixus' Ram lead in the spring with flowers,
But not the Scorpion's hail the olives bruise,
Nor Virgin! thou the autumnal germs refuse
Kindly to foster. Dog-star! let the vine
Grape-crowned, not hear too loud that bark of thine."
He said and sought the saffron-flaming fields
And his own vale, which circles and enshields
A fiery stream. There in a deep-grown glade,
Where feed his deathless steeds, his steps he stayed,
Bound with the fragrant flowers his amber hair,
The manes and bridles of his coursers fair—
Here served him Lucifer, Aurora there—
And with them smiling, stood the Year of Gold,
Proud on his brow the Consul's name to hold.
Then on its hinge the gate is backward rolled,
And the stars write the Stilichonian name
On Rome's eternal calendars of fame.'

BOOK I.
CH. 13.

400.

A Golden
Age al-
lotted to
Stilicho by
the sun.

NOTE G. ON THE NAME ALARIC.

NOTE G. Alaric = *Ala-Reiks*. As to the termination *Reiks* there is no difficulty. Allied apparently to the Latin *rex*, it is the regular equivalent of *prince* or *ruler* in Ulfilas's translation of the Bible, e. g. John xii. 31, 'Nu sa *reiks* this fairwaus usvairpada ut'—'Now is the *prince* of this world cast out.' Matt. ix. 18, '*Reiks* ains qimands invait ina qithands thatei dauhtar meina nu gasvalt'—'A certain *ruler* coming worshipped him saying that my daughter is now dead.' Eph. ii. 2, 'Bi *reik* valdufnjis luftaus'—'according to the *prince* of the power of the air.' Romans xiii. 3, 'Thai auk *reiks* ni sind agis godamma vaurstva ak ubilamma'—'For *rulers* are not a terror to good work but to evil.' The Gothic equivalent of *King* is *Thiudans*.

This *Reiks* is of course the final *ric* in the Vandal Genseric and Hunneric, the Frankish Chilperic, the Ostrogoth Theodoric, the Spanish Roderic, and the English Leofric.

The first part of the name, *Ala*, is perhaps not quite so clear, as *alle* (all) in Gothic is generally spelt with two l's both in its simple form or in its compounds; but we do find *Ala-mans* = 'all-men,' 'mankind,' and *Ala-tharba*, '*utterly* destitute,' in the parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 15. (See the Gothic Lexicon in Gabelenz and Löbe's Ulfilas.)

The surname *Baltha* is, without dispute, the Gothic equivalent for 'bold,' thus John vii. 13, 'Nih than ainshun svethauh *baltha-ba* rodida bi ina in agisis Iudaie'—'But not any-one however, *boldly* spoke (thus) concerning him from fear of the Jews.' It is apparently the same word which appears in our English name Ethelbald (probably also in the German Willibald and the Italian Garibaldi).

NOTE H. ON THE DIVISION OF ILLYRICUM.

The division of the Empire between East and West on the NOTE H.
accession of the sons of Theodosius, though it was possibly
meant to be less complete than some preceding partitions¹,
proved to be the final one. It is worth while to indicate the
line of division, which is sufficiently accurately traced for us in
the Notitia. In Africa it was the well-known frontier marked
by 'the Altars of the Philaeni,' which separated Libya (or
Cyrenaica) on the East from Africa Tripolitana on the West.
Modern geographers draw exactly the same line (about 19° E.
of Greenwich) as the boundary of Barca and Tripoli.

On the Northern shore of the Mediterranean the matter is a
little more complicated. Noricum, Pannonia, Savia, and Dal-
matia belonged to the West, and Dacia—not the original but
the later province of Dacia—to the East. This gives us for
the frontier of the Western Empire the Danube as far as
Belgrade, and on the Adriatic the modern town of Scutari.
The inland frontier is traced by geographers some 60 miles
up the Save from Belgrade, then southwards by the Drina to
its source, and so across the mountains to Scutari. Thus Sla-
vonian, Croatia, and Dalmatia in the Austrian Empire, and
Croatia, most of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro in the
state which was lately called Turkey in Europe, belonged to
the Western Empire. The later province of Dacia, which fell
to the Eastern share, included Servia (Old and New), the south-
east corner of Bosnia, the north of Albania, and the west of
Bulgaria. By this partition the *Prefecture* of Illyricum, as
constituted by Diocletian, was divided into two nearly equal

¹ 'Archadius et Honorius germani utrumque imperium *divisis tantum sedibus*
tenere coeperunt.' Marcellini Chronicon, s. a. 395. Marcellinus, however, is by
no means a contemporary authority, having written in the middle of the sixth
century.

NOTE H. parts. The north-western half, which we may call, speaking roughly, the Austrian (including Austria's recent acquisitions in the direction of Bosnia), was given to Rome, while the south-eastern, or the Turkish and Greek half, fell to the dominion of Constantinople.

What makes the subject somewhat perplexing to the student is the tendency to confuse Illyricum the *province* and Illyricum the *prefecture*. The former was nearly identical with the province afterwards called Dalmatia (Modern Dalmatia + Bosnia + Herzegovina), and was allotted almost in its entirety to the Western Empire. The latter reached, as we have seen, from the Danube to Cape Matapan. It is of this that historians are thinking when, in describing the territorial changes of this period, they speak of Eastern and Western Illyricum.

Some modern writers have represented that this division of Illyricum was a grievance which Old Rome had against New at the close of the fourth century. Tillemont (*Histoire des Empereurs*, v. 157) has shown that the division was made by Gratian at the time of the accession of Theodosius. It is nowhere, I believe, mentioned by contemporary historians as a cause of quarrel, and in fact, looking back to the Diocletianic scheme of division, it would rather seem as if the East were entitled to complain at not having the whole of the Prefecture of Illyricum than the West at having to relinquish a part.

It seems clear from Jordanes (*Getica* li and lii) that at the time of the three Ostrogothic brother-kings (452-474) both Pannonia and Illyricum (which apparently here = Dalmatia) belonged to the Eastern Empire. But under Theodoric they are Western again. Our information as to all these changes is still far from complete.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARCADIUS.

Authorities.

Sources :—

OUR chief sources are ZOSIMUS and the ecclesiastical historians, but we have also one contemporary authority of peculiar interest in the letters and speeches of SYNESIUS of Cyrene, whose visit to Constantinople is alluded to in the following chapter. Synesius was born about 370, of ancient family—he traced his descent from the Heracleidae, the mythical founders of Cyrene—and he studied philosophy at Athens and Alexandria. His sojourn in Constantinople appears to have lasted from 397 to 400. After his return to Africa he became a convert to Christianity, of a very broad and eclectic type, and about the year 409 in deference to the earnest request of his fellow-citizens he accepted the office of Bishop of Ptolemais, though fully conscious how little he, the jovial sportsman and *litterateur*, conformed to the conventional standard of holiness required in a father of the Church. He will probably be always best known by the kindly, and on the whole faithful, picture of him contained in Kingsley's 'Hypatia.'

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

Besides the oration on Kingship, Synesius wrote a treatise called 'the Egyptians or concerning Providence,' in which under allegorical disguise some of the chief events connected with the revolt of Gainas are related. Aurelian is spoken of as Osiris, the principle of good : under the name Typhos, the principle of evil, some leader of the opposite party, said to have been Aurelian's brother, is designated. The whole subject is very obscure, and till 'Typhos' can be identified, it seems to me hardly wise to try to interweave this strange parable with authentic history.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

Separation
between
Eastern
and
Western
Empires.

HITHERTO the course of events has compelled us often to linger by the shores of the Euxine and the Propontis. The barbarians whose fortunes we have been following have rarely lost sight of the Danube. The great Emperor who tamed them has ruled the world from Constantinople. Henceforward it will be our duty to concentrate our attention on the affairs of Western Europe and only to attend to the history of the Eastern Empire, in so far as it may be absolutely necessary to enable us to understand the history of the West. For however true it may be that Theodosius intended to make no permanent division of the Empire, when on his death-bed at Milan he left the East to Arcadius and the West to Honorius, it is not less true that that division, towards which the stream of destiny had long been tending, did practically result from the arrangements then made by him, from the weakness of his sons and from the mutual and envenomed hatred of their ministers. The process of division began in 330, when Constantine dedicated his new capital by the Bosphorus. It ended in 800, when the people of Rome shouted 'Life and Victory to Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans.' But if we must connect one date more than another with a process which was thus going forward for nearly half a millennium, undoubtedly that date will be 395, the year of the death of Theodosius.

Recognising this fact, I shall only sketch in brief outline the thirteen years of the reign of Arcadius. We have seen that this prince, nominally lord of half the civilised world, really a man of such feeble and sluggish temperament as to be always the slave of

some more powerful character near him, had passed, after the murder of Rufinus, under the dominion of three joint-rulers,—Eutropius the Eunuch, Eudoxia the daughter of a Frankish warrior, and Gainas the Goth. How these three may have divided their power we know not; doubtless there were rivalries and jealousies between them, but for five years they seemed to have pulled the strings of the Imperial puppet in apparent harmony. During this time Eutropius, ‘Superintendent of the Sacred Bedchamber,’ was the chief figure in the administration of the Empire. He raised up his friends and cast down his enemies. Hosius, once a servant in the kitchen of Theodosius, became Master of the Offices, and Leo, a big swashbuckler soldier, who had once been a wool-comber, and whose chief glory was that he could drink more goblets of wine than any other man in the camp, was made, at a crisis of the fortunes of the State, *Magister Militum per Orientem*¹. On the other hand, the old general, Abundantius, who had formerly been one of the many masters of the despised and elderly Eunuch, and who, by introducing him to the Court, had laid the foundations of his future greatness, had to atone for too vividly recalling to the upstart Minister the memories of past degradation. He was banished to Pityus, at the eastern end of the Black Sea, under the roots of Caucasus, where only the charity of the barbarians prevented him from perishing with hunger. Timasius, the old general of Theodosius, who had been threatened with the anger of Rufinus², fell before the yet deadlier

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

395.

Eutropius
the
Eunuch.

¹ Apparently. I am not sure that the precise title is anywhere mentioned.

² See p. 541.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

396.

enmity of Eutropius. An unworthy confidant of the general's, Bargus the sausage-seller, was persuaded to accuse his patron of treasonable designs upon the throne; forged letters were adduced in support of the charge: Timasius was condemned and banished to the great Oasis in the Libyan desert in the west of Egypt. His son, Syagrius, sought to deliver him from that terrible place of exile, surrounded with vast wildernesses in which no creature could live: and it was said that he had hired a band of robbers to assist him in his pious design, but whether he failed to communicate with his father, whether the sand of the desert swallowed up both father and son, or whether both escaped and lingered out inglorious lives among the savage tribes of the Soudan, was never ascertained. Enough that both Timasius and Bargus vanished from the eyes of men.

The pampered menial who could make his anger thus terrible to his foes was of course soon surrounded by a crowd of sycophants. Ignoble natures always prostrate themselves before the possessor of power, and the same kind of persons who now grovel before a democracy then vied with each other for the honour of shaking the hand of the Eunuch, clasped his knees, kissed his wrinkled cheeks, and hailed him as 'Defender of the Laws' and 'Father of the Emperor.' Statues were erected to him in all the chief cities of the East. In some he was represented as a judge clad in solemn toga: in others he was a mailed horseman: and the inscriptions on the bases of the statues dared to talk of his noble birth (though men were still living who had bought and sold him as a slave), to declare that he, the Chamberlain, had fought great battles and

won them without others' help, or to call him the 'third founder of the City of Constantinople.'

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

Meanwhile, Eutropius was accumulating vast stores of wealth. The greater part of the confiscated property of Rufinus found its way into his hands; and as it soon became manifest that his word was all-powerful with Arcadius in the selection of governors of the provinces, he was able to coin this influence into gold, and according to Claudian's account of the matter, actually set up a kind of domestic mart at which prefectures and governorships were openly sold to the highest bidder. 'All the lands between Tigris and the Balkans are put to sale by this hucksterer of Empire. One man sells his villa for the government of Asia; another with his wife's jewels purchases Syria; a third thinks he has bought Bithynia too dear at the sacrifice of the home of his fathers. A tariff fixed on the Eunuch's door distinguishes the price of the various nations; so many sesterces for Galatia, so many for Pontus, so many for Lydia. If you wish to rule Lycia, pay down so many thousands.

Sale of
Offices.

Claudian.
In Eutro-
pium I,
196-206.

"For Phrygia you must pay me something more."

'Tis thus he bargains. He, oft sold before,
Now fain would sell us all, and branded see
Upon our brows his mark of infamy.'

One good deed and memorable in the history of the Christian Church marked the administration of Eutropius. On the death of Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, long and fierce debates arose as to the choice of his successor. Eutropius, who with all his vices was not wanting in penetration and insight into character, appears to have suggested the name of John Chrysostom, to whose eloquent discourses he had listened

John
Chryso-
stom,
Bishop of
Constan-
tinople.
397.

BOOK I. during a recent visit to Antioch. The suggestion
 CH. 14. pleased both clergy and people; the golden-mouthed
 397. preacher was unanimously elected to the vacant see. An order was sent to Asterius, Count of the East, who, according to the somewhat high-handed fashion usual in those days in dealing with bishops-elect, captured the unwilling preacher, delivered him to the Imperial officers, and sent him in honourable custody to the city, with which his name was thenceforward to be for ever associated.

Aurelian
 and the
 patriotic
 Roman
 party.

The degrading yoke of the Eunuch-chamberlain was not borne without a murmur by the nobles of Constantinople. There was a party, headed by the high-souled and cultivated Aurelian, which dared to protest with increasing boldness against the ascendancy of court-lackeys within the palace, and Gothic soldiers without. To this party Synesius of Cyrene attached himself. He had come, a young man of about twenty-seven, on a mission from his native city to offer a golden wreath to the Emperor and to obtain some remission of the crushing taxation under which the Cyrenaic province was groaning. For more than a year he had been in vain pleading for an audience with the Emperor. The covetous Eunuch, who had no desire to see the quotations of provincial governorships lowered by any alleviation of their burdens, kept the doors of the palace fast closed against him. At length, however, the opportunity of Synesius came. It was the year 399, the year when the *Fasti* were soiled by the disgraceful Consulship of Eutropius; but it was also the year in which, by some means unknown to us, Aurelian obtained the commanding position of Praetorian Prefect. From this high vantage-ground he

was able effectually to help the young orator, and thus it was that, apparently in the beginning of the year, Synesius, admitted into the palace, delivered before Arcadius his celebrated oration 'on Kingship.'

BOOK 1.
CH. 14.
399.

It was a striking scene: the young and eloquent deputy from Cyrene standing up in the midst of that brilliant assemblage to lecture the short, sallow, sleepy-eyed young man, who was hailed as Lord of the Universe, on the duties of his office¹. If Synesius really uttered half the bold and noble words which appear in his published oration, it is a marvel that he was not at once arrested on a charge of *laesa majestas*; but while, on the one hand, he may well have added weight to his sentences at a later day in the secure seclusion of Cyrene, on the other hand, it was safe to presume on the lethargy of the lectured Emperor. Where Theodosius would have been listening with flushed face and on the point of bursting forth in a passion of uncontrollable rage, the heavy-eyed Arcadius yawned and wondered how soon the oration of the young deputy from Cyrene would be ended.

The ora-
tion of
Synesius
'on King-
ship.'

'The Emperor,' said the young orator, 'ought to know the faces of his soldiers, to endear himself to them by sharing their hardships and their dangers, to make himself acquainted with the wants and grievances of his subjects by visiting the provinces in person. The great Caesars of Rome lived in the open air, feared

¹ We get from Philostorgius (Eccl. Hist. xi. 3) these particulars. 'Arcadius was short of stature and weak in frame. His personal strength was slight and his complexion dark. His slothful temper showed itself in his speech and in the blinking of his eyes, which were generally closed as if in slumber and were kept open with an effort.'

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399.

not to expose themselves to the noontide sun and to the winter's wind, lived under tents, were seen by the peasant and the legionary. The notion that the sovereign should shut himself up in his palace, beheld only by adoring courtiers, surrounded by tall, fair-haired guards, with golden shields and golden lances, perfumed with essences and odours, this seclusion and idolatry of the Emperor is a custom borrowed from the barbarians and if persisted in will ruin the Republic, whose fortune even now hangs, as it were, on a razor's edge. For while the Emperor is shutting himself up in his palace, living the life of a polypus, occupying himself only with the pleasures of the table or with the buffooneries of low comedians, the barbarians are pressing into our armies, urging every day more audacious claims, yea, have already kindled rebellion in some provinces of the Empire. Their chiefs, raised to high military command, are taking their seats in the Senate. They wear the Roman toga, condescending so far to our usages when they are figuring as officers of the State, but as soon as they re-enter their dwellings they hasten to throw off the civic gown, declaring that it hinders the drawing of the sword. The true patriot Emperor will find this to be his first task, cautiously, but firmly, to weed out the barbarians from his army, and make that army what it once was, Roman.'

The patriotic oration of Synesius awoke no echo in the soul of Arcadius, but it was contemporaneous with and may possibly have been in part the cause of certain events which made the year 399 memorable in the history of the Eastern Empire¹. Eutropius the venal

¹ Güldenpenning's plausible suggestion that the appeal to the old

chamberlain, Eudoxia the Frankish empress, and Gainas the Gothic general, had, as we have seen, for some years been helping one another to misgovern the Empire; but in 399, the year of Eutropius' consulship, this disastrous coalition was dissolved, chiefly, it would seem, by the overweening arrogance and insatiable rapacity of the Eunuch-Consul, but also partly by the inherent tendency of all coalitions which are founded merely on a selfish desire to appropriate the honours and emoluments of the State, to break down sooner or later under the warring ambitions of their members.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399.

Early in the year tidings came to Constantinople of untoward events in the inland province of Phrygia. A colony of Greuthungi, who had been settled there probably after the great victory which Promotus gained over their invading hordes¹, had broken out into open revolt, and were marching hither and thither, entering and plundering at their will the wealthy cities, whose mouldering walls and unrepai red battlements bore witness to the deep peace which had long reigned in the provinces of Asia. The leader of the insurrection was Tribigild the Ostrogoth, a kinsman of Gainas, who, though he had attained the rank of a Count, complained that his services as a captain of *foederati* had not been rewarded with the promotion which they deserved.

Rebellion
of Count
Tribigild.

386.

When these tidings reached the Imperial Court, Eutropius at first affected to treat them with indifference. 'A little band of malefactors,' said he, 'is wandering about in Phrygia. They need the scourge

Leo's dis-
astrous
campaign.

Roman spirit symbolised by this oration was the cause of the barbarian uprising, seems to me to some extent refuted by the fact that Synesius speaks of 'conflagrations *already* kindled.'

¹ See p. 323.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399.

of the lictor, not the darts of the soldier, to repress their outrages.' But this ostrich-like policy of ignoring the danger of the Empire availed not long. When it had obviously failed, Eutropius affected a new and martial ardour, and men saw with amused wonder the elderly slave donning the terrible habiliments of war, and trying to utter the words of command in his thin and quavering falsetto. But it was needful to appoint generals for the war; and while the defence of Europe was entrusted to Gainas, Leo, the burly but incapable favourite of Eutropius, had the Asiatic campaign entrusted to his care. His troops, already demoralised by too long enjoyment of the pleasures of the town, gained nothing from the leadership of such a man. There was no proper vigilance on the march; the sentinels were not properly posted on the ramparts of the camp; at length there came a night when the whole army was surprised in its drunken slumber. Some were killed in their sleep; of the fugitives many were soon floundering in a morass which bordered the camp. Among these last was Leo himself, who certainly perished, though we need not take as literally true the poet's statement that he died of terror—

'Leo himself, more timid than the deer,
Springs on his steed, with teeth that chatter fear:
The horse perspiring 'neath that mighty mass,
Soon falls and struggles in the swift morass.

.
Then shrieked the general: lo! the gentle wind
Brought down a shower of shaken leaves behind.
Each leaf, to Leo's terror, seemed a dart,
And terror struck, like javelins, to his heart.
With skin untouched, and hurt by fear alone,
He breathed his guilty life out with a groan¹.

¹ Claudian, *In Eutropium* ii. 440-444, 452-455.

It may possibly have been the failure of the general, who was Eutropius' favourite, and the knowledge of the unpopularity which he had thus incurred, that emboldened his two former allies, but present enemies, to declare themselves against him. Gainas, like Tribigild, was dissatisfied with his share in the plunder of an Empire, and probably contrasted enviously the rewards given to Alaric with his own. Eudoxia had long fretted under the Eunuch's arrogance, and had been forced—so men said—to hear from him the insulting words, 'Beware, oh lady! The hand which raised thee to the throne can easily pull thee down from thence.' It was Eudoxia who dealt the fatal blow to the Eunuch's power. She suddenly appeared before the Emperor, holding her little two-year-old daughter Flaccilla by the hand, and with her baby, Pulcheria, in her arms, to complain of the insolence of Eutropius. She stretched forth her children and wept: the children wept also; and Arcadius, goaded into energy by their mingled cries, at once gave orders for the fall of the detested Minister.

When he saw that his position in the Palace was undermined, Eutropius at once gave up the game. He knew that he had countless enemies, he doubted if he had one faithful friend, and his own heart gave him no counsels of courage or of hope. He fled to the great church of St. Sophia, and there at the altar sought an asylum from his foes. He himself in the days of his power had grudged this last refuge to Pentadia, the widow of his victim Timasius, and had caused a law to be passed, removing, or at least abridging, the right of asylum in the churches. Now, however, the church, with splendid magnanimity, threw her aegis over her

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399.
Fall of
Eutropius.

Eutropius
seeks
refuge
in the
great
Church.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399.

fallen foe. When Chrysostom entered the Cathedral he found Eutropius, in sordid garb, his thin grey hairs covered with dust, clinging in an agony of terror to 'the table of refuge.' The soldiers soon appeared and demanded the surrender of the fugitive, but Chrysostom boldly told them that they should penetrate into the sanctuary only over his dead body, since, living, he would never betray the honour of the Church, the Bride of Christ. A day passed in negotiations between the Cathedral and the Palace. The mob in the Hippodrome, the troops before the royal dwelling, shouted for the head of the fallen Minister; but Chrysostom remained firm, and Arcadius, yielding to the ascendancy of that noble nature, besought the soldiers with tears not to violate the sanctity of the altar.

'Vanity of
vanities.'

The next day was Sunday, and the proudest day in the life of the golden-mouthed orator. A vast crowd of men and women flocked to the Cathedral, and when Chrysostom mounted the pulpit, the curtain between the nave and the chancel was drawn aside, and all the throng beheld the Superintendent of the Sacred Bed-chamber, the Consul who gave his name to the year, the lately omnipotent Eutropius, lying prostrate in over-mastering fear under the Holy Table. The Bishop chose his text from 'the Preacher' of a date earlier by fourteen centuries, 'Vanity of vanities: all is vanity.' In eloquent words he described the pomps and revels, the troops of flatterers and the gay garlands which had once made up this man's felicity, contrasting them with the forlorn condition of the wretch who was weeping and trembling under the altar. Eutropius himself probably cared little what the Bishop said, so long as he did not surrender him to the terrible *Silentiarius*,

who was chafing and fuming outside ; but there were many who thought the preacher's eloquence ill-timed, and that there was something ungenerous in delivering a sermon which was in fact a bitter invective against a foe so utterly fallen ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.
399.

Before many days had passed, Eutropius came forth from his asylum, induced, it was said, by a promise that his life should be spared. His goods were confiscated, the consular annals were 'vindicated from the foul taint and muddy defilement brought upon them by the mention of his name.' His statues, in brass and marble, were pulled down 'that this infamy of our age may no longer pollute our vision²,' and he was banished under strict custody to the island of Cyprus. Even thence, however, he was recalled. Gainas, now his open enemy, clamoured for his head, declaring that his kinsman Tribigild would never be reconciled so long as Eutropius remained alive. Eudoxia probably urged her shrill entreaties on the same side. There remained the difficulty of the Imperial promise, perhaps the Imperial oath, that the culprit's life should be spared : but a way was found out of this difficulty. It was alleged that the promise had been that he should not be killed at Constantinople, and he was therefore brought back only as far as Chalcedon, the fair Asiatic city which rose opposite to Constantinople, and there the Eunuch met his doom.

Banish-
ment and
death of
Eutropius.

After the fall of Eutropius the history of the rebellion of Tribigild and Gainas becomes more and more unintelligible and obscure. Tribigild, instead of pushing westward and overrunning the opulent plains of Lydia

Obscure
movements
of Tribi-
gild.

¹ Socrates, vi. 5.

² Cod. Theod. ix. 40, 17.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399.

Gainas in
open re-
bellion.

(which, Zosimus thinks, he might successfully have accomplished), wasted his strength in border warfare with the strongly-posted dwellers in mountainous Pisidia. Then, accompanied only by the remnants of his army, he made his way across the Hellespont into Thrace, and there soon afterwards perished¹. Gainas at first played the part of candid friend to the Empire, recommending the concession of one point after another to Tribigild, in order to soothe his resentment, and secretly encouraging the desertions of the *foederati* under his command to the rebel standard; but when the reverses of Tribigild made this part impossible, he threw off the mask and stood revealed as the real author of the rebellion. At his request Arcadius consented to meet him in conference at the church of St. Euphemia, outside the gates of Chalcedon. His principal demand was for the surrender of three men who were the chiefs of the 'Roman' or national party within the city, and whose surrender, as he expected, would give his partisans a predominant influence in the State. These three men were Saturninus, the consul for 383, whose successful negotiations with the Goths seventeen years ago, had given the *foederati* their present position of vantage in the army: Aurelian, the consul-designate for 400 (colleague of Stilicho in that office); and Joannes, a friend, some said a favoured lover, of the Empress. Even Arcadius seems to have recoiled from the baseness of giving up these men to the barbarian; but Aurelian and Saturninus came forward of their own accord, and with something of the old Roman spirit voluntarily offered themselves for the good of their country. Gainas was touched by their patriotic devo-

¹ Philostorgius, xi. 8.

tion; perhaps Chrysostom added his intercession: at any rate, the Goth was content to insult them with his clemency. They were led out as if to death: the executioner brandished his drawn sword; but when the blade had touched the skin of their necks they were told that their lives were spared, but their possessions confiscated, and that they might go forth into poverty and exile.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399.

The result of the interview between Gainas and the Emperor seems to have been the complete ascendancy of the Gothic party in Constantinople. 'The city was altogether barbarised' is the expressive sentence of a historian¹, 'and all who dwelt in it were treated after the manner of captives. So great was the danger impending over the city, that a very large comet was visible in the heavens. But as some counterpoise to the terror of the comet, tall and fair angels in the guise of heavy-armed soldiers stood round the palace one night, and terrified the barbarians into the abandonment of their design to set it on fire.

Arrogance
of the
Goths.

Up to the time of his overthrow of Eutropius, Gainas had shown both courage and resource, but now success made him languid and weak of will². Like so many another barbarian leader, when he had the Roman Empire at his feet, he did not know whether he himself wished to destroy or to preserve it. He loudly demanded the cession of one church in the city to his Arian co-religionists; but under the scathing invective of Chrysostom, who reminded him that he had come as

Irresolu-
tion of
Gainas.

¹ Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 190.

² Ὑγρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ κατορθώματος καὶ μαλακώτερος γενόμενος. ὥς ἂν ἤδη τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν συνηρηκῶς καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπεμβαίνων αὐτῇ, μαλακώτερος ἦν ἀμφαφάσθαι.—Eunapius, fr. 75. 6. (Ap. Müller.)

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

399-400.

a fugitive and an outcast into the great Roman republic, and had solemnly sworn to Theodosius that he would yield true obedience to its laws, he flinched from that request. Then he thought of making a raid on the shops of the silversmiths, but the shopkeepers got wind of his design, and locked up their tempting wares. The angelic guards (whoever they may have been) frustrated his design of setting fire to the palace. At length he flung out of the city, in a fever of vexation and rage with himself and everyone about him¹, giving out that he was possessed with a demon, and would go to worship at the Church of St. John the Apostle, seven miles outside Constantinople.

Outbreak
of popular
fury
against the
Goths.

12 July,
400.

Apparently when he left the city it was with some design of returning and besieging it in regular form, while his attack was to be seconded by his partisans within the walls ; but this design, if it were ever clearly thought out, was frustrated by a conflict which suddenly arose between the Goths in Constantinople and the citizens. The uncomprehended jabberings of an old beggar woman at one of the gates, her harsh treatment by a Gothic soldier, and the championship of the poor old creature by a brave Roman, were the sparks which kindled this flame of war. The citizens who had long been chafing under the arrogant demeanour of the *foederati*, fought bravely, arming themselves in part with the weapons of their dead foes ; and in that age, before the invention of gunpowder, a vast and resolute multitude could probably always prevail in street-fighting over a comparatively small number even

¹ This is how I read the mental state of this strange barbarian, but I am going here a little beyond the strict letter of the authorities.

of disciplined troops. At any rate, so it was that the fortune of war went against the Goths (at last reduced to a troop of 7000 men), who retired, slowly and in fighting order, to 'the Gothic Church,' which was near the Imperial palace. The excited crowd wrung from Arcadius by their clamours leave to disregard the sanctity of the Gothic asylum. The church was partially unroofed, and burning firebrands, hurled down among its wooden seats, kindled a flame in which the Gothic remnant perished.

BOOK I.

CH. 14.

400.

The sudden popular fury had delivered the capital of the East from the only serious risk which it ran of capture by the Goths. Gainas, who was now declared a public enemy by the Senate, withdrew with his army to the Northern shore of the Hellespont. Fravitta, the brave and loyal heathen Goth, whom we last met with, engaged in deadly debate with Eriulph on the question whether to observe or to break their oaths of fidelity to Theodosius¹, was appointed as Imperial general. This man, though broken in health, was still full of courage and skill in war. He cooped up the enemy in the wasted Thracian Chersonnese, and when at length Gainas was compelled by hunger to attempt on rafts the passage of the Hellespont, Fravitta, with his swift and brazen-beaked Liburnian galleys, dealt such destruction to the frail flotilla that Gainas found himself practically left without an army. He fled to the shores of the Danube where Uldis the Hun found him wandering with few followers, and, thinking to earn the favour of the Emperor, surrounded his little army, and after many skirmishes, slew him fighting bravely. The head of Gainas, sent as a present to Arcadius, caused

Gainas
out-man-
œuvred
by Fra-
vitta.

Death of
Gainas.

¹ p. 331.

BOOK I. great joy to the citizens of Constantinople, and was the
 CH. 14. seal of a new *foedus* between the Empire and the
 400. Huns.

Fravitta's
 reward.

401. As for Fravitta, when he returned to Constantinople, though some sagacious critics censured him for too languid a pursuit of the foe, the Emperor received him with all honour, decorated him with the Consulship, and asked him to name his own reward for such signal services. 'That I may be allowed to serve God after the manner of my forefathers,' was the reply of the honest and simple-minded heathen ¹.

The failure of Gainas in his attempt to make himself master of the New Rome deserves to be remembered when we find ourselves spectators of the success of Alaric in his similar enterprise against the Old Rome. It suggests also a question whether it was on the whole a gain or a loss to the world that Constantinople was not taken by a Teutonic chief and did not become the seat of a German monarchy. On the one side is the immense gain to civilisation implied in the preservation of the treasures of Greek literature and science for more than 1000 years after the victory of Fravitta. On the other is the possibility that a Teutonic monarchy by the Bosphorus might have poured fresh life and vigour into the exhausted nations of the East, might have saved Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt from the flood of Arab invasion, perhaps might, by changing the conditions of

¹ I am somewhat perplexed as to the religion of Fravitta. Zosimus' statement that he was 'a barbarian by race but Greek in his worship of the gods' certainly implies that he worshipped the deities of Olympus. But Eunapius, in the conversation quoted above (fr. 82), makes him ask for leave *κατὰ τὸν πατριὸν νόμον ἱερατεύειν θεόν*. This must surely point to a worship of the gods of Walhalla.

human society, have prevented the uprising of the
 Empire of Islam.

BOOK I.
 CH. 14.

The remainder of the reign of Arcadius was chiefly occupied with the dissensions which led to the deposition and banishment of Chrysostom. That well-known page of ecclesiastical history must be very briefly written here. We may notice, however, the fact that in the earlier and happier years of the great preacher's episcopate he seems to have devoted himself with much success to the conversion of the Goths. A church at Constantinople was especially set apart for religious services in the Gothic tongue. Priests, deacons, and readers acquainted with that language were ordained to minister to the barbarians, and Chrysostom himself frequently appeared in the pulpit of the church and addressed them by the aid of an interpreter. Missionaries were sent by him to some of the wandering tribes, possibly Goths, possibly Huns, who, 'dwelling by the banks of the Danube, thirsted for the waters of salvation;' and he wrote to the Bishop of Angora, urging him to undertake the conversion (doubtless the conversion from Arianism to Orthodoxy) of the 'Scythians,' by whom we must probably understand the Ostrogoths settled in Central Asia Minor.

Chrysostom's missionary efforts among the Goths.

But both the virtues and the failings of the golden-mouthed preacher conspired to effect his downfall. He was too holy, too apostolic a man to fill acceptably an episcopal throne in the Constantinople of the fifth century. In his denunciations of the foppery and extravagance of the male and female dandies of Constantinople he showed a vehemence, sometimes, we must confess, a pettiness of criticism which, while it of course exasperated the objects of his invective, may

Chrysostom's unpopularity with a section of the inhabitants of Constantinople.

BOOK I. have been felt by his more sober-minded hearers to be
 CH. 14. scarcely worthy of the dignity of his great office¹.

The Synod
 of the Oak.

403.

Banish-
 ment

Before many years had passed, the Bishop had arrayed against him all the gaily-dressed and fashionable ladies of Constantinople with the Empress at their head, many of the nobles, and not a few of his own clergy, and of the monks in the capital who chafed under the strictness of his discipline, so different from the lax government of his easy-tempered predecessor. All these smouldering embers were blown into a flame by Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, who had favoured the election of another candidate to the vacant see and in whom ecclesiastical Alexandria's jealousy of ecclesiastical Constantinople found its most violent and unscrupulous representative. A council was held under the presidency of Theophilus outside of Chalcedon (the 'Synod of the Oak'), at which on the most paltry charges and with an utter disregard of canonical order, Chrysostom was deposed from his see, chiefly by the votes of the Egyptian bishops, ignorant partisans of Theophilus. Chrysostom appealed from the decision of the Synod to a lawful general council; but now came the opportunity of the temporal power, guided by that hot-blooded Frankish lady, Eudoxia. Believing that the Bishop had in one of his sermons covertly alluded to her as Jezebel, she caused her submissive husband to issue a rescript ratifying the sentence of deposition and ordering that the deposed prelate should be banished. After a touching farewell to his flock,

¹ Take for instance his tirade against the practice of putting silk threads into the boots of the wealthy, quoted by Stephens from Hom. xviii. on Genesis.

Chrysostom gave himself up to the Imperial officers, and was hurried across the Bosphorus into Bithynia.

BOOK 1.
CH. 14.

But if the golden-mouthed prelate had bitter enemies in Constantinople he had also many enthusiastic friends. The crowds which had flocked to hear him preach in the great basilica, which had applauded his denunciations of the follies of the rich, and had been consoled by his cheering words when the city was threatened by the fierce hosts of Gainas, saw now with anger and fear the pulpit empty of its greatest ornament. An earthquake which happened shortly after the banishment of the Bishop increased the general uneasiness. There was a tumultuous uprising in the capital, which caused Theophilus to return in all haste to Alexandria. The Court-party felt that they had gone too far. Arcadius signed the order for the recall of Chrysostom, and Eudoxia sent her chief eunuch, Briso, to meet him with an autograph letter in which she called God to witness that she was guiltless of any machinations against the holy man who had baptised her children.

403.
and recall
of Chry-
sostom.

Thus did Chrysostom return, and was at first loud in his praises of the gracious Augusta who had exerted herself on his behalf. But soon the old enmities broke forth again. A silver statue of Eudoxia, mounted on a high column of porphyry, was dedicated with half-pagan rites on a Sunday in the Forum near the Church of St. Sophia. The noise of the heathenish merry-making disturbed the too scanty worshippers in the Church, and Chrysostom poured forth his indignation in a splendid torrent of angry eloquence. The words which he used, severe enough in themselves, were magnified by the rumour which bore them to the Empress. Even posterity has been similarly deceived,

Eudoxia's
statue.

BOOK I.
CH. 14.

403.

Chry-
sostom's
second
exile.
June, 404.

June, 407.

His death.
14 Septem-
ber, 407.

Chry-
sostom and
Ambrose.

for the Church historians, Socrates and Sozomen, report (as it is now believed quite erroneously) that on this occasion the Bishop used the famous words, 'Again Herodias rages, again she dances, again she demands the head of John¹.' There was again open enmity between the great preacher and the Court-party; another council was assembled which confirmed the deposition pronounced by the Synod of the Oak, and after some weeks of tumult and violence, Chrysostom was at last persuaded to go quietly on board the vessel which was once more to bear him across the Bosphorus, this time never to return. He was taken first to Cucusus, a desolate village in the high uplands of Taurus, on the borders of Cilicia and Lesser Armenia. The bitter winter-cold of that mountainous region, and the marauding ravages of the Isaurians, made his abode in this place full of hardship, and he was already quite broken in health when, after three years of exile, the order arrived for his transference from Taurus to Caucasus, from the desolate Cilician village to the yet more inhospitable Pityus on the Colchian shore of the Black Sea. But he never survived, probably was not expected to survive, to the end of the journey. Worn out with fatigue and the cruelty of his guards, he died at Comana in Pontus before he had reached the waters of the Euxine.

The story of Chrysostom irresistibly suggests both by analogy and by contrast the story of the other great preacher, his contemporary, Ambrose. Both were of high birth: both coupled their names with the events of a great insurrection—Chrysostom with the riot at

¹ The sermon beginning with these words attributed to Chrysostom is now generally admitted to be spurious.

Antioch, Ambrose with the massacre of Thessalonica. Both were called upon to face the fury of a woman wielding absolute power through her ascendancy over an incapable Emperor; but while Ambrose gained a signal triumph over Justina, Chrysostom died broken-hearted and in exile, a victim to the vengeance of Eudoxia. And their fortunes were typical of the fortunes of the churches which they represented. Ambrose, as we have already noted, stands at the head of a long line of courageous and somewhat domineering churchmen who made the Caesars of the West tremble before them. Chrysostom's successors, perhaps disheartened by his fate, scarcely ever ventured on anything but the mildest remonstrance with the Emperor at Constantinople. The absolute ascendancy in the Church which the Sovereign thus obtained, 'Caesaro-papism,' as it is now the fashion to call it, was a remarkable feature in the constitution of the Eastern Empire, and one which is reproduced in its northern descendant. The Church of Russia in our own day acknowledges as her spiritual head the Autocrat of all the Russias, the Holy and Orthodox Czar.

Old and feeble as he was, Chrysostom survived his arch-foe Eudoxia, who died in childbed 6th of October, 404. Who thereupon assumed the reins of government over Arcadius the meagre chronicles of his reign do not inform us. He himself died on the 1st of May, 408, and his death, as we shall see, led indirectly to certain momentous results in connection with the Empire of the West. Arcadius was still only in his thirty-first year at the time of his death. These sluggish Theodosians had not energy enough even to live.

CHAPTER XV.

ALARIC'S FIRST INVASION OF ITALY.

Authorities.

Sources :—

BOOK I. CLAUDIAN and OROSIUS are here our chief authorities, and
CH. 15. even Claudian fails us after the year 404. ZOSIMUS is of hardly any use at all for this period. There are evidences of imperfection in the MS. (at the beginning of Book v. cap. 26), but they are not enough to exonerate Zosimus from the charge of extreme negligence or ignorance as to this part of the history. OLYMPIODORUS, who will be more fully described hereafter, gives us a hint or two about Radagaisus.

In the dearth of other materials we begin to find ourselves under considerable obligation to

THE ANNALISTS,

of whom it is now time to make some mention.

Five or six men, chiefly ecclesiastics, imposed upon themselves the task of continuing the chronicle which, begun by Eusebius and added to by Jerome, had described in short annalistic style the chief events in the history of the world from the Creation to the death of Valens. Some remarks upon the style and manner of thought of these annalists will be made in a later chapter. It is sufficient to observe here that they seldom give more than six lines to each year, often less, and that a disproportionate amount of that small space is devoted to petty ecclesiastical squabbles. I quote from the useful edition of Roncalli (2 vols. Padua, 1787).

The chief of the annalists for the period with which we are now engaged are PROSPER, IDATIUS, and MARCELLINUS. Both because of the intrinsic importance of his work and because of the peculiar and somewhat unsatisfactory condition in which it has been handed down to us, the first-named author must be described with some detail¹.

TIRO PROSPER, a native of Aquitaine, whose exact birthplace is not known, lived from about 400 to 460. We are not able to state with certainty the year either of his birth or his death. He was apparently a man of good social position. One of the MSS. of his chronicle calls him *vir clarissimus*, but this is perhaps not to be taken in its strict technical sense, as denoting the third rank in the official Hierarchy of the Empire. Though his reputation among his contemporaries chiefly rested upon his theological works, it is almost certain that he never held even a deacon's rank in the church, but lived and died a layman. He is however known as Saint Prosper.

About the year 429, being then probably in his early manhood, he plunged with extraordinary ardour into the great Pelagian controversy. This controversy was then passing into its second phase, and Augustine on the one hand, and the so-called Semi-Pelagians of Gaul on the other, were the chief disputants, the former championing the sovereignty of Divine grace, and the latter vindicating the freedom of the human will. Prosper embraced with eagerness the cause of Augustine and opposed the Semi-Pelagian teaching of his fellow-countryman, Cassian of Marseilles, as Cassian had written a series of dialogues (*Collationes*) in praise of the monastic life, in one of which he had advanced opinions which seemed to be inconsistent with thorough-going Augustinianism. Prosper replied by his *Liber Contra Collatorem*, in which he vindicated what he maintained to be the catholic teaching concerning grace and free-will. Nor did he confine his energies to prose. In his *Carmen de Ingratis* he discoursed through one thousand hexameters against the ingratitude and pride of the Semi-Pelagian disputants who thought that any man could dispense with the grace of God; and in his book of *Epigrams* he expresses in alternate hexameters and pentameters the opinions of Augustine

¹ The following notice is founded on the elaborate paper by Oswald Holder-Egger in the *Neues Archiv* for 1876.

BOOK I. on such themes as grace and the law, the passions of saints and
 CH. 15. the world's hatred of Christians. Whatever may be the judgment passed on the prose works of Prosper, his poems cannot be considered successful. A multitude of flat and prosaic lines are to be found in the *Carmen de Ingratis*, and the *Epigrams* are epigrams but in name, vapid dilutions of the pathetic eloquence of his mighty master.

It seems probable that about the year 440, Prosper removed to Rome, and there is some reason to think that he entered the service of the great Pope Leo as a *notarius*. It was currently reported in the succeeding generation that the far-famed letters of this Pope on the Eutychian controversy really proceeded from the pen of Prosper. However this may be, there can be little doubt that his later years were devoted to the Nestorian-Eutychian discussion on the nature of Christ, as earnestly as his earlier years had been given to the discussion with the Semi-pelagians concerning the nature of Man.

The date of his death is uncertain, but one of his brother-annalists (Marcellinus) mentions his name under the year 463, thus suggesting the possibility that this may have been the year of his death, since there seems no other reason for connecting it specially with his name.

The *Chronicon* of Prosper was probably first compiled in 433, continued to 445, and again continued to 455. Like almost all the similar productions of Christian annalists, it rests upon the great work of Eusebius (translated and continued by Jerome) in which the Old Testament history is blended and harmonised with the histories of the other nations around the Mediterranean Sea, as told by the classical writers of Greece and Rome. The Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle, beginning with the Creation of the World, ends, as above stated, with the death of Valens (378). The first part of Prosper's *Chronicon Integrum* goes over exactly the same ground and follows Jerome very closely. The few variations which Prosper has introduced are, for the most part, not improvements, and there is altogether much evidence of haste and inaccuracy in this part of the *Chronicon*, where little was required beyond the industry of a careful amanuensis.

The second part of the *Chronicon* (378-455) occupies a much higher position than the first. Here we have to deal no longer with a mere copyist, but with an independent annalist, with one

who for the last forty years of this period is a contemporary, sometimes our only contemporary authority: with one who whether writing in Gaul or at Rome is near to the theatre of great events, and who, from his position as 'Vir Clarissimus,' the friend and correspondent of Bishops, perhaps the *notarius* of Popes, had excellent opportunities for becoming acquainted with the true history of the period. Moreover his ecclesiastical interests caused Prosper to note carefully all that concerned the uprising of the great persecuting Arian power, the Vandal monarchy; and his Aquitanian origin induced him to record some events in the South of Gaul (especially the campaigns of Aetius and Litorius against the Visigoths) of which we should otherwise possess scarcely a trace. There is still some reason for complaining of haste and inaccuracy in this part of his work. He assigns a wrong date to the death of Athanaric (382 instead of 381) and he incorrectly attributes it to violence. He also misdates the death of Gratian (384 for 383) and the accession of Constantius the husband of Placidia (420 for 421); and his notices of the Council of Chalcedon (at 450 and 453 not at 451) are misleading, if not actually erroneous. But upon the whole Prosper has shown a fair amount of accuracy and intelligence in compiling the second part of his *Chronicon*, and whatever his faults may be, the yet greater faults of his few competitors leave him beyond dispute *the chief source of historical information for the first half of the Fifth Century*.

There are various recensions of Prosper's Chronicle. The most important is the *Chronicon Integrum*¹, so named by contrast with the *Chronicon Vulgatum* in which the parts common to Prosper with Eusebius and Jerome are omitted (doubtless because it was published along with the works of those authors) and the last addition, from 445 to 455, also disappears. Except a few interpolations from Orosius, Cassiodorus and others, the text of the *Vulgatum* (where the two coincide) is practically the same as that of the *Integrum*². The MS. *Augustanum*³ corresponds very

¹ No. II. in Roncalli's Collection (i. 519-675).

² It is therefore not reprinted by Roncalli, but he gives the interpolations in italic type.

³ So called as having been found at Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum). It is sometimes also referred to as *Canisianum* from the name of its first editor, or *Ulricianum* from the monastery in which it was deposited.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

closely with the *Integrum* from 379 to 445, but diverges for the period from 445 to 457 with which date it closes, except for a rapid sketch of the Vandal lords of Africa from 440 to 534. Everything about this MS. points to Carthage as its place of origin: but there are also some indications of special familiarity with the affairs of the Roman Church. The MS. *Vaticanum* is a meagre and inaccurate copy, probably made in the 6th or 7th century, and is chiefly interesting for the grotesque blunders in spelling made by the scribe, which show the changes which were being produced in the Latin language by the barbarian migrations. There is a MS. at Copenhagen (*Codex Hafniensis*) which contains an important continuation (of course by a much later hand) down to the year 641. It is considered to be the work of an Italian scribe writing under the rule of the Lombards, but it is partly composed of extracts from an authority now lost to us, which German scholars have agreed to call 'the Chronicles of Ravenna¹,' and as reproducing this document, the *Codex Hafniensis* may be looked upon as in some sort a contemporary authority for the second half of the fifth century. It has been recently edited by Mommsen and published as part of his 'Chronica Minora' in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

Another work which goes by the name of Tiro Prosper, though it certainly never proceeded from his pen, is the *Chronicon Imperiale*, also called (from its first editor) *Chronicon Pithoeanum*. It is true that it begins and ends with the same words which begin and end the second part of the genuine Prosper's Chronicle. Here however the correspondence ceases. While the *Chronicon Integrum* and its fellows reckon by the Consular year, the *Chronicon Imperiale* (as its name denotes) reckons by the years of Emperors. The succession of the Popes and the years of their pontificate which are given by Prosper with nearly complete accuracy are hopelessly entangled by his rival. The two Chronicles deal very often with entirely different sets of facts. The style of the *Chronicon Imperiale* is quite different from that of the *Integrum*, and from a literary point of view it is perhaps less contemptible. Gaulish events, especially those relating to the new barbarian monarchies, receive more attention from the author of the *Imperiale* than from the true Prosper. But it is

¹ Die Ravennalische Fasten.

chiefly in theological matters that the divergence between the two chronicles is most apparent. Augustine, the hero of the genuine Prosper, is almost sneered at by his double. His early addiction to Manicheism is cast in his teeth ; he is said to have 'treated of many subjects in his innumerable books,' and he is accused of having founded the heretical sect of the Predestinarians. On the other hand Cassian, the great antagonist of Prosper, and the little knot of Semi-pelagian ecclesiastics to whom he dedicated the 'Collationes,' are spoken of in terms of almost fulsome praise.

It is certain then that the *Chronicon Imperiale* does not proceed from Prosper's hand. But unfortunately the scholars of the 17th century, feeling this divergence and wanting to distinguish between the two chroniclers, called the true Prosper by that name and gave his first name, Tiro, to his double. A most misleading and uncritical procedure certainly, but it is now perhaps too late to reverse it. Let it be understood then that whenever 'Tiro' is quoted it is with a protest, as equivalent to 'the pseudo-Prosper,' and that the name is attached to the work of one of whom we only know this much with certainty, that he was not called either Prosper or Tiro.

A special interest, however, for us attaches to this nameless chronicle (which was probably composed in the third quarter of the fifth century) since it contains in the following lines the only contemporary notice of the Teutonic conquest of Britain.

[409] 'Hac tempestate prae valetudine Romanorum vires funditus attenuatae. Britanniae Saxonum incursione devastatae.'

[441] 'Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque laceratae in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur.'

It was not till about a century later that the wordy Gildas, our earliest British authority on the subject, told the story of the same conquest in his own peculiar style of querulous declamation.

IDATIUS, a native of Limica¹ in the extreme north of Portugal, was born towards the end of the fourth century. While still a boy ('infantulus') he travelled to Palestine and there saw, with reverence and admiration, Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem.

¹ Not Lamego, as stated in the first edition. See Mrs. Ward's article in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

Having returned to his own country he entered the ecclesiastical state and in or before the year 427 was consecrated Bishop, apparently of Aquae Flaviae, a city about fifty miles from his birthplace. In common with his people he suffered many indignities and hardships under the rule of the Arian Suevi, and in the year 431 went on an embassy to Aetius in Gaul to implore his aid against the oppressors. The journey was perhaps not wholly ineffectual, as Aetius sent Count Censorius as ambassador to the Suevi to accompany Idatius on his return. In the year 460, Idatius, accused by some informers of hostility to the Suevic rule, was taken prisoner in his own church by King Frumarius, the capture being accompanied by much violence towards the Catholics. He was, however, liberated after a captivity of less than four months, to the great disappointment of the informers. He died at an advanced age between 468 and 474.

Like Prosper, Idatius set himself to continue the Chronicle of Jerome, and his continuation reaches from 379 to 468. He himself tells us that the annals from 379 to 427 were chiefly compiled from books; from 427 onwards they were the result of his own observation and especially of his own bitter experience of barbarian oppression and ecclesiastical anarchy. Though not always correct in his chronology, Idatius has set before himself a high standard of historical accuracy, and his notices of events that occurred in Gaul and Spain, of the uneasy tossings of the Suevic, Visigothic, and Vandal nationalities, are especially valuable.

MARCELLINUS COMES¹ is in no sense a contemporary authority, as he flourished under Justinian, and is therefore separated by an interval of more than a century from the period now under consideration. But he had access to trustworthy authorities, and his continuation of Jerome's chronicle from 379 to 534 (continued by a later hand to 566) is one of our main authorities for the history of the fifth century. He avowedly deals chiefly with the Eastern Empire², but occasionally throws some light on Western affairs. His very silence is sometimes interesting,

¹ In the heading of the Chronicles the author is called 'Comes, Vir Clarissimus.' Cassiodorus (Inst. Div. Litt. xvii.) tells us that he was Illyricianus. Was he 'Comes Commmerciorum' or 'Comes Metallorum per Illyricum'? Both offices are mentioned in the Notitia (Oriens xiii).

² 'Orientale tantum secutus imperium.'

as showing of what slight account transactions which we perceive to have been of incalculable importance to Europe appeared to a Byzantine official.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

THE year of gold, which was honoured by Stilicho's Consulship, and which, according to our computation, closed the century that had witnessed the foundation of Constantinople and the marriage between Christianity and the Empire, saw also Alaric's first invasion of Italy. The details of this inroad are supplied to us with a most sparing hand by the few historians who mention it, and even their meagre facts are not easy to reconcile with one another. The discussion of some of these difficulties is postponed to the note at the end of this chapter. In the meantime the following narrative is submitted to the reader as upon the whole the most probable that can be constructed out of the varying accounts of the authorities; but there is scarcely an event in it which can be stated with certainty, except the battle of Pollentia, and even that, as to its date, its cause, and its issue, is involved in perplexity and contradiction.

400.
The end of
the fourth
century.

In the course of the year 400 Alaric descended into Italy with an army, which, as was so often the case in the campaigns of the barbarians, was not merely an army but a nation. Determined not to return to Illyria, but to obtain, by force or persuasion, a settlement for his people on the Italian soil, he brought with him his wife and children, the families of his warriors, all the spoil which he had taken in Greece, all the treasures which he had accumulated during his rule in Eastern Illyricum. He marched from Belgrade up the valley of the Save by Laybach and the well-remembered pass of the Pear-

Alaric
enters
Italy with
an army
and a
nation.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

400.

Tree¹. This road, the one by which most of the great invasions of Italy in the fifth century were made, presents, as has been before remarked, nothing of truly Alpine difficulty. It is mountainous ; it would furnish to an active general many opportunities for harassing such an army as that of Alaric, encumbered with women and waggons, but there is no feature of natural difficulty about it which our own Wales or Cumberland could not equal or surpass.

He passes
Aquileia

Precisely, however, because of the comparatively defenceless character of this part of the Italian frontier, the wise forethought of Senate and Emperors had planted in this corner of the Venetian plain the great colony, port and arsenal of Aquileia, whose towers were visible to the soldiers of Alaric's army as they wound round the last spurs of the Julian Alps, descending into the valley of the Isonzo. Aquileia was still the Virgin-fortress, the Metz of Imperial Italy, and not even Alaric was to rob her of her impregnable glory. A battle took place under her walls², in which the Romans suffered a disastrous defeat ; but the city—we may say with almost absolute certainty—did not surrender.

¹ Jordanes, *De Reb. Get.* cap. xxix: 'Et sumpto exercitu, per Pannonias Stilicone et Aureliano consulibus et per Sirmium dextro latere quasi viris vacuum intravit Italiam.' Compare Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 281–288, where Stilicho distinctly asserts that the successes of Theodosius over Maximus and Eugenius had taught Alaric the way into Italy.

² Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 562–3 :

'Deploratumque Timavo

Vulnus et Alpinum gladiis abolete pudorem.'

Stilicho speaks and urges his soldiers to avenge the defeat by the Timavus. The 'Fontes Timavi' are about ten miles east of Aquileia. In Claudian's poetical language any battle fought near Aquileia would answer this description.

Remembering, it may be, Frigidern's exclamation that 'he did not make war upon stone walls,' Alaric moved forward through Venetia. Across his road to Rome lay the strong city of Ravenna, guarded by a labyrinth of waters. He penetrated as far as the bridge, afterwards called the bridge of Candidianus, within three miles of the city¹, but he eventually retired from the untaken stronghold, and abandoning, it would seem for the present, his designs on Rome, marched westward towards Milan.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.
400-401.
and
Ravenna.

These operations may perhaps have occupied Alaric from the summer of 400 to that of 401. His progress seems slow and his movements uncertain, but some of the delay may be accounted for by the fact that he was acting in concert with another invader². This was 'Radagaisus the Goth,' a man as to whose nationality something will have to be said when, five years later, he conducts an army into the heart of Italy on his own sole account. For the present all that can be said is that he entered Italy in concert with Alaric in the year 400, and that during that and the following year we have mysterious allusions from the pen of Claudian to some great troubles going on in Rhaetia (Tyrol and the Grisons), which province now formed part of Italy. As these troubles were sufficient to keep a large part of

Rada-
gaisus co-
operates,
possibly in
Rhaetia.

¹ 'Nullo penitus obsistente ad pontem applicuit Candidiani qui tertio milliaro ab urbe erat regia Ravennate.' Jordanes, *De Reb. Get.* xxix. This siege of Ravenna is in the highest degree conjectural. It rests only on the authority of Jordanes, whose account of Alaric's wars in Italy is chaos itself.

² *Prosperi Aquitani Chronicon*: 'Stilicone et Aureliano Consulibus [400] Gothi Italiam, Alarico et Rhadagaiso ducibus, ingressi.' *M. A. Cassiodori Chronicon*: 'Stilicho et Aurelianus. His Consulibus Gothi, Halarico et Radagaiso regibus, ingrediuntur Italiam.'

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

400-401.

the Roman troops employed, and to require the presence of Stilicho at a time when even the Emperor's sacred person was in danger, it is at least a permissible conjecture that they were due to the invasion of Radagaisus, who was operating from the North, and trying to descend into Italy by the Brenner or the Splügen Pass, while Alaric was carrying on the campaign in the East, and endeavouring to reduce the fortresses of Venetia ¹.

Counter-
movements
of Hono-
rius and
Stilicho.

The movements of Honorius and Stilicho, the nominal and the real rulers of Italy, in response to this invasion, cannot be described with certainty. It would seem that the Rhaetian attack was the one which, at any rate during the first two campaigns, claimed the largest share of Stilicho's attention. If we could place entire dependence on the dates of the laws in the Theodosian code (which profess to indicate the residence of the Emperor on the day of the promulgation of each enactment), we should say that Honorius spent the greater part of the years 400, 401, and 402 at Milan, that in the spring and autumn of 400 he made two journeys to Aquileia and Ravenna, and that before December of 402 he had taken up his residence at Ravenna, which place was his home for the remainder of his life. Unfortunately these laws have not been edited with sufficient accuracy to allow us to quote these dates with absolute confidence, but there is nothing in them which is at variance with the view here put forward of the progress of Alaric's campaign. After several months had been consumed by the Visigoth in his

¹ Compare Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 279-280:

'Irrupere Getae, nostras dum Rhaetia vires
Occupat atque alio desudant Marte cohortes.'

operations before Aquileia and Ravenna he advanced, in the year 401, up the valley of the Po, and besieged Honorius either in Milan or possibly in the strong city of Asti ¹ (Asta in Piedmont).

BOOK I.
CH. 15.
401.

Throughout the Roman world the consternation was extreme when it was known that the Goths, in overwhelming numbers, were indeed in Italy. A rumour like that of the fall of Sebastopol after the battle of the Alma, born none knew where, propagated none knew how, travelled fast over Britain, Gaul, and Spain, to the effect that the daring attempt of Alaric had already succeeded, that the City of Rome was even now his prey.

Effect of
Alaric's in-
vasion on
the minds
of the
Italians.

Claudian draws, in his murkiest colours, a picture of the gloom which prevailed at the Imperial Court². Supernatural terrors deepened the darkness of a prospect dreary enough to political prescience. There were dismal dreams, whisperings of sinister prophecies in the Sibylline roll, eclipses of the moon, great hailstorms, untimely swarms of bees, and, worse than these, a comet, which first appeared in Cepheus and Cassiopeia, and then travelled on into the Seven Stars of Charles's Wain, too plainly foreboding danger from the Gothic waggon. But the worst portent was that of the two

Gloomy
auguries.

¹ 'Aut moenia vindicis Astae.' Claudian, De VI Consulatu Honorii, 203. I incline to the conjecture that it was in Milan, not at Asti, that the 'obsessi Principis nefas' (De Bello Getico, 561) occurred.

² At Milan, that is, rather than in Rome. It seems to me that lines 205-313 of the De Bello Getico contain nothing necessarily applicable to Rome, and probably describe the feelings of the *entourage* of Honorius at Milan. Lines 450-480, on the other hand (containing the passage 'Emicuit Stilichonis apex et cognita fulsit Canities'), are entirely and emphatically Roman.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

401.

wolves. Starting up under the very eyes of the Emperor while he was reviewing some squadrons of cavalry, they attacked the soldiers, who slew them with their darts. Strange to tell, inside of each was found a human hand, one right, one left, with clenched fingers, and still ruddy as if in life. The she-wolf being the emblem of Rome, how could the Fates more clearly indicate that her power was endangered, and that both in the East and West she was to suffer some grievous amputation?

Cowardly
sug-
ges-
tions.

Already the Italian nobles, the Emperor apparently consenting, were deliberating whether they should take to their ships, should flee to Corsica or Sardinia, or should plant a new Rome on the banks of the Saone or the Rhone. Stilicho alone, says the panegyrist, stood unterrified, and prophesied the salvation which he himself was to achieve. 'Cease your unmanly lamentations, your foolish forebodings,' he adjured the courtiers. 'The Goths have, it is true, perfidiously stolen into our country while our troops were busy in Rhaetia. But Italy has borne and overborne worse shocks of fate than this—the Gallic inroads, the irruptions of the Cimbri and Teutones. And if Latium were to fall, if you did basely abandon your mother-land to the northern hosts, how long, think you, would you be left in safety beside the streams of Gaul? No; tarry here in Italy through the winter, while the flooded rivers of Lombardy delay the march of Alaric. I will go to the North to collect an army from the garrisons yonder, and will return, after a short delay, to vindicate the insulted majesty of Rome. And think not, my fellow-citizens, that I shall not share your anxieties, for, though absent myself, I leave in your midst my wife,

my children, and that son-in-law who is dearer to me than life.'

So saying, he departed. He sailed in a little skiff up the olive-bordered Lake of Como. Then in the depth of winter (the winter of 401-2), he directed his course towards the province of Rhaetia, 'that province which gives birth to two rivers, the Danube and the Rhine, each of which serves as a bulwark to the realm of Romulus. But that side of Rhaetia which is turned towards Italy raises its peaks and ridges high towards the stars, and its passes, even in summer, are perilous for the traveller. Many in that terrible frost, as if at the sight of a Gorgon, have stiffened into stone : many have been whelmed in fathomless abysses, the waggons, the oxen which drew them, and the drivers being all sucked at once into the sparkling gulf. Often, under the south-wind's treacherous breath, the whole mountain seems to be loosed from its icy fetters, and rushes in ruin on the traveller's head.'

'Through scenes like these, in winter's thickest snow
 Upon his dauntless course, pressed Stilicho.
 No genial juice to Bacchus there is born,
 And Ceres reaps a niggard store of corn.
 But he,—his armour never laid aside—
 Tasted the hurried meal, well satisfied ;
 And, still encumbered with his dripping vest,
 Into his frozen steed the rowel pressed.
 On no soft couch his wearied members lay,
 But when dark night cut short his arduous way
 He sought such shelter as some wild beast's cave,
 Or mountain-shepherd's hut to slumber gave,
 The shield his only pillow. Pale with fear
 Surveyed his mighty guest the mountaineer.
 And the rude housewife bade her squalid race
 Gaze on the unknown stranger's glorious face.
 Those couches hard the horrent woods below,
 Those slumbers under canopies of snow,

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

401-402.

Those wakeful toils of his, that ceaseless care
 Gave to the world this respite, did prepare
 For us unhopèd-for rest. From dreadful doom
 He, in those Alpine huts, redeemed thee, Rome¹.'

Troops
 raised for
 the defence
 of Italy,

and with-
 drawn
 from the
 Provinces.

In the course of this Rhaetian campaign, Stilicho seems to have effectually repelled the invading hosts, who, according to the view here maintained, under the leadership of Radagaisus, were threatening Italy from the North. He not only pushed them back into their settlements by the Danube, but he also raised, in these trans-Alpine provinces and among these half-rebellious tribes, an army sufficient in numbers for its work, but not so great as to be burdensome to Italy or formidable to its ruler. 'The troops which had lately defended Rhaetia came, loaded with spoil, to the rescue of Italy.' At the same time the legions were withdrawn from other countries to shelter Rome. The Rhine was left bare of Roman troops, and the Twentieth Legion, one of three which had for centuries been stationed in Britain, generally at Chester, was now removed finally from service in this island².

¹ De Bello Getico, 348-362.

² This we are expressly told by Claudian (De Bello Getico, 416-8):

'Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis
 Quae Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
 Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras.'

It is true that the mention of service against the Picts and Scots would have led us to think rather of the Sixth Legion, stationed at York, than of the Twentieth, at Chester. It is quite clear, however, that the Sixth (and Second) remained in Britain till a later period than this, and it is probable that the Twentieth had been removed from the now comparatively secure Western frontier, and may have been engaged in Caledonian warfare. Nor are expressions of this kind in a rhetorical poet like Claudian to be construed too literally. It is interesting to connect his word 'praetenta' with the 'vigiliae et praetenturae' (garrisons and outposts) with which, as Ammianus

The clouds which have gathered round the movements of both the rival chiefs are at length partially lifted, and we find them face to face with one another at Pollentia during the season of Easter 402. About twenty miles south-east of Turin, on the left bank of the Tanaro, in the great alluvial plain which is here Piedmont, but a little further east will be Lombardy, still stands the little village of Pollenzo, which by its ruined theatre and amphitheatre yet shows traces of the days when it was a flourishing Roman municipality, renowned for its manufactures of dark woollen cloth and of earthenware. This was the place which Alaric and his Goths were now besieging¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

402.

The
Roman and
Gothic
armies
meet at
Pollentia.

Sieges, as we have seen abundantly in the course of this history, were generally unfortunate for the Northern warriors, whose inroads were, as a rule, most successful when they pushed boldly on through the fertile country, neglecting the fortresses, and despising the troops that garrisoned them. It may be that already a doubt of the prosperous issue of the invasion had dawned upon some of the Gothic veterans, and

tells us (xxviii. 3. 7), Theodosius Senior guarded this same British frontier. The fact that the Twentieth Legion nowhere appears in the Notitia is used with much apparent probability as an argument for assigning the date of that work to this very year 402 (or 403) when the Legion had been withdrawn from service in Britain, but before it had been permanently enrolled among the Italian forces. See J. Hodgson Hinde's *History of Northumberland*, p. 19.

¹ Pertinax the Roman emperor was born within sight of Pollentia and, together with his father, carried on either an earthenware manufactory or a timber business at that place. In this obscure calling he probably learned those habits of frugality and strictness of life which, when he ascended the throne after the death of Commodus, made him at once dear to all good citizens and hateful to the Praetorian guards by whom he was soon murdered.

BOOK I. that some such divided counsels as Claudian describes
CH. 15. in the following sketch existed in the camp.

402.
A Gothic
Council.
De Bello
Getico,
480-557.

‘The long-haired fathers of the Gothic nation, their fur-clad senators marked with many an honourable scar, assembled. The old men leaned on their tall clubs instead of staves. One of the most venerable of these veterans arose, fixed his eyes upon the ground, shook his white and shaggy locks and spoke :

Speech of
the Leader
of the
Opposition.

“Thirty years have now elapsed since first we crossed the Danube and confronted the might of Rome. But never, believe me, O Alaric, did the weight of adverse battle lie so heavy on us as now. Trust the old chief who, like a father, once dandled thee in his arms, who gave thee thy first tiny quiver. Often have I, in vain, admonished thee to keep thy treaty with Rome, and remain safely within the limits of the Eastern realm. But now, at any rate while thou still art able, return, flee the Italian soil. Why talk to us perpetually of the fruitful vines of Etruria, of the Tiber, and of Rome. If our fathers have told us aright, that city is protected by the Immortal Gods, lightnings are darted from afar against the presumptuous invader, and fires heaven-kindled flit before its walls. And if thou carest not for Jupiter, yet beware of Stilicho, of him who heaped high the bones of our people upon the hills of Arcadia, him who would then have blotted out thy name had not domestic treason and the intrigues of Constantinople rescued thee from his grasp.”

Alaric's
reply.

‘Alaric burst in upon the old man's speech with fiery brow and scowling eyes—

“If age had not bereft thee of reason, old dotard, I would punish thee for these insults. Shall I, who

have put so many Emperors to flight, listen to thee, prating of peace. No, in this land I will reign as conqueror, or be buried after defeat. The Alps having been traversed, the Po being witness of our victories, only Rome remains to be overcome. In the day of our weakness and calamity, when we had not a weapon in our hands, we were terrible to our foes. Now that I have made the reluctant Illyrian forge for us a whole arsenal of arms, we are not going, I presume, to turn our backs to these same enemies. No! Beside all other reasons for hope there is the certainty of God's ¹ help. No dreams, no flight of birds revealed it to me. Forth from the grove came a clear voice, heard of many, 'Break off all delays, Alaric. This very year, if thou lingerest not, thou shalt pierce through the Alps into Italy; thou shalt penetrate to the City itself.' "

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

402.

'So he spoke, and drew up his army for the battle. Oh ever-malignant ambiguity of oracles, so dark even to the utterers, so clear to them and to their hearers when the event has made them plain! At the extreme verge of Liguria he came to a river, known by the strange name of Urbis ², and there defeated, recognised his doom.'

*Penetrabis
ad Urbem.*

The reader is requested to observe that we have here

¹ Claudian says *Deos*. On account of the clearly established fact of Alaric's profession of Christianity, I have used monotheistic language.

'Hortantes his adde Deos: non somnia nobis
Non volucres; sed clara palam vox edita luco est
Rumpe omnes Alarice moras. Hoc impiger anno
Alpibus Italiae ruptis, *penetrabis ad Urbem*.'

De Bello Getico, 544-547.

² According to Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, v. 530), the name of this river is preserved in the modern *Borbo*, a stream between Asti and Pollenzo.

BOOK I. an undoubted case of a fulfilled presentiment. Six
 CH. 15. years after the composition of this poem, Alaric did
 402. in truth 'penetrate to the City.' Now the hostile
 poet taunts him with his belief that he was called
 thither by Destiny, and triumphs over the apparent
 ruin of his hopes.

Alaric
 attacked in
 the midst
 of his
 devotions
 on Good
 Friday,
 6th April,
 402.

Battle
 com-
 menced by
 Saulus.

Claudian's verses pourtray the Gothic chieftain, after this council, drawing up his army in battle array at Pollentia. It seems certain, however, that Alaric was taken unawares and forced into a battle which he had not foreseen; and this from a cause which illustrates the strange reactions of the barbaric and civilised influences upon one another in this commencing chaos. As was before said, Eastertide was at hand: on the 6th of April, Easter Sunday itself occurred¹. Alaric, with his army, Christian though Arian, was keeping the day with the accustomed religious observances, when he was attacked and forced to fight by Stilicho's lieutenant, Saulus². This man, the same who fought under Theodosius at the battle of the Frigidus, was by birth an Alan, and was probably surrounded by many of his countrymen, that race of utter savages who once dwelt between the Volga and the Don, and arrested the progress of the Huns, but had now yielded to their uncouth conquerors and rolled on with them over Europe, as fierce and as heathenish as they. The pigmy body of Saulus was linked to a dauntless spirit;

¹ L'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 9.

² It is not quite clear that Stilicho himself was present at the battle, though Claudian seems to assert it positively. The *name* of Saulus is not mentioned by Claudian, but there can be little doubt that he is the 'Alanus' described in the *De Bello Getico*, 580-590.

every limb was covered with the scars of battle, his face had been flattened by many a club stroke, and his little dark Tartar eyes glowed with angry fire. He knew that suspicions had been entertained of his loyalty to the Empire, and he burned to prove their falsity. Having forced Alaric and his warriors to suspend their Paschal devotions, he dashed his cavalry with Hun-like impetuosity against their stately line of battle. At the first onset he fell, and his riderless horse, rushing through the ranks, carried dismay to the hearts of his followers. The light cavalry on the wings were like to have fled in disastrous rout, when Stilicho moved forward the steady foot-soldiers of the legions from the centre, and turned, says Claudian, defeat into victory. The Gothic rout (if we may trust Claudian's story of the battle) soon became a disastrous flight. The Roman soldiers, eager for revenge, were scarce diverted from their purpose by the rich stores of plunder which were thrown in their way by the despairing fugitives. On the capacious Gothic waggons were heaped piles of gold and silver coin, massive bowls from Argos, statues instinct, as it seemed, with life, snatched from burning Corinth. Every trophy of the barbarian but added fury to the Roman pursuit, reviving as it did the bitter memories of Roman humiliation; and this fury reached its height when, amid a store of other splendid apparel, the purple garments of the murdered Valens were drawn forth to light. Crowds of captives who had followed the chariot of the Gothic king for years now received their freedom, kissed the gory hands of their deliverers, and, revisiting their long deserted homes, looked with wonder on the changes wrought there by Time. On the other hand,

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

402.

Alaric, hurrying from the field, heard with anguish the cries of his wife, his wife whose proud spirit had urged him on to the conflict, who had declared that she was weary of Grecian trinkets and Grecian slaves, and that he must provide her with Italian necklaces and with the haughty ladies of Rome for her handmaidens, but who was now herself carried into captivity with her children and the wives of her sons¹.

Was Pol-
lencia a
Roman
victory?

After the vivid and circumstantial account which Claudian gives us of the Roman victory at Pollentia, it is almost humiliating to be obliged to mention that there is some doubt whether it was a Roman victory at all. Cassiodorus and Jordanes both say distinctly that the Goths put the Roman army to flight. Both of these authors, however, are in the Gothic interest, and the earliest of them wrote at least a century after the date of the battle. Orosius, a Roman and a contemporary, speaks of the unfortunate battles waged near Pollentia, in which 'we conquered in fighting, in conquering we were defeated.' It is possible that this alludes to the fact that the Romans attacked on Good

¹ Claudian, in his *De Bello Getico*, 625-632, seems to wish us to understand that Alaric's wife was carried captive without distinctly asserting it. In the *De Sexto Consulatu Honorii*, 297-8, he makes Alaric say more plainly—

'Sed pignora nobis

Romanus, carasque nurus, praedamque tenebat.'

In the first passage the female impatience of the general's wife for the acquisition of slaves and necklaces makes us enquire whether the poet had read the words of the mother of Sisera as imagined in Judges v. 28-30: 'Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needlework, of divers colours of needlework on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil?'

Friday, an impiety which the ecclesiastical historian cannot forgive. The subsequent course of the history seems to show that the bulk of the Gothic army remained intact, and that its spirit was not broken. On the other hand, the language of Claudian (confirmed by his contemporary Prudentius) seems to make it incredible that the Romans can have been really and signally defeated. Probably it was one of those bloody but indecisive combats, like Borodino and Leipzig, in which he who is technically the victor is saved but as by a hair's breadth from defeat, a result which is not surprising when we remember that here the numbers and impetuosity of the Goths were met, for the first time on Italian soil, by the courageous skill of Stilicho. Then, after such a battle, however slight might be the disadvantage of the Goths, the long train of their wives and children, their captives and their spoils would tell heavily against them in retreat; and though we may doubt the captivity of the wife of Alaric and the recovery of the purple robe of Valens, we may well believe that a large share of the Gothic booty did fall into the hands of the Imperial soldiers.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.
402.

That the battle of Pollentia was no crushing defeat for the Goths seems sufficiently proved by the events which immediately followed it. Stilicho concluded a treaty of some kind with Alaric, perhaps restored to him his wife and children¹, and the Gothic king recrossing the Po commenced a leisurely retreat through Lombardy². Having arrived at Verona, and committed

Retreat of
Alaric.

Battle of
Verona.

¹ Claudian, De VI Cons. Honorii, 298.

² Both Gibbon (vol. iv. p. 38, ed. Smith) and Aschbach (p. 75) speak of Alaric as still contemplating a march on Rome after the battle of Pollentia. I have not been able to find the authority for this statement either in Claudian or elsewhere.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

403 (?)

Policy of
Stilicho
towards
Alaric.

some act which was interpreted as a breach of the treaty, he there, according to Claudian, sustained another severe defeat; but this engagement is not mentioned by any other writer. The poet tells us that, had it not been for the too headlong zeal of the Alan auxiliaries, Alaric himself would have been taken. As it was, however, he succeeded in repassing the Alps, with what proportion of his forces we are quite unable to determine. Claudian, who is our only authority for this part of the history, gives us no accurate details, only pages of declamation about the crushed spirits of the Gothic host, the despair of their leader, and his deep regret at ever having allowed himself to be cajoled away from the nearer neighbourhood of Rome by his fatal treaty with Stilicho. Reading between the lines, we can see that all this declamation is but a laboured defence of Stilicho's conduct in making a bridge of gold for a retreating foe. That much and angry criticism was excited by this and some similar passages of the great minister's career is evidenced by the words of the contemporary historian Orosius (immediately following the mention of Stilicho's name), 'I will not speak of King Alaric with his Goths, often defeated, often hemmed in, and always allowed to escape¹.' Probably, however, the criticisms were unjust. Stilicho had a weapon of uncertain temper to wield, legionaries enervated and undisciplined, barbarian auxiliaries, some of whom might sympathise with their northern brethren if they saw them too hardly pressed. It was by skill of fence rather than by mad clashing of sword against sword that the game was to be won,

¹ 'Taceo de Alarico rege cum Gothis suis saepe victo saepe concluso semperque dimisso' (i.ii. 37).

and it would have been poor policy to have driven the Visigothic army to bay, and to have let them discover

BOOK I
CH. 15.
403 (?)

‘What reinforcements they might gain from hope;
If not, what resolution from despair.’

At the end of this first great campaign of the barbarians in Italy we naturally ask ourselves what were the feelings of the inhabitants of Italy and of Rome when they found the traditional impregnability of their country to ‘aught but Romans’ so rudely disproved. How deep in those Imperial centuries might be the repose of Roman provincial life we infer from the epistles of the younger Pliny, and even from an early poem by Claudian himself as to a district which was ravaged in this very campaign. It is strange to turn from the description of the battle of Verona to these lines in which the poet dilates on the quiet felicity of an old man who has spent all his days on his farm not far from that city.

Effect on
the minds
of the
Italians of
the opera-
tions of
Alaric.

De Sene
Veronensi.

‘Happy this man, whose life has flowed away
In that old home whose past he knows so well;
Through the same fields, staff-propt, he takes his way
Where, as a boy, he leapt and laughed and fell.
Him Fortune drags not in her weary whirl,
Nor drinks he, wandering, from un-homish streams;
He sees no banners flaunt, no white waves curl,
No wrangling law-suit haunts his peaceful dreams.
Strange to the town and heedless of the great,
He loves his own street-unencumbered sky.
For him no Consul’s name denotes the date;
By flowers and harvests marked, his years slip by.
Above his lands he sees the sunrise red,
Above his lands the sunset’s fading gold.
His hand once held the oak that shades his head;
He and his woods together have grown old.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

Verona seems far off as farthest Ind,
 And Garda's lake as is the Red Sea's strand.
 His massive muscles still strong sinews bind
 Though his sons' sons full grown before him stand.
 Go, thou who yearnest still for foreign air;
 Go, see who dwell by Spain's remotest stream;
 Thou of earth's highways hast the largest share,
 But he of living has the joy supreme¹.

Effect on
 the citizens
 of Rome.

When Alaric's troops were swarming round Verona, whether in the insolence of victory or in the rage of defeat, it would be too much to hope that this picture of lethargic and simple happiness was not in some degree marred by their presence. At Rome the first news that the barbarians were south of the Alps filled all ranks with terror. Stilicho dissuaded them from flight, promised to collect troops for their deliverance, and induced them to assume an appearance of courage even if they did not feel it. He then departed for the northern campaign. Meantime they set to work vigorously to rebuild the walls of the city. During the prosperous days of the Republic and Empire Rome had needed no walls². When the clouds of barbaric invasion in the third century were gathering around her, Aurelian, the undoubted hero of that evil time, had surrounded her with fortifications. These were at this time renewed; and to this day the walls of Honorius are a frequent subject of discussion in the long debates of Roman archaeologists.

While thus engaged, the citizens often looked forth with dread over the plain, and up to the cloudless sky,

¹ 'Erret et extremos alter scrutetur Iberos,
 Plus habet hic *vitae*, plus habet ille *viae*.'

² The old walls of Servius Tullius were now quite outgrown by the City.

with a superstitious fear lest Heaven itself was fighting against them. Each river that crossed the Lombard plain was one barrier the more against the dreaded Alaric; but where were the storms of winter that should have swollen the brooks into streams and the streams into rivers? Day after day passed by, and still the rain came not, and surely the Goth would come¹. At length the watchmen on the loftiest towers saw a cloud of dust rolling up from the horizon. Was it raised by the feet of enemies or of friends? The silence of a terrible suspense reigned in every heart, till

BOOK I.
CH. 15.
402-3.

‘Forth from the dusty whirlwind, like a star,
Shone forth the helm of Stilicho from far,
And that white head, well known, well loved of all;
Then sudden thrilled along the crowded wall
The cry “He comes, himself,” and through the gate
The glad crowd pressed, to view his armed state².’

This visit, if not a mere poetical imagination, must have occurred before the battle of Pollentia. After the close of the campaign, and when Italy was again cleared of her invaders, the gladness of delivered Rome seemed to claim a more conspicuous expression. To the year 404 the Emperor deigned to affix his name as ‘Consul for the sixth time’; and he and his father-in-law appear to have visited Rome to celebrate a triumph over the Goths³. Strange to say, during the whole preceding century, Rome had only four times seen an

Triumph of
Honorius
over the
Goths cele-
brated at
Rome, 404.

¹ Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 47-49.

² *Ib.* 458-462.

³ An inscription described by Gruter, which commemorated ‘the perpetual subjugation of the Gothic nation (‘*Getarum nationem in omne aevum domitam*’), if genuine, is probably to be referred to this triumphal entry of Honorius into Rome.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

404.

Emperor within her walls, Constantine (312) after his victory over Maxentius, Constantius (357) four years after the overthrow of Magnentius, and Theodosius (389) after his defeat of Maximus, and again (394) after his defeat of Eugenius.

De VI
Consulatu
Honorii,
547-562.

The Romans might naturally contrast the doubtful joy of these victories over their fellow-countrymen with the unalloyed delight of their recent deliverance from the barbarians. The young men rejoiced to welcome an Emperor their equal in years ; the old saw with pleasure that he did not, like his predecessors, make the Senators walk, as slaves, before his chariot. They said, 'Other Emperors came like masters, this one like a citizen.' By the side of Maria the Empress, stood her brother Eucherius, wearing no insignia of exalted rank (for Stilicho was chary of honours for his son), but giving the homage of a soldier to his chief.

'Then the matrons admired the fresh-glowing cheeks of Honorius, his hair bound with the diadem, his limbs clothed with the jewelled *trabea* (consular robe), his strong shoulders, his neck, which might vie with that of Bacchus, rising from amid Arabian emeralds.

Lines
578-583.

'Stilicho himself, borne along in the same car with the son of Theodosius, felt with proud satisfaction that he had now indeed fulfilled the trust reposed in him by the dying father.'

Last exhi-
bition of
gladiators.

Among other amusements with which the citizens of Rome were regaled on this occasion, a venerable tradition places the last and the most memorable of the gladiatorial combats¹. Prohibited as these exhibitions had

¹ Theodoret in his Ecclesiastical History (v. 26) relates this story. As he was seventeen years old when Honorius visited Rome, he is entitled to the full authority of a contemporary: though not of an

been by an edict of Constantine, they still held their ground in half heathen Rome. A butchery, doubtless of unusual magnificence, was to celebrate the defeat of Alaric. Probably some of the captive Visigoths themselves were to minister to the brutal enjoyment of those who had so lately quailed before their very names. Already the lists were set, the combats commenced, the first blood had been drawn. The eager 'habet,' 'habet,' was resounding from imperial, senatorial, and proletariat benches, when an eastern monk, Telemachus by name, was seen stalking down from seat to seat of the crowded Colosseum, till at length he reached the arena. Astonishment held the spectators mute till his strange purpose was made manifest. He was thrusting himself in between the gladiators, and endeavouring at the risk of his own life to part the combatants. Then uprose a cry of execration from *podium* to gallery, and missiles of every sort were hurled down upon the audacious disturber of the bloody game. He died: in his death, most Christ-like, he did in truth 'give his life for the flock;' and not in vain, for Honorius, moved to awe and pity by the strange scene which he had witnessed, not only recognised him as saint and martyr, but for his sake decided that shows of gladiators should be, not in name only, but in deed, abolished.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

404.
Last exhibition of gladiators.

With this visit of Honorius and Stilicho to Rome ends our companionship with Claudian, whose verses,

We part company with Claudian.

eye-witness, as he was a citizen of Antioch. Honorius' presence fixes the event to the year 404. The few dry lines of Theodoret have been expanded by Sydney Dobell into one of the finest passages in 'The Roman'—with all its faults certainly a noble poem. (See Scene viii.)

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

404.
Uncer-
tainty as
to the end
of his
career.

whatever their defects, have shed over the last eventful nine years a light which we shall grievously miss in those that are to come. He tells us himself¹ that after his poem on the Gildonic war, a brazen statue had been erected in his honour, and dedicated by some personage of patrician dignity². From a letter addressed by him to Serena, we find that the good offices of that powerful patroness had enabled him to win the hand of an African lady, whom we may safely presume to have been an heiress. The wedding was celebrated in her country, and, as we have no certain information, we may conjecture that he did not return to Italy, and that the divine Honorius, Stilicho, Alaric, and even Rome herself were wellnigh forgotten in the society of his Libyan wife and the administration of her estate. At any rate, from this time forward, his Muse no longer gives life and colour to the historical picture. The dry bones of the annalists, the disjointed paragraphs of Zosimus and Orosius, and the faint and partial sketches of ecclesiastical historians are our only materials for the subsequent history of the Visigothic invasion³.

¹ In the Preface to the *De Bello Getico*, 7, 8.

² An inscription of very doubtful genuineness, said to have been discovered at Rome, informs us that this statue was erected in the Forum of Trajan, and that the poet held at that time the offices of Tribune and Notary, and was entitled to be addressed as *Clarissimus*. This inscription is recorded by Gruter, but rests on the sole authority of Pomponius Laetus, a Renaissance scholar ('vidit Pomponius Laetus').

³ Had the poem entitled *De Secundo Consulatu Stilichonis* been correctly named, the poetical career of Claudian would have been brought down to 405. But there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that this is really a third poem on Stilicho's *First* Consulship. It has been attempted to extract some information as to the end of Claudian's

The following year witnessed the second consulship of Stilicho, and another great inroad of barbarians, which comes as a mysterious interlude in the great duel between Alaric and Rome. Alaric was not the leader in this new invasion; he was at this time, according to one¹ authority, quartered in Epirus, and concerting measures with Stilicho for a joint attack on the Eastern Empire. The new invasion was headed by the wild figure of Radagaisus, a Goth², but not of Alaric's following, though formerly his confederate; possibly one of the Ostrogoths, who had remained in their old homes by the Euxine when the tide of Hunnish invasion rolled over them. This man, 'far the most savage of all past or present enemies of Rome³,' was known to be fanatically devoted to the false deities of his heathen ancestors; and as the tidings came that he, with his 200,000, or some said 400,000, followers, had crossed the Alps, and was vowing to satiate his fierce

BOOK 1.
CH. 15.

405.
Invasion of
Rada-
gaisus.

life from a melancholy and most humiliating letter addressed to 'Hadrianus, Prefect of the Palace,' in which the Poet describes himself as utterly crushed, and begs his powerful antagonist to trample no longer on so mean a foe. A certain Hadrianus was *Praefectus Praetorio* in 405, and also in 416. But (1) the MSS. greatly vary as to the heading of this epistle, some even calling it *Deprecatio ad Stilichonem*; (2) there is nothing to connect it with the latter rather than the earlier part of Claudian's career; and (3) the whole piece sounds more like banter than earnest; and, in short, is too unsubstantial for the edifice which some have sought to erect upon it. Had Claudian lived at Rome up to the fall of Stilicho (408), it would be passing strange that nothing from his pen as to the exciting events between 404 and 408 should have been preserved.

¹ Zosimus, v. 26; confirmed by Sozomen, viii. 25.

² The theory of the Slavonic origin of Radagaisus is now generally abandoned.

³ 'Radagaisus, omnium antiquorum praesentiumque hostium longe immanissimus.' Orosius, vii. 37.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.

405.

gods with the blood of all who bore the Roman name, a terrible despair seized all the fair cities of Italy ; and Rome, herself, on the very verge of ruin, was stirred with strange questionings. Nowhere did the spirit of the ancient paganism linger so stubbornly as in the neglected city by the Tiber ; and now from the apparently imminent danger of the Eternal City, the many to whom the name of Christ was hateful drew courage to utter their doubts aloud. ' These men, the barbarians, have gods in whom they believe, strange and uncouth deities it is true, but yet gods represented in visible form to whom they offer bloody sacrifices. We have renounced the protection of our old ancestral divinities, we have allowed the Christians, who are in truth Atheists¹, to destroy every other religion in their fanatic zeal for the crucified Galilean ; what marvel if we perish, being thrust, thus destitute of all supernatural aid, into collision with the wild yet mighty deities of Germany² ? '

Radagaisus shut up among the hills of Tuscany,

However, Rome's hour of doom had not yet come. The fierce barbarian horde, instead of marching along the Lombard plain to Rimini, and thence by the comparatively easy Flaminian Way to Rome, chose the nearer but difficult route across the Tuscan Apennines. Stilicho marched against them, it is said with thirty legions³, and succeeded in hemming them in, in the rugged hill country, where, owing to the shortness of provisions, their very numbers were their ruin. Power-

¹ The identification of Christianity with atheism is a commonplace with the Emperor Julian and other Pagan writers.

² Both Augustin and Orosius dwell with great emphasis on this recrudescence of Paganism at the approach of Radagaisus.

³ Zosimus, v. 26.

fully supported by Uldin, the chief of the Huns, and by Sarus, who commanded other Gothic (perhaps Visigothic) auxiliaries, Stilicho at length succeeded in forcing all that remained of that mighty host to encamp on one rough and barren chain of mountains near to Faesulae, and probably within sight of the then tiny town of Florentia¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 15.
405.

Without incurring any of the risks of battle, the Roman army, 'eating, drinking, sporting' (says Orosius), for some days kept watch over 200,000 starving men, till at last Radagaisus gave up the game, and tried to steal away from his camp. He fell into the hands of the Roman soldiery, was kept prisoner for a little time—perhaps with some thought of his decking the triumph of Consul Stilicho—and then put to death.

defeated
and slain.

His unhappy followers were sold for an *aureus* (about twelve shillings sterling) apiece, like the poorest cattle; but owing to the privations which they had endured, they died off so fast that the purchasers (as Orosius tells us with grim satisfaction) took no gain of money, having to spend on the burial of their captives the money which they had grudged for their purchase. And thus ended the invasion of Radagaisus².

His fol-
lowers sold
for slaves.

¹ Catiline was surrounded and defeated near the same spot by the armies of the Republic.

² In a rather obscure passage 'Tiro' seems to assert that it was only one third of the host of Radagaisus that was destroyed by Stilicho. Hence some writers have suggested that the invaders of Gaul, who will be spoken of in the next chapter, consisted of the two-thirds who escaped. But there is nothing in the authorities to justify this assertion, nor is it in itself very probable.

NOTE I. ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF ALARIC'S FIRST INVASION.

NOTE I. The dates here assigned to Alaric's first invasion are earlier than those adopted by my three most trusted guides, Gibbon, Tillemont, and Clinton; it is chiefly Pallmann's arguments that have induced me to accept them. I deem it necessary therefore briefly to set forth the reasons for the new chronology.

If we call the old chronology Tillemont's, and the new Pallmann's, the following are the chief differences between them:—

	TILLEMONT.	PALLMANN.
400	Alaric enters Italy.	Alaric and Radagaisus enter Italy.
401	Is driven out of it by Stilicho.	Desultory warfare in the north-east of Italy.
402	Alaric returns into Italy.	Battle of Pollentia (Good Friday).
403	Battle of Pollentia (Good Friday) Verona; Alaric's retreat.	Battle of Verona; Alaric's retreat.
404	Triumphal entry of Honorius into Rome and his sixth Consulship.	

It will be seen that the chief point of difference is the date of the battle of Pollentia, which Tillemont places in 403, Pallmann in 402. But this works retrospectively, thus: 'Nous avons peine à croire qu'Alaric soit demeuré en Italie jusqu'à la bataille de Pollence donnée en l'an 403; nous aimons mieux croire que Stilicon trouva quelque moyen de les faire sortir tous deux (Alaric et Radagaise) d'Italie en 401; mais qu'Alaric y revint sur la fin de 402.' Thus we have to suppose a retreat of which no mention is made in history. Clinton, by putting the invasion of 400 in brackets, seems inclined to go a step further and doubt the reality of this abortive invasion (400-402) altogether.

And yet, if we go to the man who is really our earliest and best historical authority, Prosper, the matter is clear enough. Translating the years of the Roman Consuls into years of the Christian Era, this is his chronology :—

NOTE I.

400. 'Gothi Italiam, Alarico et Rhadagaiso, ducibus ingressi.'

402. 'Pollentiae adversus Gothos vehementer utriusque partis clade pugnatum est.'

405. 'Rhadagaisus in Thusciâ multis Gothorum millibus caesis, ducente exercitum Stilicone superatus est.'

The first of these dates is confirmed by Cassiodorus and by Jordanes (whom it is safest however to consider as only an echo of Cassiodorus), the second by Cassiodorus alone¹. What is there to set against this positive testimony? As regards the original entry of Alaric and Radagaisus into Italy, one firm statement from a high authority (the so-called 'Chronicon Cuspiniani'), which says under the year 401 'et intravit Alaricus in Italiam xiv. Kal. Decemb.' There is a contradiction here which we cannot reconcile, and the only course seems to be to allow the double testimony of Prosper and Cassiodorus to outweigh the single testimony of the Chronicon Cuspiniani.

But as to the date of the battle of Pollentia there is really no conflict of testimony whatever. Scholars have chosen to make certain inferences from the highly rhetorical, unchronological poems of Claudian, and cannot make these inferences fit with those dates, but if they had taken the dates from the generally accurate Prosper, and then interpreted the poet according to them, they would have found no difficulty. They say that Claudian's 'De Bello Getico' was written in 403, and as it closes rather abruptly with the battle of Pollentia, it must have been written immediately after that event. But other poems of Claudian's end abruptly, evidently not from lack of material, but rather, as we may suppose, because the poet felt that he was giving too many hexameters for his patron's money. And why must it have been written in 403? Because he says in the Prologue

¹ It is fair to mention that even Cassiodorus builds so much on Prosper that he can hardly be claimed as an independent authority; but the sanction set upon Prosper's work by such a man as Cassiodorus, the first statesman and one of the most learned men of his age, separated by only a generation from the events narrated at the close of the work, is surely an important fact.

NOTE I. that his Muse is beginning to bestir herself, 'post resides annos,' his last preceding poems having been written for the First Consulship of Stilicho. As that Consulship was in 400, and the poems must have been on the anvil in the autumn of 399, if he had his 'De Bello Getico' completed, and the prologue to it written in the autumn of 402, that would make an interval of three years between the two poems. Was not three years a long time for a poet like Claudian to survive without flattering anybody? Looking to the character and position of the man, I am, still, more perplexed by his three years of silence than astonished that they should seem long to him in the retrospect.

The date 403 seems to have originally obtained currency from a simple mistake on the part of Baronius, a mistake fully acknowledged by Tillemont (v. 804). Prosper's date having once been set aside, other reasons were found for supporting the generally received conclusion, instead of going back to the beginning and admitting that a competent witness had been disallowed on insufficient grounds.

While, therefore, by no means pleading for the unfailing accuracy of Prosper's dates, I cannot but think that, as far as our present evidence goes, we must accept his statement that 402 was the date of the battle of Pollentia.

Incidentally also it may be remarked that Prosper's mention of Radagaisus as the ally of Alaric in his first invasion, has hardly received the attention which it deserves. As Pallmann says, 'Diese Stelle in Prosper's Chronik ist von der Kritik sehr stiefmütterlich behandelt worden.' His notice of Radagaisus again in 405 shows that there is no jumbling up of the events of those two years, and as I have endeavoured to indicate in the text (following Pallmann's guidance) the history of the years from 400 to 402 is simplified, not entangled, by the hypothesis (partly, no doubt, conjectural) of a combined attack by Radagaisus upon Rhaetia and by Alaric on Venetia.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FALL OF STILICHO.

Authorities.

Sources:—

OUR chief authorities for the Italian part of our story are ZOSIMUS and OROSIUS. The latter is aglow with the fierceness of religious hatred. The former has apparently two or three different accounts before him, and his attempts to piece them together produce an incoherent story, the chief actors in which behave with childish inconsistency.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

For that part of the history which relates to events in Gaul our authorities are, in addition to the two mentioned above, PROSPER, SOZOMEN, and OLYMPIODORUS. The last authority will be more fully described in a future chapter. It is sufficient here to state that he was a contemporary, that we have only fragments of his work, but that it was probably accessible in its complete state, to Zosimus and Sozomen, and has supplied them with some of their most valuable materials.

Guides:—

For all that belongs to the history of the usurper Constantine, I am now able to refer to a very complete and exhaustive monograph by Professor Freeman, in the *English Historical Review* (I. 53–86). This article, entitled ‘The Tyrants of Britain, Gaul and Spain,’ contains doubtless the final verdict of historical science on the transactions of an obscure and difficult period, and I accept with confidence almost all the conclusions contained in it, referring my readers to the article itself for a detailed statement of the argument.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.406.
Critical
state of the
Empire.

THE invasion of Alaric and Radagaisus had been repelled, and it might seem that the throne of Honorius was established on a more secure basis than ever. In fact, however, the events of 406 and the years immediately following it, brought not only the throne of Honorius but the whole Roman Empire nearer to irretrievable ruin than it had ever been brought before. By three diseases, each one of which seemed as if it might prove fatal, was that Empire at once assailed, (1) by barbarian invasion, (2) by military mutiny, and (3) by discord between the Eastern and Western realms.

Irruption
of barba-
rians into
Gaul.

1. The desperate necessities of the defence of Italy had compelled Stilicho, as we have seen, to leave the long Rhine frontier of Gaul almost bare of troops. Claudian dared to boast of this.

‘Nor Britain only sends to aid our war;
They who the yellow-haired Sicambrian bar,
They who the Cattian, the Cherusker tame,
Hither have brought the glory of their name:
And fear alone now guards the Rhenish shore
Paced by the Roman sentinel no more.
Will future days believe it? She the bold
Impetuous Germany whom Caesars old,
With all their legions scarcely could restrain,
Now in her docile mouth receives the rein.
Held by the hand of Stilicho, nor dares
To tempt the rampart which he proudly bares
Of its accustomed garrison, nor dreams
To cross with plundering bands the guardless streams¹.’

But Claudian boasted too soon: and it may perhaps have been foolish vapourings such as these, attributing to plan and policy on Stilicho's part what was really

¹ De Bello Getico, 419-429.

due to dire need, which suggested to the great statesman's enemies the hateful, and in my belief, utterly groundless accusation that he actually invited the barbarians across the Rhine, in order, in some mysterious and inexplicable way, to facilitate his schemes for obtaining the diadem for the young Eucherius. But whatever the cause, the result is manifest. On the last day of 406 a great host of barbarians, consisting chiefly of three races, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans (the first two Teutonic, the third probably of what we call 'Tartar' or Turanian origin), crossed the Rhine, and in one wide, desolating stream, poured over the fruitful province of Gaul, which from this time forward was never free from barbarian occupation¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
406.

2. We shall have occasion hereafter to trace the fortunes of some of the barbarous tribes who thus poured into Gaul. At present we are more concerned with the indirect consequences of the invasion, the military mutiny and civil war which resulted from it. There had no doubt been for years a growing dissatisfaction with the rulers of the Empire. Reports of the

Disaffec-
tion in the
army of
Britain.

¹ The chief authority for the date is Prosper, 'Arcadio VI et Probo Coss [=406] Vandali et Alani Gallias, trajecto Rheno, pridie Kal. Januarias [31 Dec.] ingressi.' Some authors, struck by the awkwardness of introducing such a notice under the last day of the year (since the irruption as an event would belong far more to the New Year than to the Old) understand the invasion to have taken place on the last day of 405. But it is doubtful whether this is allowable, though the two edicts of 18th and 20th April, 406, 'De Tironibus,' calling for a *levée en masse* against some invader, certainly incline us towards the earlier date. It might to some extent lessen the difficulty if there were any authority for the conjecture (mentioned by Clinton) that for 'Jan.' we should read 'Jun.' (=31 May, 406). It seems in itself improbable that a great national migration such as this should take place in the depth of winter.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

406.

utter imbecility of Honorius had doubtless gone abroad, and the avarice and ambition of Stilicho would be freely discussed by the many disappointed competitors through whom he had shouldered his way to supreme dominion. Under the Imperial system of Rome as under the imitations of it which have been seen in later days, the usual penalty of ill-success was dethronement. Where the liegemen of a Constitutional King change a Ministry, the subjects of an elected Emperor upset a dynasty: and we who have heard the shouts of *déchéance* ring through the streets of Paris on the morrow of the surrender of Sedan, can understand what angry criticisms, what schemes of mutiny and revolt were heard in *Colonia* and camp when it became manifest that the Empire was going to pieces under the rule of the incapable Honorius.

It was of course in Britain, that 'province fertile in usurpers¹,' that the criticisms were the loudest and the temper of the troops most mutinous. It was hard enough that the soldier should be doing outpost duty for Rome amid biting winds and sweeping snow-storms, on desolate moorlands a thousand miles from the nearest vineyard, without the added bitterness of knowing that his own Gaulish home was being trampled into ruin by Vandal freebooters, and all through the idiocy of the Augustus or the supposed treachery of that other Vandal who stood nearest to his throne².

¹ *Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum* (Jerome, *Epist. ad Ctesiphontem*).

² Zosimus (vi. 3) distinctly asserts that the Vandal irruption into Gaul was the cause of the insurrection of the soldiers in Britain. The 40th chapter of the '*Notitia Occidentis*' discloses the names of ten Gaulish detachments serving in Britain: three cohorts of Nervii from

Under the influence of these emotions the soldiers who still remained in Britain broke out into open mutiny, and, to legalize their position, acclaimed a certain Marcus as Emperor. But Marcus failed to lead them as they desired. He was slain, and his successor Gratian (a native of Britain) after a reign of four months, shared the same fate. Then the choice of the captious king-makers fell on a private soldier named Constantine, a man apparently of lower social position than either of his two predecessors. But he had a fortunate name, for a Constantine acclaimed a hundred years before in the same tumultuous fashion had won the Empire of the world ; and in truth this later Constantine, though he seems to have had little but his name to recommend him, did make himself for a time lord of all that was left to Rome of the great Prefecture of the Gauls, and did wring from the reluctant Honorius a recognition as a legitimate Augustus.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.406.
Elevation
of Constantine.

407.

Very difficult and obscure is the story of the four years' reign of Constantine, a story which the reader turns from with impatience, because he knows that it leads to nothing, and because it distracts his attention from the far more important events which were passing at the same time in Italy. The soldier-Emperor crossed to Boulogne in the year 407, taking with him the last remnants of the Roman army of Britain. Whether he fought the barbarian invaders of Gaul is doubtful. It seems more probable that he made some kind of com-

Constantine in
Gaul.

the Forest of Ardennes, two of Lingones from Langres, the Frixagores (?) from Friesland, the Batavians from Holland, the Tungri from the banks of the Meuse, 'the fourth cohort of Gauls' (origin uncertain), and the Morini from Flanders.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

407.

Sarus the
Goth sent
to oppose
him.

pact with them, leaving them free to ravage the west and centre of Gaul while he marched down the valley of the Rhone, adding city after city to his dominion, and gradually getting the whole machine of Imperial administration into his hands.

When tidings of the British soldiers' usurpation reached the Court of Ravenna, an army was sent into Gaul to check his further progress. It is characteristic of the strange state of confusion into which the Empire was falling, that the general who commanded the army thus sent forth to vindicate the cause of Imperial legitimacy was the Gothic captain Sarus. Sarus seems to have fought well and bravely, though with less regard for his plighted word than a Teuton chieftain should have shown. Of the two masters of the soldiery whom the upstart Emperor deputed in lordly fashion to fight his battles for him, one (Justinian) was defeated and killed in fair encounter, the other, a man evidently of barbarian descent, named Neviogast, was lured by pretext of friendship into the Imperial camp and treacherously slain in violation of the plighted oath of Sarus. Constantine himself was besieged in the strong city of Valentia (*Valence*) by the Rhone, and it seemed as if his reign would end while his purple robe was still new. But the activity and warlike skill of his two new *magistri*, Edovich the Frank and Gerontius the Briton, quickly changed the face of affairs, and compelled Sarus to raise the siege of Valentia and to beat a precipitate retreat. The Bagaudae, a band of armed peasants whom we shall meet with again fifty years later, and who waged a war of centuries against the Roman government in Gaul, held the passes of the Alps, and it was only by abandoning to them all his

hardly won booty that Sarus could buy permission to return crest-fallen and empty-handed to his Imperial employer.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
407.

Thus the fortunes of the so strangely lifted up British soldier went on prospering. He sent his son Constans (a son who had turned monk but was drawn forth from the monastery by the splendour of his father's fortunes) into Spain in order to win that province, which generally followed the fortunes of its Gaulish neighbour. In Spain, however, pride in the Theodosian line and loyalty to the Theodosian house were still powerful sentiments. Two brothers, kinsmen of Honorius, named Didymus and Verenianus, upheld for a time the banner of their family in the Lusitanian plains and on the passes of the Pyrenees. But their army, hastily raised from among the slaves and peasants on their estates, could not permanently make head against the trained soldiers led by Constans, who by a curious paradox of nomenclature were chiefly composed of some of those *Auxilia Palatina* who bore the name of Honorians¹.

Constans,
son of Con-
stantine,
in Spain.

¹ I venture to take a slightly different view of these 'Honorians' to that which seems generally to have obtained currency on the authority of Gibbon (ch. xxx. n. 99). He says that in order to cope with Didymus and Verenianus and their brothers, Constantine 'was compelled to negotiate with some troops of barbarian auxiliaries for the service of the Spanish war. . . . They were distinguished by the title of Honorians, a name which might have reminded them of their fidelity to their lawful sovereign. These Honoriani or Honoriaci consisted of two bands of Scots or Attacotti, two of Moors, two of Marcomanni, the Victores, the Ascarii and the Gallicani. (Notitia Imperii, sect. xxxviii, edit. Lab.) They were part of the sixty-five *Auxilia Palatina*, and are properly styled ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεις by Zosimus (vi. 4). The nine bands of Honorians, which may be easily traced on the establishment of the Western Empire, could not exceed the number of 5000 men,' &c.

The passage in Orosius from which we derive our knowledge of the

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
407.

Constantine is recognised by Honorius as a colleague.
409.

Didymus and Verenianus were defeated, and with their wives were taken prisoners and sent to the Court of Constantine, which was now held at Arles, in a certain sense the capital of Gaul. The Spanish campaign seems to have been ended in 408, and in the following year an embassy was sent by Constantine to Honorius, claiming recognition as a lawful partner in the Empire, while throwing all the blame of Constantine's unlicensed assumption of the purple on the rude importunity of the soldiery. Honorius who, as we shall hereafter see, was at this time sore pressed by Alaric, and who trembled for the safety of his Spanish kinsfolk, captives as he supposed in the hands of Constantine, consented, and sent, himself, the coveted purple robe to the fortunate soldier in his palace at Arles. But the concession came too late to save the lives of Didymus and

employment of the 'Honorians' in the Spanish campaign is as follows, 'Adversus hos Constantinus Constantem filium suum . . . cum Barbaris quibusdam, qui quondam in foedus recepti atque in militiam allecti Honoriaci [Al. Honoriani] vocabantur, in Hispanias misit' (vii. 40). I have no doubt that Gibbon is right in connecting this statement of Orosius with the entries in the Notitia as to *Auxilia Palatina* bearing the name of Honoriani, and the names of the different 'bands' seem to be correctly given, though two more might have been added (the 'Felices' senior and junior). But I think he is in error in supposing that these various 'Honorian' bands formed one division of the army or ever necessarily acted together. In the Notitia some of them appear in Gaul, some in Italy, some in Illyricum, some even 'per Orientem.' Just so in the early Empire two legions were called 'Augusta' and two 'Primigenia,' but there was no necessary bond of connexion between them. All that we can say is that one or more *Auxilia Palatina* which were stationed in Gaul, and which bore the epithet *Honoriani*, were put under the command of Constans, and being barbarians behaved (as Orosius goes on to complain) in a very barbarous manner. The passage quoted from Zosimus has, I conceive, nothing to do with *Auxilia Palatina*.

Verenianus, who had been already put to death by their ungenerous conqueror.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

409.

Here for a little while we must leave the story of the British usurper, which has already brought us down to a somewhat later date than we have reached in the affairs of Italy. But it is important to remember that in the three years which we have thus rapidly surveyed, the whole noble Prefecture of the Gauls, that is to say, the three fair countries of Britain, Gaul and Spain, have been lost to Honorius. We shall hereafter see what fragments of them, if any, might be yet recovered for the Empire.

3. Lastly, as if all these calamities were not enough, there was added to them the fact of estrangement and the danger of actual war between the Eastern and Western portions of the Empire. We have already seen how the successive ministers of Arcadius resented the claim of Stilicho to exercise some kind of moral guardianship over both the sons of Theodosius. Now, from 404 onwards, the events connected with the persecution of Chrysostom by the Court party had deepened and widened the gulf between the two governments. Pope Innocent, when appealed to by the oppressed prelate, had warmly espoused his cause, and had called upon Theophilus of Alexandria to cease from his uncanonical intermeddling with the affairs of an alien see. Honorius, acting probably under the Pope's advice, had addressed a letter to Arcadius full of regret at the lamentable events which common rumour informed him had taken place in his brother's dominions—the burning of the Cathedral, the harsh measures adopted towards a father of the Church. The reflections as to the impropriety of Caesar's interference with the affairs of the

Estrangement between Arcadius and Honorius.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

406.

Church of God were orthodox and judicious, and might perhaps have been listened to with patience had the great Ambrose still been alive to utter them : but when put forward by a younger brother, and such a younger brother as Honorius, they goaded even the lethargic Arcadius to fury. The ecclesiastics sent by Honorius to urge upon his brother the assembling of a General Council were treated with a discourtesy which the law of nations would have condemned had they been the ambassadors of a hostile power. They were arrested at Athens, despatched under military escort to Constantinople, forbidden to land there, and sent off to a fortress in Thrace. Here they were shamefully handled, and their letters were taken from them by force. At length after four months' absence they were contemptuously dismissed on their homeward journey, without having once seen the Emperor of the East, or had any opportunity to deliver their message.

407.
Stilicho's
plans of
revenge.

This deadly insult caused Stilicho to form on behalf of his son-in-law the most extraordinary schemes of revenge and ambition. Alaric, so lately the enemy of Italy, was now to be made her champion. He and Stilicho were to enter on a joint campaign for the conquest of the whole of Eastern Illyricum, that is, presumably, all of what is now called the Balkan Peninsula, except Moesia and Thrace ; and Arcadius was to be left with only the 'Orient' for his share of the Empire. Stilicho was actually on the point of starting from Ravenna on this strange expedition when he was stopped by the receipt of two pieces of news : one false, that Alaric had died in Illyricum ; the other true and of necessity profoundly modifying his plans, the victorious march through Gaul of the usurper Constantine.

Another measure taken by Stilicho at this time shows how thunderous was the atmosphere in the Council-chamber at Ravenna. The ports and harbours of Italy were watched to prevent any one, even apparently a peaceful merchant, from landing if he came from the Eastern realm¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
408.

But civil war between East and West was not to be added to the other miseries of the time. On the 1st of May, 408, Arcadius died, and that death, though it perhaps saved the Eastern Empire from ruin, brought about the fall of Stilicho, and by no remote chain of causes and effects, the sieges and sack of Rome. After the death had happened, but before certain tidings of it had reached the capital, Alaric, who had actually entered Epirus (but whether as invader or ally neither he himself nor any contemporary statesman could perhaps have accurately explained), marched northwards to Aemona (*Laybach*), passed without difficulty the unguarded defiles of the Julian Alps, and appearing on the north-eastern horizon of Italy, demanded pay for his unfinished enterprise. The Emperor, the Senate, Stilicho, assembled at Rome to consider what answer should be given to the ambassadors of the Visigoth. Many senators advised war rather than peace purchased by such disgraceful concessions. Stilicho's voice, however,

Death of
Arcadius.

Debate in
the Senate
on Alaric's
claims.

¹ We know of this embargo only from the law repealing it which was passed after Stilicho's downfall. 'Hostis publicus Stilicho novum atque insolitum repererat, ut litora et portus crebris vallaret excubiis ne cuiquam ex Oriente ad hanc Imperii partem pateret accessus. Hujus iniquitate rei moti et ne rarius sit diversarum mercium commeatus, praecipimus hac sanctione ut litorum desistat ac portuum perniciose custodia et eandi ac redeundi libera sit facultas' [11 Dec. 408]. Cod. Theod. vii. 16. 1. I owe this important reference to Dr. Gùldenpenning.

BOOK I. was all for an amicable settlement. 'It was true that
 CH. 16.
 408. Alaric had spent many months in Epirus. It was for the interest of the Emperor that he had gone thither; here was the letter of Honorius which had forbidden the enterprise, a letter which he must confess he attributed to the unwise interference of his own wife Serena, unwilling as she was to see her two adopted brethren at war with each other.' Partly persuaded that Alaric really deserved some reparation for the loss he had sustained through the fluctuation of the Imperial counsels, but more unwilling to oppose a courageous 'no' to the advice of the all-powerful Minister, the Senate acquiesced in his decision, and ordered payment of 4000 pounds of gold (about £160,000 sterling) to the ambassadors of Alaric. The Senator Lampridius, a man of high birth and character, exclaimed indignantly, '*Non est ista pax sed pactio servitutis*' (That is no peace, but a mere selling of yourselves into slavery). But, fearing the punishment of his too free speech, as soon as the Senate left the Imperial palace, he took refuge in a neighbouring Christian church.

The position of Stilicho was at this time one of great apparent stability. Though his daughter, the Empress Maria, was dead, her place had been supplied by another daughter, Thermantia, who, it might reasonably be supposed, could secure her feeble husband's loyalty to her father. With Alaric for his friend, with Arcadius, who had been drilled by his ministers into hostility, dead, it might have seemed that there was no quarter from whence danger could menace the supremacy of the great minister.

Insecurity
 of Stili-
 cho's posi-
 tion.

This security, however, was but in appearance. Honorius was beginning to chafe under the yoke;

perhaps even his brother's death made Stilicho seem less necessary to his safety. An adverse influence too of which the minister suspected nothing, had sprung up in the Imperial court. Olympius, a native of some town on the Euxine shore, had ascended, through Stilicho's patronage, to a high position in the household. This man, who, according to Zosimus, 'under the appearance of Christian piety concealed a great deal of rascality,' was now whispering away the character of his benefactor. With him seem to have co-operated the clergy, who sincerely disapproved of Honorius' marriage with the sister of the late Empress, and who also had imbibed a strange notion that Eucherius, the son of Stilicho, was a Pagan at heart, and meditated, should he one day succeed to power, the restoration of the ancient idolatry.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

408.

Intrigues
of Olym-
pius.

Strange to say, the Pagans also had their reasons for disliking the same all-powerful family. They still muttered to one another an old story of the days of the first Theodosius. During one of his visits to Rome (Zosimus says immediately after the defeat of Eugenius) he turned out the priests from many of the temples. Serena, with haughty contempt for the votaries of the fallen faith, visited, in curious scorn, the temple of Rhea, the Great Mother of the Gods. Seeing a costly necklace hung around the neck of the goddess, she took it off and placed it on her own. An old woman, one of the surviving Vestal Virgins, saw and loudly blamed the sacrilegious deed. Serena bade her attendants remove the crone, who, while she was being hurried down the steps of the temple, loudly prayed that all manner of misfortunes might light upon the head of the despiser of the goddess, on her husband,

Pagans as
well as
Christians
disliked
the family
of Stilicho.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

408.

and her children. And in many a night vision, so said the Pagans, from that day forward, Serena had warnings of some inevitable doom. Nor was Stilicho free from like blame, for he had stripped off the massive gold plates from the doors of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ; and he, too, had had his warning, for the workmen to whom the task was allotted had found engraven on the inner side of the plates, '*Misero regi servantur*' (Reserved for an unhappy ruler).

Soreness of
the Roman
legionaries.

Thus did the two religions, the old and the new, unite in muttered discontent against the great captain. The people also, wounded and perplexed by the strange scene in the Senate, and the consequent payment to Alaric, had perhaps lost some of their former confidence in the magic of his name. On the other hand, the army, whose demoralised condition was probably the real cause of his policy of non-resistance, and whom his stern rule had alone made in any measure efficacious against the barbarian, were some of them growing restive under the severity of his discipline. Partly too we can discern the workings of a spirit of jealousy among the Roman legionaries against the Teutonic comrades by whom they found themselves surrounded, and often outstripped in the race for promotion. Stilicho's own Vandal origin would naturally exacerbate this feeling, and would render unpardonable in him preferences which might have been safely manifested by Theodosius. At Ticinum (the modern Pavia) the troops were thoroughly alienated from Stilicho ; and at Bologna, whither Honorius had journeyed from Ravenna, the soldiers broke out into open mutiny. Stilicho, being summoned by the Emperor, suppressed the revolt, and either threatened or actually inflicted

the dread punishment of decimation, the *ultima ratio* of a Roman general. BOOK I.
CH. 16.

In the midst of this quicksand of suspicions and disaffections three facts were clear and solid. The usurper Constantine was steadily advancing through Gaul towards the capital. Alaric, though he had received the 4000 golden *librae*, hovered still near the frontier, and was evidently wearying for a fight with some enemy. Arcadius was dead: the guardianship of the little Theodosius was a tempting prize, and one which the dying words of his grandfather might possibly be held to confer upon the great Vandal minister. Honorius proposed to journey to the East, and assume this guardianship himself; but Stilicho drew out so formidable an account of the expenditure necessary for the journey of so majestic a being, that the august cipher, who was probably at heart afraid of the dangers of the way, abandoned his project. Stilicho's scheme, we are told, was to employ Alaric in suppressing the revolt of Constantine, while he himself went eastwards to settle the affairs of the young Emperor at Constantinople. Honorius gave his consent to both parts of the scheme, wrote the needed letters for Alaric and Theodosius, and then set off with Olympius for Ticinum. The minister, conscious that he was beset by some dangers, but ignorant of the treachery of Olympius, neither removed the mutinous soldiery from Ticinum, nor set forth to assume the command of the armies of the East, but, with strange irresolution, lingered on still at Ravenna. That irresolution proved his ruin.

For Olympius, having now sole access to the ear of Honorius, and being surrounded by an army already sore and angry at the very mention of the name of 408.
Warring
ambitions
of Con-
stantine,
Alaric, and
Stilicho.
Olympius
fires his
train.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

408.

Stilicho, had found exactly the opportunity for which he had long been watching. Although the one point in his enemy's life which was least open to hostile comment was his conduct in reference to his son, although Eucherius had never been promoted beyond the modest office of Tribune of the Notaries¹, Olympius persuaded both the Emperor and the army that Stilicho aimed at nothing less than placing his son on the Eastern throne, to which presumably his own barbarian parentage prevented him from aspiring. It is easy to imagine how the courtier, who, 'under an appearance of Christian piety veiled every kind of wickedness,' would enlarge to the Emperor on the horror of seeing the young pagan Eucherius on the throne of the holy Arcadius;—to the soldiers on the prospect of endless hardships under the stern discipline of Stilicho, when he should have made himself master of both realms.

Mutiny at
Ticinum.

The bonds of military obedience, hard to bind, are easy to unloose when Authority itself is foolish enough to invite to mutiny. The soldiers at Ticinum rose in fury, eager to lay murderous hands on all who were pointed out to them as friends of Stilicho. Their first victims were Limenius, the Praetorian Prefect of the Gauls, and Chariobaudes, the commander of the forces in the same provinces. But lately these two men had been, under the Emperor, supreme from the Northumbrian Wall to the Pillars of Hercules. Now, fugitives before the might of the usurper Constantine, they

¹ He would, it seems, be thus enrolled in the third class of the official hierarchy, the *Clarissimi*, and would have a similar position to that of the clerks in the War Office with us. If the inscription previously quoted be authentic, the poet Claudian had received similar promotion.

received the reward of their fidelity, death from the soldiers of their Emperor, in his presence and ostensibly at his bidding. The storm grew more furious; the Emperor cowered in his palace; the magistrates of the city took flight; the brutal soldiery rushed through the streets robbing and murdering at their will. The authors of the insurrection, terrified by their own success, resorted to the desperate remedy of parading Honorius through the town, dressed hastily in the short tunic of a private citizen without the military cloak (*paludamentum*) which marked his rank as a commander, and without the diadem of an Emperor. In answer to their abject supplications, order was at length restored, and the soldiers returned to their quarters; but not until Naemorius, the General of the Household Troops, with two other military officers, till Petronius, the Chief Minister of Finance, and Salvius, the Quaestor (who struggled to the feet of the Emperor and vainly pleaded there for mercy); nay, not till the head of the whole official hierarchy, Longinianus, Praetorian Prefect of Italy, had been slain¹. All these eight victims of the

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
408.

¹ Zosimus, v. 32. It is not easy exactly to fit in the descriptions of these offices given by Zosimus with the Notitia. The two Praefecti Praetorio are clear. So is Salvius the Quaestor (Not. Occidentis, cap. x.). Petronius, 'who was over the treasury and had charge of the private property of the Emperor,' is most probably the 'Comes Sacrarum Largitionum,' though he might be only the 'Comes Rerum Privaturum.' Chariobaudes, 'general of the forces in the Gauls,' is probably 'Magister Equitum,' or 'Magister utriusque Militiae per Gallias.' Naemorius, ὁ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεων μάγιστρος, is identified by Gibbon with the Magister Officiorum, but might possibly be the *Magister Peditum in Praesenti*. Vincentius, ὁ τῶν ἱππέων ἡγούμενος, would be the *Magister Equitum in Praesenti*; and the other Salvius, ὁ τῶν δομestikῶν τάγματος προεστώς, Comes Domesticorum Equitum (or Peditum).

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

408.

revolt. belonged to the rank of Illustres, the highest class of Imperial functionaries. But besides these, a great and uncounted number of the private citizens of Ticinum fell in this day's massacre.

Ancient
Ticinum
and modern
Pavia.

At the present day, Pavia, the successor of Ticinum, though rich in Lombard relics, has no buildings to show recalling the days when it was a Roman *municipium*. The Ticino, hurrying past the little town to join the Po, is crossed by a covered bridge of the fifteenth century. If you happen to visit the place on a day of *festa*, you see the blue-tunicked lads of the Italian army streaming across this bridge and through the high street of the town. The river and the army are there still: all else how greatly changed from that fierce day of August, 408, when Honorius, pale with fear, clothed in his short tunic, was hurried up and down through the streets of Ticinum, imploring an end of that mutiny for which he had given the watchword! The Lombard churches, S. Michele and S. Teodoro, gray with their vast multitude of years, stand, it may be, where the murdered Prefects and Quaestor had then their palaces; and these merry, good-humoured soldier-lads, who cover the pavement with their nut-shells and fill the air with their laughter, are the representatives of that fierce mob-army, drunk with blood as with wine, which swept from end to end of the city shouting for vengeance on the friends of Stilicho.

Stilicho's
loyalty
still
unchanged.

The best defence of Stilicho's loyalty is to be found in his own conduct when he heard of the mutiny at Ticinum. The news found him at Bologna: perhaps he had escorted the Emperor so far on his westward journey. He called a council of war, composed of the

generals of the barbarian auxiliaries. All felt themselves alike threatened by this murderous outbreak of bastard Roman patriotism. The first report stated that the Emperor himself was dead. 'Then,' said all,—and Stilicho approved the decision,—'on behalf of the violated *sacramentum*, let us march and avenge his murder on the mutineers.' But when a more correct version of the events reached them Stilicho refused to avenge the massacre of his friends only, the Emperor being unharmed, and loudly declared that to lead barbarians to an attack on the Roman army was, in his opinion, neither righteous nor expedient.

To this resolution he steadfastly adhered, though the conviction forced itself upon his mind that Honorius was now incurably alienated from him. Then the barbarian generals, one by one, separated themselves from what they felt to be a doomed cause.

Sarus, the Goth, the antagonist of Constantine, who had fought under Stilicho's orders, now turned against his old chief, made a night attack on his quarters, slaughtered his still faithful Hunnish guards, but reached the general's tent only to find that he had taken horse and ridden off with a few followers for Ravenna. Not for the hand of the ungrateful Sarus was reserved that reward which Olympius was yearning to pay for the head of his rival.

Sarus
turns
against
him.

Stilicho, though a fugitive, seems still to be more anxious for the safety of the Empire than for his own. As he passes city after city, where the wives and children of the barbarian soldiers are kept as hostages for their fidelity, he adjures the magistrates not on any pretence to allow one of the barbarians to enter. He reaches Ravenna: shortly after his arrival come mes-

Flight to
Ravenna.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

408.

Arrest

and death
of Stilicho,
23 Aug.,
408.

Zosimus'
Epitaph on
Stilicho.

Compari-
son to Wal-
lenstein.

sengers bearing letters written by the Emperor, under the steady pressure of Olympius, commanding that Stilicho shall be arrested and kept in honourable confinement without bonds. Informed of the arrival of this mandate he took refuge by night in a Christian church. When day dawned the soldiers entered the building: on their solemn assurance, ratified by an oath, sworn in the presence of the Bishop, that the Emperor's orders extended not to his death but only to the placing him under guard, Stilicho surrendered himself. Once out of the sanctuary, and entirely in the power of the soldiers, he learned the arrival of a second letter from Honorius, to the effect that his crimes against the state were judged deserving of death. The barbarian troops, who yet surrounded him, his slaves, his friends, wished still to resist with the sword, but this he utterly forbade, and by threats, and the old still-lingering terror of his brow, he compelled his defenders to desist. Then, in somewhat of a martyr's spirit, and with a heart already broken by man's ingratitude, and weary of life, he offered his neck to the sword of the executioner, and in a moment 'that good gray head, which all men knew,' was rolling in the dust.

'So died,' says Zosimus (v. 34), 'the man who was more moderate than any others who bore rule in that time. And in order that those who are interested in the history of his end may know the date thereof exactly, it was in the consulship of Bassus and Philip-pus, the same year in which the Emperor Arcadius succumbed to destiny, the 10th day before the Kalends of September (23rd August, 408).'

The circumstances of Stilicho's death naturally recall

to our minds 'The Death of Wallenstein.' The dull, suspicious Honorius is replaced by Ferdinand II, Olym-
pius by the elder Piccolomini, Sarus by Butler, Alaric
by Wrangel, Stilicho himself by the great Duke of
Friedland. Only let not the parallel mislead us as to
the merits of the two chief actors. Wallenstein was
at length disloyal to Ferdinand; Stilicho was never
untrue to Honorius.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
408.

At the outset of his career, when recording the con-
flict of testimony concerning him (this very same Zosi-
mus being then the *Advocatus Diaboli*) it seemed
necessary to say that we must wait for the close of
his life before pronouncing our verdict on his character.
That he was a brave and hardy soldier and a skilful
general is virtually confessed by all. That his right
hand was free from bribes and unjust exactions, only
his flatterers assert, and we need not believe. That he
was intensely tenacious of power, that he imposed his
will in all things on the poor puppet Honorius, is clear,
and also that the necessities of the State amply justified
him in doing so. The murder of Rufinus may or may
not have been perpetrated with his connivance. The
death of Mascezel, Gildo's brother, must remain a
mystery; but upon the whole it seems improbable
that Stilicho was personally connected with it. The
inveterate hatred which existed between him and each
successive minister of Arcadius certainly hastened the
downfall of the Empire, and it is difficult to believe
that there might not have been a better understanding
between them had he so desired. The accusations of
secret confederacy with Alaric would seem mere calum-
nies, if it were not for the painful scene in the Senate
and Lampridius' indignant ejaculation '*Non est ista*

Summing
up of the
evidence as
to Stilicho's
character.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
408.

pax sed pactio servitutis.' Without imputing actual disloyalty to Stilicho, we may perceive in him, ever after the terrible slaughter and doubtful combat of Pollentia, a disinclination to push Alaric to extremities, a feeling which seems to have been fully reciprocated by his great antagonist. Possibly some such involuntary tribute of respectful fear would have been mutually paid by Napoleon and Wellington had Waterloo been a drawn battle. Stilicho may also have remembered too faithfully that the East had given Alaric his first vantage-ground against Rome, and he may have been too ready to keep that barbaric weapon unblunted, to be used on occasion against Constantinople. Yet on a review of his whole life, when contemplating the circumstances of his death, pre-eminently when observing the immediate change which his removal from the chessboard produced upon the whole fortunes of the game, with confidence we feel entitled to say, 'This man remained faithful to his Emperor, and was the great defence of Rome.'

Orosius'
vehement
invective.

In order however to lay all the evidence fairly before the reader, it will be well to quote the following passage from Orosius, the most eloquent of the defamers of Stilicho. Observe how mildly and even with what approbation the reverend Spaniard speaks of the atrocious *pronunciamento* at Pavia.

'Meanwhile Count Stilicho, sprung from the stock of the unwarlike, greedy, perfidious, and crafty nation of the Vandals, thinking it but a small matter that he already wielded Imperial power under the Emperor, strove by fair or foul means to lift up into sovereign dignity his son Eucherius, who, according to common report, had been already from boyhood, and while in a

private station, meditating the persecution of the Christians. Wherefore when Alaric, with the whole nation of the Goths at his back, respectfully and respectably prayed for a fair and honourable peace, and some certain dwelling-place, by denying him in public the opportunity whether of peace or of war, but cherishing his hopes by a secret league, he reserved him and his people for the scaring and scarifying of the State (*ad terendam terrendamque rempublicam*). Furthermore, those other nations, unbearable in their numbers and strength, by which the provinces of Gaul and Spain are now oppressed, namely the Alans, the Sueves, the Vandals, together with the Burgundians, who obeyed the same simultaneous impulse,—all of these he gratuitously called to arms, removing their previous fear of the Roman name.

‘These nations, according to his design, were to hammer at the frontier of the Rhine and harass Gaul, the wretched man imagining that under such a pressure of surrounding difficulties he should be able to extort the Imperial dignity from his son-in-law for his son, and that then he should succeed in repressing the barbarous nations as easily as he had aroused them. Therefore, when this drama of so many crimes was made clear to the Emperor Honorius and the Roman army, the indignation of the latter was most justly aroused, and Stilicho was slain,—the man who, in order that one lad might wear the purple, had been ready to spill the blood of the whole human race. Slain too was Eucherius, who, in order to ingratiate himself with the Pagans, had threatened to celebrate the commencement of his reign by the restoration of temples and the overthrow of churches. And with these men

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

408.

were also punished a few of the abettors of their criminal designs. Thus with very slight trouble, and by the punishment of only a few persons, the churches of Christ, with our religious Emperor, were both liberated and avenged.' (Orosius, Hist. vii. 38.)

Punish-
ment of
Stilicho's
family and
friends.

So far the religious pamphleteer. Let us turn from his invective to history, and trace the immediate consequences of the death of Stilicho. The fall of his family and friends followed his as a matter of course. Eucherius fled to Rome and took refuge in a church there. The sanctity of his asylum was for some time respected, but before many months had elapsed he was put to death. Thermantia was sent back from the Imperial palace to her mother Serena. A law was passed that all who had held any office during the time of Stilicho's ascendancy should forfeit the whole of their property to the State. Heraclian, the actual executioner of the sentence upon Stilicho, was made general of the forces in Libya Major in the room of Bathanarius, brother-in-law of the late minister, who now lost both office and life. Cruel tortures, inflicted by the command of Olympius, failed to elicit from any of Stilicho's party the least hint of his having conceived any treasonable designs.

Cowardly
revenge of
the legion-
aries on
the *fœ-*
derati.

It is plain, however, that justly or unjustly the name of the deceased minister was connected with the policy of conciliation towards the barbarians and employment of auxiliaries from among them. As soon as the death of Stilicho was announced, the purely Roman legionaries rose and took a base revenge for the affronts which they may have received at the hands of their Teutonic fellow-soldiers. In every city where the wives and children of these auxiliaries were dwelling the

legionaries rushed in and murdered them. The inevitable result was, that the auxiliaries, a band of 30,000 men, inheriting the barbarian vigour, and adding to that whatever remained of Roman military skill, betook themselves to the camp of Alaric, and prayed him to lead them to the vengeance for which they hungered.

BOOK I.
CH. 16.
408.

But it is a characteristic of the strange period upon which we are now entering (408–410) that no one of the chief personages seems willing to play the part marked out for him. Alaric, who had before crossed mountains and rivers in obedience to the prophetic voice, ‘*Penetrabis ad Urbem*,’ now, when the game is clearly in his hands, hesitates and hangs back. Honorius shows a degree of firmness in his refusal to treat with the barbarians, which, had it been justified by the slightest traces of military capacity or of intelligent adaptation of means to ends, and had his own person not been safe from attack behind the ditches of Ravenna, might have been almost heroic. And both alike, the fears of the brave and the courage of the coward, have one result, to make the final catastrophe more complete and more appalling.

Alaric's
unexpected
moderation.

Alaric sent messengers to the Emperor, saying that on receipt of a moderate sum he would conclude a treaty of peace with Rome, exchange hostages for mutual fidelity, and march back his whole host into Pannonia. Honorius refused these offers, yet made no preparation for war, neglected to avail himself of the services of Sarus, undoubtedly the greatest general left after the death of Stilicho, entrusted the command of the cavalry to Turpillio, of the infantry to Varanes, of the household troops to Vigilantius; men whose notorious incapacity made them the laughing-stock of every camp in Italy,

Honorius's
refusal to
treat.

BOOK I. and for himself (says Zosimus) 'placed all his reliance
 CH. 16. on the prayers of Olympius.' Not quite all his reliance,
 408. however, for he was at this time exceedingly busy as a
 Laws lawgiver, placing on the statute-book edict after edict
 against heretics and heathens. for the suppression of heathenism and every shade of
 heresy.

Cod.Theod. Thus we find him decreeing in 407, 'We will per-
 lib. xvi. secute the Manicheans, Phrygians, and Priscillianists
 tit. v. 40. with deserved severity. Their goods shall be con-
 fiscated and handed over to their nearest relatives
 who are not tainted with the same heresy. They
 themselves shall not succeed to any property by what-
 ever title acquired. They shall not buy nor sell nor
 give to any one, and everything in the nature of a will
 which they make shall be void.'

In 408 (addressed to Olympius, Master of the Offices)
 lib. xvi. —'We forbid those who are enemies of the Catholic
 tit. v. 42. sect to serve as soldiers in our palace. We will have
 no connection of any kind with any man who differs
 lib. xvi. from us in faith.' 'All our former decrees against the
 tit. v. 43. Donatists, Manicheans, and Priscillianists, as well as
 against the heathens, are not only still to have the
 lib. xvi. force of law, but to be obeyed to the utmost.' 'The
 tit. x. 19. revenues belonging to the Pagan temples are to be
 taken from them, the images pulled down, the altars
 rooted up.' 'No feast or solemn observance of any
 kind is to take place on the sites of the [old] sacrilegious
 worship. The bishop is empowered to see to the execu-
 tion of this decree.' 'No one who dissents from the
 lib. xvi. priest of the Catholic Church shall have leave to hold
 tit. v. 45. his meetings within any city or in any secret place in
 our dominions. If he attempts it, the place of meeting
 shall be confiscated and he himself driven into exile.'

In 409—‘A new form of superstition has sprung up under the name of Heaven-worship. If those who profess it have not within a year turned to the worship of God and the religion of Christ, let them understand that they will find themselves smitten by the laws against heretics.’

BOOK I.
CH. 16.

Cod.Theod.
lib. xvi.
tit. viii. 19.

In this same year, doubting apparently his own power to resist the pressure of his new minister (Jovius), he ordains that no edict which may be obtained from him in derogation of these anti-heretical laws shall have any force at all.

lib. xvi.
tit. v. 47.

In 410—‘Let the houses of prayer be utterly removed¹, whither the superstitious heretics have furtively crept to celebrate their rites, and let all the enemies of the holy law know that they shall be punished with proscription and death if they shall any longer attempt, in the abominable rashness of their guilt, to meet together in public.’

lib. xvi.
tit. v. 51.

About twenty years after this time, we find Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, saying to the younger Theodosius, ‘Join me in destroying the heretics, and I will join you in destroying the Persians’; and it is probable that these recurring edicts against heathens and heretics, ever increasing in severity, seemed to Honorius the easiest means of wringing forth the favour of the Almighty and adjuring Him to clear the Empire from the barbarians.

Socrates,
vii. 29.

It is curious to read, side by side with these decrees,

Case of the
heathen
Generidus.

¹ Or ‘Entirely abrogating that [previous] oracle [of ours: some previous edict], under cover of which superstitious heretics,’ &c. (This is Gothofred’s interpretation; but is not the version given in the text the more natural one? The words are ‘Oraculo penitus remoto quo ad ritus suos haereticae superstitiones obrepserant.’)

BOOK I. the story of Generidus as told us by Zosimus (v. 46).

CH. 16.

He was a man of barbarian extraction; brave and honest, but still adhering to the religion of his forefathers. When the law was passed which forbade any one not a Christian to remain in the service of the Emperor, Generidus handed back his belt, the emblem of military office, and retired into private life. In a desperate crisis of his fortunes, the Emperor entreated him to return, and to take the command of the troops in Pannonia and Dalmatia. He reminded Honorius of the law which forbade a heathen like himself to serve the state, and was told that while that law must still remain in force, a special exemption should be made in his favour. 'Not so,' replied the soldier; 'I will not be a party to the insult thus put on all my brave heathen comrades. Restore them all to the rank which they have forfeited because they adhere to the religion of their forefathers, or else lay no commands upon me.' The Emperor with shame consented, and Generidus, assuming the command, drilled his troops rigorously, served out their rations honestly, spent his own emoluments among them generously, and soon became a terror to the barbarians and a tower of strength to the harassed provincials¹. We do not hear of him, however, again

¹ Tillemont thinks that this affair of Generidus may be connected with a law of Honorius, referred to by the Council of Carthage, 'that no one should embrace the Christian religion except by his own free and voluntary choice.' 'Nothing,' says the good Abbé, naïvely, 'could be more just, and no one has ever claimed that a man should embrace Christianity in spite of himself. However, in the state in which things then were, such a law was equivalent to undoing all that had been done against the pagans and heretics, especially if at the same time the law excluding them from office, was repealed, as Zosimus assures us.' (Hist. des Empereurs, v. 574-5.)

in any of the great events of the war, and may be permitted to conjecture that Zosimus has coloured highly enough the virtues of his fellow heathen. BOOK I.
CH. 16.

The mention of this religious legislation may seem like a departure from the main subject of the chapter, but it is not so. The religious element was probably the most important factor in the combination which brought Stilicho to his fall, and it has had the most powerful influence in blackening his memory after his death. The intrigues of Olympius and the passionate calumnies of Orosius are not pleasant specimens of the new type of Christian politician and *littérateur* which was then coming to the front. The former especially is a style of character of which the world has seen too much in the subsequent centuries, and which has often confirmed the truth of a saying of the founder of Christianity. Salt like this, which had utterly lost its savour, was in a certain sense worse than anything which had been seen on the dunghill of Pagan Imperial Rome, and was fit for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.

Religious
element in
the hostile
combina-
tion against
Stilicho.

CHAPTER XVII.

ALARIC'S THREE SIEGES OF ROME.

Authorities.

Sources:—

BOOK I. ZOSIMUS and OROSIUS are still our chief authorities (and most
CH. 17. unsatisfactory ones) for the history of this eventful period. The
408. narrative of Zosimus ends abruptly in 410, just before the final catastrophe.

The Epistles of ST. JEROME and ST. AUGUSTINE'S great work 'De Civitate Dei' supply some important facts as to the capture of the City.

The death and burial of Alaric are described by JORDANES.

A FEW weeks were probably spent in the fruitless negotiations between Alaric and Honorius after the murder of Stilicho¹. Then the Visigothic king decided to play the great game, and while it was still early autumn he crossed the Julian Alps and descended into the plains of Italy to try once more if that voice were true which was ever sounding in his ears, 'Penetrabis ad Urbem.' He left Aquileia and Ravenna unassailed. He would not now waste his strength and time over any smaller sieges; he would not attempt

¹ A messenger with despatches of importance would accomplish the journey between Ravenna and Laybach (the abodes of Honorius and Alaric) in five or six days at the outside.

to get the person of the Emperor into his power; he would press on to the city of cities, and would see whether, if he made Famine his ally, the services of that confederate might not counterbalance his own deficiencies in siege artillery. He crossed the river Po. No hostile force appeared in sight, and he was soon at Bologna, at Rimini, in the rich plains of Picenum. While he was thus proceeding by rapid marches towards Rome, laying waste all the open country, and plundering the towns and villages, none of which was strong enough to close its gates against him, a man in the garb of a monk suddenly appeared in the royal tent. The holy man warned him in solemn tones to refrain from the perpetration of such atrocities and no longer to delight in slaughter and blood. To whom Alaric replied, 'I am impelled to this course in spite of myself: for something within urges me every day irresistibly onwards, saying, Proceed to Rome and make that city desolate¹.'

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

408.

His inter-
view with
a monk.

It would have confirmed the royal Visigoth in his belief of a Divine mission if he had been able, as he nearly was, by his rapid march to frustrate a dastardly crime. Two of the Imperial eunuchs, Arsacius and Terentius, who had the two children of Stilicho in their hands, were all but made prisoners by the Goths. They succeeded, however, in hurrying off with their captives to Rome, delivered up the divorced girl-empress Thermantia to her mother, and put the helpless lad Eucherius to death by order of the Emperor. On their return to court they were rewarded with the places of grand chamberlain and marshal of the

Eucherius
put to
death.

¹ Socrates, vii. 10. This incident may have occurred during one of his subsequent marches to Rome.

BOOK I. palace¹, 'for their great services,' as Zosimus bitterly
CH. 17. remarks.

408.
Alaric's
First Siege
of Rome.

Alaric meanwhile pressed on, and soon, probably in the month of September, he stood before the walls of Rome and commenced his *First Siege of the city*.

Serena put
to death.

The actual appearance of the skin-clothed barbarians within sight of the Capitol, so long the inviolate seat of Empire, found the senate resourceless and panic-stricken. One only suggestion, the cruel thought of coward hearts, was made. Serena, the widow of Stilicho, still lived in Rome. Her husband had made a league with Alaric. Might not she traitorously open to him the gates of the city? Unable, apparently, among the million or so of inhabitants of Rome to find a sufficient guard for one heart-broken widow, they decreed that Serena should be strangled, and thus, as devout heathens observed with melancholy satisfaction, that very neck round which she had sacrilegiously hung the necklace of the Mother of the Gods was now itself encircled by the fatal cord.

Famine in
Rome.

But (as Zosimus sarcastically observes)² 'not even the destruction of Serena caused Alaric to desist from the blockade.' The course of the Tiber was watched so that no provisions should be brought into the city from above or from below. Soon Rome, the capturer of a hundred cities, began to understand for herself the pang of the old Jewish lawgiver's words of warning: 'And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy

¹ Τερέντιον μὲν ἔταξεν ἄρχειν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος [that is, no doubt, Honorius made him *praepositus sacri cubiculi*] ? Ἀρσακίῳ δὲ τὴν μετὰ τοῦτον ἔδωκε τάξιν [probably the office of *castrensis sacri palatii*]. Zosimus, v. 37.

² v. 39.

high and fenced walls come down wherein thou trustedst. . . And thou shalt have nothing left thee in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
408.

Day after day the citizens looked forth towards the north-eastern horizon expecting help from Ravenna, but it came not. The daily portion of food allotted to each citizen was reduced to one half, then to one third of its ordinary quantity. Two noble-hearted women, Laeta, widow of the Emperor Gratian, and her mother, who were entitled to draw a large maintenance from the public storehouses, did their utmost to relieve the distress of the citizens, but 'what were they among so many?'

To famine was added sickness, and then, when the surrounding enemy made it impossible to bury the dead outside the walls, the city itself became one vast sepulchre, and Pestilence arose from the streets and squares covered with decaying corpses.

followed by
pestilence.

At length, when the citizens had tried every other loathsome means of satisfying hunger, and were not far from cannibalism, they determined to send an embassy to the enemy. The Spaniard Basil, a governor of a province, and John, the chief of the Imperial notaries², were selected for this duty. The reason for the choice of John was a strange one. A rumour, unaccountable except through that national vanity which could not admit that

Embassy to
Alaric.

'so supine

By aught than Romans Rome should thus be laid,'

¹ Deuteronomy xxviii. 52, 55.

² Primicerius Notariorum, and possibly the same person who afterwards succeeded Honorius as Emperor. Both ambassadors were Spectabiles only. All the Illustres were no doubt safely sheltered at Ravenna.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

408.

had spread through the City that it was not the true Alaric, but one of the chiefs of the mutinous army of Stilicho, who was directing these operations against her. As John was acquainted with Alaric's person, and was indeed allied to him by the bonds of mutual hospitality, he was sent to solve this question.

The language which the ambassadors were directed to use had in it somewhat of the ring of the old world-conquering republic's voice, 'The Roman people were prepared to make a peace on moderate terms, but were yet more prepared for war. They had arms in their hands, and from long practice in their use had no reason to dread the result of battle.'

These swelling words of vanity only provoked the mirth of Alaric, who had served under the eagles, and knew what the Roman populace's 'practice in the use of arms' amounted to. With a loud Teutonic laugh he exclaimed, 'Thick grass is easier mowed than thin.' To the dainty patrician ambassadors the proverb was probably strange and unfamiliar: to Alaric it recalled the memory of many a spring morning when by the banks of the Danube he had swept his great scythe through the dewy grass, delighting in the patches where the green blades stood up, manifold, for the slaughter, growling at the constant toil of sharpening the steel where the thin and weedy grass bowed beneath the unavailing stroke.

Alaric's
terms.

After much ridicule showered upon the ambassadors who had brought so magnanimous a message, business was resumed, and they contrived again to enquire as to the terms of a 'moderate peace.' The Goth's announcement of his conditions was, says Zosimus, 'beyond even the insolence of a barbarian.' 'Deliver to

me all the gold that your city contains, all the silver, all the moveable property that I may find there, and moreover all your slaves of barbarian origin: otherwise I desist not from the siege.' Said one of the ambassadors, 'But if you take all these things, what do you leave to the citizens?' Alaric, still in a mood for grim jesting, and thinking perhaps of the passage in his Ulfilas¹, 'What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul,' or more probably of that passage in Revelation² where the merchandise of the great city is described, her purple and silk and scarlet, her cinnamon and odours and ointment, her fine flour and wheat and cattle and sheep, 'and horses and chariots and slaves and souls of men,' replied in one gruff word *saivalos*, 'your souls³.'

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
408.

The ambassadors returned to the Senate with their message of despair, and with the assurance that it was indeed Alaric with whom they had to deal. The Senate, enervated by centuries of powerless sycophancy, found themselves compelled to look forth upon a horizon blacker than their heroic ancestors had seen after the terrible day of Cannae. In the dying state as in the dying man, when it was seen that human aid was impossible, religion, the power of the Unseen, rose

Reaction
against
Christi-
anity.

¹ 'Wa auk boteith mannan, jabai gageigaith thana fairwu allana jah gasleitheith sik *saivalai seinai*.' Mark viii. 36.

² xviii. 12, 13.

³ This passage is generally translated 'your lives.' Either rendering is correct, and equally so whether Alaric spoke in Greek and said *τὰς ψυχάς*, or in Gothic and said *saivalos*.

SAIYΛΛΛ (*saivala* = Germ. *Seele*) is *soul* in Romans xiii. 1 ('Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers'), but *life* in Mark viii. 35 ('Whosoever will save his life shall lose it').

BOOK I. into dominion. The once fashionable Paganism, the
 CH. 17. now fashionable Christianity, both of them fashions
 408. rather than faiths, lightly held, lightly abandoned, still
 divided the allegiance of the senators of Rome. Which,
 oh which of them was true? Would Jove or Jesus
 bring the yearned-for deliverance to the sacred city—
 to the temple of Capitolinus, to the tombs of the
 Apostles?

Of the feelings of the Christians at this time we have no sufficient description, but the heathen historian records, with almost Christian fervour, the despairing religiousness of the opposite party. 'Then indeed, when they were persuaded that it was in truth Alaric who warred against them, and when they had renounced all hope of aid from human power, they thought upon that [heavenly] succour which had hitherto accompanied the State through all her tribulations, and they perceived how they were now abandoned thereby, in consequence of having deserted the religion of their forefathers¹.'

The sacrifices at Narni. Similar sacrifices recommended at Rome.

At this juncture, Pompeianus, the Prefect of the City, fell in with certain Tuscan visitors (how they had pierced the blockade we know not), who were full of the marvels which had been lately wrought at Narni in their own country². There, they said, a series of prayers offered up to the Immortal Gods, and the performance of the old ancestral rites had been immediately followed by loud crashes of thunder and the fall of fire from heaven, which had so terrified the barbarians that they had at once raised the siege.

¹ Zosimus, v. 40.

² Mendelssohn, the latest editor of Zosimus, reads *Napriav*, instead of *Neβriav*, the reading of the Bonn edition.

The holy books were consulted. They recommended, and the majority of the Senate were favourable to the proposition, that similar observances should be commenced in Rome. To make himself quite safe, however, Pompeianus (himself a Christian) appealed to the Bishop of Rome. This was Innocent I, one of the first great Popes, by no means wanting in energy of self-assertion either towards the Emperor or other Bishops. Yet even he, we are told, in this 'distress of nations and perplexity' which had fallen upon the world, 'preferring the safety of the city to his own private opinion, gave them leave to practise in secret the incantations which they knew.' The priests replied that no good result would follow unless the rites were *publicly* performed on the Capitoline Hill, with all the Senate as witnesses, in the Forum Boarium, in the Forum of Trajan, and elsewhere in all the public places of the city. The required permission was granted, but was not made use of. The believers, the half-believers, the would-be believers in the Olympian Dwellers were in too small a minority. Not one dared to perform the ancestral rites¹. The lightning did not fall from heaven, but the city gates opened once more, and again a train of suppliant senators, this time with no pretence of menace in their tone, set forth to see what terms could be obtained from the mercy of the conqueror.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

408.

Pope Innocent is willing to stand aside.

But men dare not resume heathen sacrifices.

At length, after much discussion, Alaric consented to allow the city to ransom herself by a payment of

The ransom demanded by Alaric.

¹ Zosimus, v. 41; Sozomen, ix. 6. The ecclesiastical historian seems to agree with the pagan that the incantations were not actually performed: otherwise one would be inclined to suspect that Zosimus was glossing over a *coup manqué* on the part of the heathen priests.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

408.

5000 pounds weight of gold, 30,000 of silver¹, 4000 silken tunics², 3000 hides dyed scarlet, and 3000 pounds of pepper. It is a strange catalogue of the things which were objects of desire to a nation emerging from barbarism. The pepper suggests the conjecture that the Gothic appetite had already lost some of its original keenness in the fervent southern lands; and the numbers of the special articles of luxury prompt the guess (it is nothing more) that the nobles and officers of this great nation-army may have been about 3000, the extra 1000 of silken garments perhaps representing the wives and daughters who accompanied some of the great chiefs.

And so ended the *First* Gothic siege of Rome, a siege in which no swords were crossed, no blood drawn. Famine was the only weapon used by Alaric.

The question then arose, 'How were the great quantities of gold and silver named by Alaric to be provided?' Public money there was none in the exchequer: probably the sacred majesty of Honorius drew all the produce of the taxes to Ravenna. The senators, whose statement of their wealth was perhaps capable of tolerably exact verification, paid their contributions according to a prepared list. A revenue-officer named Palladius was appointed to collect the rest from the citizens who had still any property remaining; but, partly owing to the extortions of previous Emperors and their ministers, which had really reduced many wealthy men to poverty, partly to unpatriotic concealment of their riches by those who were still rich, he

¹ The 5000 lbs. of gold would be worth £225,000; the 30,000 lbs. of silver £90,000, nearly.

² χιτῶνες.

failed to collect the required sum. Then, under the influence of some avenging demon which metes out the destinies of men, a really fatal resolution (says Zosimus) was adopted; 'for they decided to make up the deficit by stripping off from the images of the gods the precious metals with which they were adorned. This was in fact nothing less than to deprive of life and energy, by diminishing the honour done to them, those statues which had been erected in the midst of solemn religious rites, and clothed with becoming adornment in order that they might ensure everlasting felicity to the state¹. And since it was fated that from all quarters everything should concur to the ruin of the city, they not only stripped the statues of their adornments but they even melted down some of those which were composed of gold and silver, among which there was one of Valour (which the Romans call *Virtutem*²). And when this was destroyed, all that was left of Valour and Virtue among the Romans perished with it, as those who were learned in divine things and the rites transmitted from our ancestors perpetually asserted would be the case.'

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

408.

The images
of the
gods in the
melting-
pot.

After this matter of the payment was settled, the future relations between the people of Rome and the Gothic king came under discussion. No one hinted now (nor for two generations later) at making the barbarian ruler of any part of Italy. But to constitute

Can Alaric
be re-en-
listed as a
confederate
with
Rome?

¹ This passage is worth quoting in the original, as curiously illustrating the theory of image-worship: *ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν ἢ τὰ τελεταῖς ἀγίαις καθιδρυθέντα καὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος κόσμου τυχόντα διὰ τὸ φυλάξαι τῇ πόλει τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν αἰδίων, ἐλαττωθείσης κατὰ τι τῆς τελετῆς ἄψυχα εἶναι καὶ ἀνερίργητα.* Zosimus, v. 41.

² Οὐιρτούτεμ.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

408.

him the permanent champion of Rome ; to conclude a strict offensive and defensive alliance with one whose sword weighed so heavily in the scale ; in fact to revert to and carry further the policy of Stilicho which these very Romans had probably been among the loudest in condemning,—this did seem to the Senate a wise recognition of existing facts, a chance of saving the majesty of Rome from further humiliation. And such doubtless it was ; and Theodosius himself, or the great Constantine, seeing Alaric's unfeigned eagerness for such an alliance would have concluded it with gladness. But all the endeavours of statesmanship were foiled by the impenetrable stolidity of Honorius, who could not make either war or peace, nor could comprehend the existence of any danger to the Empire so long as his sacred person was unharmed.

Tedious
minuteness
of Zosimus
as to the
events of
409.

This year 409 was glorified by the eighth Consulship of Honorius and the third of his young nephew Theodosius II. Though comparatively unimportant in the development of the great drama, it is described with almost provoking minuteness by our one chief authority, Zosimus. Would that as full and clear a light had been thrown upon the first and the last campaigns of Alaric, upon 402 and 410.

As was before remarked, no one, in this period of uncertainty and suspense, seems to play the part which is set down for him. As if the destruction of Rome were some mighty cataract towards which all were being drifted along by the irresistible current of events, the Goth, the Roman, the Emperor, the Senate, swim helplessly in the stream, first towards one shore, then towards another, and all their motions do not seem to alter the final result in a single circumstance. Alaric

himself undoubtedly had this conviction, that he was an instrument in the hand of a mightier power for the overthrow of Rome. Was the presentiment that he would be known to the nations as the Destroyer of Rome coupled with another presentiment that he himself would shortly after lay his bones on the Italian soil, and is this the clue to those stern and ruthless advances tempered by fits of such strange and unexpected moderation?

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

409.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of peace a vast number of domestic slaves fled from Rome, who, joining themselves to some of the wandering bands of barbarians, made up an army of 40,000 men, and levied a rude toll on the provisions and other merchandise arriving at Ostia for the relief of the city. As soon as Alaric heard of this event, which seemed to stain the purity of his plighted honour, he repressed the bands of pillagers with strong hand. At least his share of the compact should be kept while he waited calmly to see whether Honorius would ratify the other. The stipulation upon which at this time Alaric laid most stress in the negotiations was that hostages, the sons of some of the chief men in the Roman state, should be placed in his hands as security for the continuance of friendly relations between himself and the Empire.

Freebooter
slaves at
Ostia,

repressed
by Alaric.

The senate sent an embassy to the Emperor to represent to him the piteous condition of the Mistress of the World, and implore him to consent to the treaty with Alaric. Honorius tore himself away for a few hours from his poultry, heard apparently without emotion of the sufferings of his people, gave a step in official rank to two of the ambassadors, and declined their request.

Fruitless
embassy to
Ravenna.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

409.
The
blockade
of Rome
recom-
menced.

As soon as the news of this refusal reached Alaric he recommenced the blockade of the city, not perhaps with all the old strictness, but with sufficient severity to make it difficult for the unsuccessful ambassadors to return. One of them, Attalus, now apparently Count of the Sacred Largesses, with great difficulty stole into the city at the same time with a routed general Valens, who had just flung away 6,000 picked troops in an unsuccessful attempt to relieve Rome. Another of the envoys was actually taken prisoner, and being sold for a slave was bought by his father for 30,000 aurei¹ (about £18,000). The name of this luckless ambassador, rare in Italy then, was to be only too fatally familiar to the Italy of a thousand years later. He was called Maximillian.

Defeat of
Ataulfus,
brother-in-
law of
Alaric.

Another embassy was sent by the Senate to Ravenna, and Pope Innocent I was associated with it, but we do not seem to be informed of its results. Just at this time Honorius was in a state of great elation, because Ataulfus, the brother-in-law of Alaric, who was hastening to join him with a body of troops collected in Upper Pannonia, had been defeated by a small army of Huns in the service of the Emperor. The Roman account of the engagement is that 300 Huns slew 1200 Goths, with a loss to themselves of only 17 men. This is probably an exaggeration, and it is clear that the great point, the junction of Ataulfus and Alaric, was not prevented. Still there was sufficient occasion for a momentary exultation on the part of Honorius in his interview with the Roman ambassadors.

¹ Here, as elsewhere, I interpret 'aureus' as equivalent to 'solidus aureus,' worth therefore about twelve shillings. The aureus of the earlier emperors fluctuated between fifteen and twenty-two shillings.

About this time occurred a revolution in the council chamber of the sovereign. Olympius' sole idea of government seems to have been confiscating the possessions of all who could possibly be suspected of Stilichonism, and endeavouring by torture to force them to confess their share in the conspiracy. Up to this time not a trace of any such conspiracy had been discovered; perhaps the public were growing a little weary of the cry against Stilicho, and contrasted the present position of affairs with that which had existed under the great minister: certainly the soldiers were dissatisfied with the miserable generals Turpillio and Vigilantius, whom the favour of Olympius retained in the highest military posts. The eunuchs of the palace employed against Olympius the same arts which he had used against Stilicho. Knowing the criminality of ill-success, he escaped to Dalmatia, and a certain Jovius¹ was appointed Praetorian Prefect; was clothed with the dignity of Patrician, became chief counsellor of Honorius, and drew all power into his own hands.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.409.
Olympius
supplanted
by Jovius.

In order to wrest the military commands from the hands of the friends of Olympius, the mutiny of Ticinum was re-enacted on a smaller scale at Ravenna. The soldiers assembled on the shore hard by Classis, shouting in mob fashion that the Emperor must be made to

Another
Pronuncia-
mento.

¹ These Pagan names, Olympius and Jovius, at the eminently Christian court of Ravenna, are somewhat curious. Tillemont (v. 573) speaks too doubtfully of Jovius's profession of Christianity if, as seems probable, he is the same person who, as Count of Africa, overthrew the Pagan temples at Carthage and destroyed the idols in the year 399 (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 54), and to whom, as Praetorian Prefect, in this year (409) Honorius addressed his decrees against apostates to heathenism and Judaism.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

409.

appear before them. Honorius of course concealed himself, and Jovius, the real author of the sedition, went to enquire with bland innocence the reason of all this clamour and wrath. Turpillio and Vigilantius were denounced by the infuriated soldiery. The Emperor consented at once to a decree of perpetual banishment being passed against them, and by the secret orders of Jovius this punishment was commuted into assassination at the hands of the officers of the ship on board of which they had been placed. Other changes were made in the household, but there is no need to record the names of these tumultuary chiefs of the civil and military service, of whom it may be said that they 'sprang up in a night and perished in a night.'

Conference
at Rimini
between
Alaric and
Jovius.

Practically all power centred in Jovius, and Jovius, as having overthrown the enemy of Stilicho, and also as having been of old 'guest-friend'¹ of Alaric in Epirus, had peculiar facilities for effecting that accommodation with the Visigothic king which the State imperatively required. With the Emperor's consent he invited Alaric to a conference, which was held at Rimini, about thirty Roman miles from Ravenna. The terms upon which the Goth was now willing to base his alliance with the Emperor were these:—A yearly payment of gold by Honorius; a supply of provisions, the amount of which was to be the subject of future negotiation; and the concession of the two divisions of Noricum, and of Istria, Venetia, and Dalmatia for the residence of the Gothic troops and their families². It

¹ *πρόξενος* (Zosimus, v. 48).

² This concession would have given Alaric a solid block of territory 200 miles long by 150 wide, reaching from Passau to Venice and from Vienna to Ragusa.

was not apparently intended that these regions should cease to be included, at least theoretically, in the dominions of the Roman Emperor, but rather that the Goths should be quartered there as permanent allies on the same terms on which many other auxiliary tribes had at various times been permitted to settle within the confines of the Empire.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
409.

In transmitting these demands to his master, Jovius gave a secret hint that probably if Alaric himself were gratified with some high official position, such as that of *Magister Utriusque Militiae*, he would be found willing to abate considerably from the stringency of his demands. To this Honorius replied,—and for once we do hear a man's voice, though not a wise man's,—‘You have behaved hastily in this matter. Payments of gold and subsidies of corn belong to your duty as Praetorian Prefect, and I do not blame you for having arranged these according to your own judgment. But military command it is mine alone to bestow, and I hold it unfitting that such offices as you name should ever be held by Alaric or any of his race.’

The concessions of Jovius vetoed by Honorius.

This letter arrived when Jovius and Alaric were conversing. Was it pique against the Emperor, was it despair, was it mere folly, that impelled the minister to read it from the beginning to the end in the hearing of the Visigoth? Alaric listened to all the rest of the letter patiently enough, but when he heard the scornful close he broke off the negotiations abruptly, and declared that he would revenge on Rome herself the insult offered to himself and his race.

Jovius, whose conduct is a perfect mystery of needless villainy, and who seems to us to behave like an Italian statesman of the sixteenth century who had

The oath by the head of the Emperor.

BOOK I. lost his Machiavel, rushed back to Ravenna, and in-
 CH. 17.

409.

duced the Emperor to take an oath that he would conclude no peace with Alaric, but would wage against him perpetual war. When Honorius had taken this oath, Jovius, touching the Emperor's head, repeated the same words, and all who held high office in the State were compelled to follow his example¹. And yet every one of these men knew in his secret heart that a just and honourable peace with Alaric was the only chance of rescuing Rome from impending destruction.

Honorius made some feeble preparations for war, enrolled 10,000 Huns in his armies, imported cattle and sheep from Dalmatia for the provisionment of Ravenna, and sent some scouts to watch the progress of the Gothic army towards Rome.

Alaric still
 hesitates.

But again Alaric, though duped and insulted, was seized by one of those strange qualms of awe or compassion which so often might have saved the Imperial City. 'Beginning to repent of his expedition against Rome, he sent forth the bishops of the cities through which he passed to act as his ambassadors, and to adjure the Emperor not to see unconcerned the City which had for more than a thousand years ruled over the greater part of the earth, given up to be sacked by

¹ Compare Genesis xlii. 16, 'Else, by the life of Pharaoh, surely ye are spies.' Also the frequent persecutions of Christians for refusing to swear 'by the Genius of the [heathen] Emperor.' The same custom still prevails in the barbarian court of Christian Abyssinia. 'Every man fears and suspects his neighbour, and dreads the King. His name is literally one to conjure by. To swear or command in the name of Johannes is unanswerable and final. One continually hears the following oaths:—"By the backbone of John!" "By the God of John!" or "By the God of the horse of John!"'—(Journey to the Court of Abyssinia: *Daily News*, 21 June, 1884).

barbarians, nor yet such magnificent buildings destroyed by hostile fire, but rather to arrange a peace on very moderate conditions¹.’ He offered in fact to abate three provinces, Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia, from his former demand, and to be satisfied with the two Noricums alone², provinces already so wasted by barbarian invasions as to be of very small value to the treasury. He asked for no office or dignity, civil or military, nor even for gold, but only for such a supply of rations to his troops as the Emperor himself should consider reasonable; and in return for these slight concessions he promised friendship and military assistance against any enemy who might arise to trouble the peace of Honorius and his Romans.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
409.

and makes
wonder-
fully
moderate
proposals
for peace.

The moderation of Alaric excited general surprise, for in truth his demands were such as an Augustus might almost have conceded to an Arminius, or a Trajan to a Decebalus: but, for some reason hidden from us, Jovius and his creatures did not dare to advise their acceptance. The pretext alleged for refusal was that act of solemn imbecility, the oath by the head of the Emperor that no treaty of peace should be made with Alaric. ‘A mere oath by the Almighty,’ said Jovius, ‘would have mattered comparatively little, as they might safely have trusted to the Divine good nature to overlook the apparent impiety. But an oath by the Emperor’s person was a very different affair, and so awful an imprecation as that must never be disregarded³.’ The flattered sovereign thought this

But the
oath by the
Emperor’s
head ruins
all.

¹ Zosimus, v. 50.

² Austria proper, Styria, and Carinthia.

³ This discussion about the oath by the Emperor’s head is illustrated by a law of Arcadius (395), enacting that any one who seeks to

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

409.

reasoning most conclusive; and the Visigoth, pale with rage at the tidings of the refusal of his request, set to work without further forbearance to commence the *Second Siege of the City*.

The Second
Siege of
Rome com-
menced.

The second siege of Rome by Alaric is one of the surprises of history. With the remembrance of the terrible famine and pestilence which accompanied the first siege vividly before us, with the knowledge of the repeated insults since then inflicted upon the Visigothic king, we expect to see some great and doleful tragedy enacted upon the Seven Hills. Far from it; the curtain is drawn up, and we behold, instead of a tragedy, a burlesque, the title whereof is 'The Ten Months' Emperor, or Attalus the *Æsthetic*.'

The citizens of Rome saw once more the Gothic army encamped around their walls, Ostia occupied, the large stores of provisions there collected taken possession of by the barbarians. They had no desire to see the experiments of last year as to the possible articles of human diet repeated; they began to ask themselves, very naturally, 'Since Honorius does nothing to protect us, and since he can neither make war nor peace with Alaric, but only shuts himself up behind the ditches of Ravenna, leaving us to bear all the burden of the war, why should we suffer any more in his quarrel?' They explained their feelings to the king of the Goths, and speedily an arrangement was made which seemed likely to satisfy all parties. The Imperial City formally renounced all allegiance to Hono-

evade a solemn compact which he has confirmed by invoking the Divine name, *or the name of the Emperor*, shall be noted as infamous, and suffer certain other penalties (Cod. Theod. II. 9. 8, or 3 in Haenel's edition).



A



PRISCUS ATTALUS

rius, and bestowed the purple and the diadem on Attalus¹, the Prefect of the City, who as Augustus at once concluded the long-desired treaty of peace with Alaric.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

409.

The Praetorian Prefect of the City was already in official rank the highest person in Rome next to the Emperor. But independently of his high office, Priscus Attalus had in various ways made himself popular with various parties. He was a Greek, an Ionian—born, that is, on the Eastern shore of the Aegean, near the birthplaces of the old Greek poetry, philosophy and art. Looking at his medallions, one is at once struck by the Greek character of the face portrayed upon them. Though there is no strength in the brow, there is surely some artistic sensibility indicated by the lines of the mouth. The curve of the lower jaw and the well-rounded chin have somewhat of nobility, and when contrasted with the wooden imbecility of Honorius's effigy, he seems almost like 'Hyperion to a Satyr.'

Attalus
made
Emperor.

From this art-loving Ionian Greek the Pagans in Rome expected nothing less than the restoration of their old temples and sacrifices. Yet he was not an obstinate Pagan, for he had been baptized by an Arian bishop. There again was hope for the still large though down-trodden Arian party. But yet again the Arian bishop who baptized him was himself a Goth, Sigisarius by name. That fact endeared him to the

His
heathen,
Arian, and
Gothic con-
nections.

¹ This Attalus is the same dignitary of whom mention was made as having been promoted, on the occasion of his embassy to Ravenna, to the office of Count of the Sacred Largesses. Since then he had gained yet another step. He appears to have joined the party of Jovius, and on the downfall of Olympius he was rewarded by the appointment of Prefect of the City.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

409.

Goths ; and thus it came to pass that he whose first promotion to high office had been earned through his personal acceptability to Honorius, was now set upon the throne by a combination of Honorius' sternest foes in order to achieve his downfall.

Magni-
loquent
harangue
of Attalus.

The new Augustus, having put on the diadem and the purple *paludamentum*, and having at once bestowed high military offices on his barbarian friends¹, went with much pomp of attendant soldiery to a meeting of the senate in the Imperial palace. There he addressed them in a long and elaborate oration. 'Rome and the Senate had too long been treated with unseemly disrespect. He, Priscus Attalus, would restore both to their former high estate. He would make the name of the Conscript Fathers again venerable, he would bring the whole world back under the dominion of Rome. Yes, the *whole* world ; the upstart rival on the Bosphorus should be dethroned, and Egypt and all the provinces of the East should again own the sway of the City by the Tiber.' Some such sonorous words as these he poured forth. Such of the senators as were versed in public affairs may have whispered to one another 'Graeculus esuriens in coelum jusseris, ibit²,' and the nobles of the Anician house, the wealthiest in Rome, openly displayed their doubt of the stability of the new Emperor's throne ; but the tide of

¹ Alaric was made Magister Utriusque Militiae ; Ataulfus, Comes Domesticorum. So Sozomen, ix. 8 ; but Zosimus, vi. 7, assigns one of the two chief military commands to Valens, the over-rash general, and the companion of Attalus on his stealthy journey from Ravenna to Rome.

² 'The hungry Greek to please his lord
Will mount at once to heaven.'

popularity out of doors ran strongly in favour of Attalus, whose crown was the seal of the alliance with Alaric, the pledge of the punishment of the selfish court of Ravenna. The Visigoth had shown himself terrible as a foe, but if Rome could only keep him as her friend, what might she not accomplish by his aid against her enemies?

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

409.

The quick eye of Alaric perceived that the key of the hostile position was not in Italy, but in Africa. Rome was dependent on that province for the supply of corn for her citizens, but Africa was at present held strongly for Honorius by Heraclian, the executioner of Stilicho. Alaric, therefore, earnestly advised Attalus to send thither a moderate force of barbarians under the command of a certain Drumas, and to attempt nothing else till Africa was secured. But the new Emperor, whose head was quite turned by his sudden elevation, who had the echoes of his own sonorous address to the senate still ringing in his ears, and who was 'seeking to wizards and familiar spirits' for his policy, scornfully rejected the advice of his Gothic friend. He sent Constans (a different person, of course, from the son of the British rebel) with a slender body of troops into Africa; and he himself, probably in the beginning of 410, marched towards Ravenna to indulge in the luxury of trampling on the apparently fallen Honorius. That Emperor sent Jovius to him proposing a similar arrangement to that which had been made with the usurper Constantine. 'Let us divide the Empire; you reign at Rome, I at Ravenna, only let me still be Augustus here.' Jovius, the Talleyrand of this epoch, whose orbit of treachery it is impossible to calculate, seems to have become for the time a partisan

Africa the
true key
of the
position.

410.

Insulting
message of
Attalus to
Honorius.

BOOK I. of the new Emperor, from whom he accepted the office
 CH. 17. of Praetorian Prefect¹; and he it was who dictated the
 410. insolent reply which he surely can never have had the
 audacity to carry back in person. 'Not a particle of
 Italian soil, O Honorius, not a vestige of the Imperial
 dignity, not even thy own body will we allow thee to
 preserve un mutilated. Thou shalt be maimed, thou
 shalt be banished to some island, and then, as a favour,
 we will concede to thee life.' Certainly the artistic
 Greek nature of this man preserves a trace of the feline
 cruelty which showed itself in certain passages of the
 Peloponnesian war.

Flight of
 Honorius
 stopped by
 the arrival
 of rein-
 forcements
 from Con-
 stantinople

However, for a time the very arrogance of the
 usurper seemed destined to achieve success. Honorius,
 thoroughly alarmed for the safety of his person, was
 about to escape by sea to Constantinople, when sud-
 denly six legions, amounting to 40,000 men², landed
 at the very port where he was making his preparations
 for flight. They were soldiers of Theodosius II, sent
 to the assistance of his uncle against Alaric.

which had
 been two
 years on
 the way.

We receive a vivid impression of the disorganised
 state of the Eastern as well as the Western half of the

¹ Presumably for Italy.

Zosimus,
 vi. 8.

² Zosimus's statement is quite clear: 'Six legions amounting to 40,000 men' (ἑξ τάγματα στρατιωτῶν . . . μυριάδων ἀριθμὸν ὄντα τεσσάρων). Mendelssohn does not allege any MS. authority for altering μυριάδων to χιλιάδων, nor is the Latin translator (in the Bonn edition) justified in rendering the passage thus 'in his erant hominum quattuor milia.' The authority of Sozomen who fixes the number at 4000 is not sufficient to warrant these arbitrary alterations of Zosimus' text. And the length of time that this body of troops had been mustering, and the decisive influence which they exerted in restoring the almost hopeless cause of Honorius, both point decisively to the *larger* number as the more probable.

Empire when we are informed that these men had actually been summoned by Stilicho, not later there-
fore than the first half of the year 408, nearly two
years before their appearance on the scene of action.
Not unfriendliness, but inefficiency or procrastination—
in this case a most seasonable procrastination—had
postponed their arrival till now.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.

When these 40,000 men arrived, Honorius picked up courage enough to attempt a further defence of Ravenna, watching above all things for the issue of affairs in Africa, and postponing his departure for the East till he knew at least whether that province was lost to him.

It was not lost. Stilicho's murderer was still loyally serving his Imperial master. Constans, the general of Attalus, was slain, and the usurper, instead of even yet retrieving his fortunes by despatching thither an army of Goths, could think of nothing better than to send an apparently trifling reinforcement of Romans, 'with money' to reinvigorate his failing cause. Alaric began to be seriously displeased at the imbecility which his Emperor was displaying in reference to this African campaign. Jovius, too, seeing which way fortune was inclining, turned round once more and made his peace secretly with Honorius, but remained at the court of Attalus to sow dissension between him and Alaric, by suggesting to the Visigoth—a suggestion which probably contained some grains of truth—that the usurper, if he were once securely settled on his throne, would not be long in disembarassing himself, by assassination or some other means, of his too powerful barbarian benefactors. Alaric listened and half believed, but did not yet desert the cause of Attalus. He left Ravenna

Dissensions
between
the puppet
and his
master.

BOOK I. unbesieged, traversed the province of the Aemilia,
 CH. 17. compelling all the cities therein, except Bologna, to
 419. acknowledge the new Emperor, and then proceeded
 towards Genoa on the same errand.

Famine
 again in
 Rome.

Meantime, however, Alaric's own weapon, famine, was being fatally employed against his creature. Heraclian, like Gildo, by closing the African ports, was able to bring Rome to her knees. It was of no avail that Ostia was free, that the city was unblockaded, if the great granary itself was closed. Already, without

A tariff for
 human
 flesh de-
 manded.

a siege, the horrors of the first siege were recommencing; the grain-dealers were accused of 'forestalling and regrating,' and when Attalus and his people met face to face in the great Flavian Amphitheatre—for, of course, the games must go on though all else was falling into ruin—it is said that an angry murmur surged round through the topmost seats where the populace sat, and that fierce voices shouted to the new Augustus, *Pretium inpone carni humanae*—'Fix a maximum price for human flesh.'

Attalus
 deposed at
 Rimini.

Again the senate assembled; again all the reasonable men in that assembly urged that Drumas and the barbarians should be sent to cut the knot of the African difficulty; again the vain-glorious Attalus refused to entrust the war to other than Roman hands. Then at length, on the receipt of these tidings, the patience of Alaric gave way. He marched back to Rimini, his nearest outpost towards Ravenna, commanded Attalus to wait upon him, and there, in the plain outside the town, in sight of the Gothic army and the Roman inhabitants, he stripped him of his diadem and purple robe, and proclaimed that he was degraded to the condition of a private citizen. The

unhappy Greek, so proudly self-inflated and so ignominiously collapsing, had reigned for something less than a year. He did not dare to return to Rome, far less, of course, to Ravenna, but requested permission for himself and his son Ampelius to follow the train of the Visigothic army. The permission was disdainfully granted, and we shall meet with him once again in the barbarian camp.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
410.

Alaric, in order to give Honorius visible tokens of the change in his policy, sent to the court of Ravenna the Imperial ensigns which he had stripped from his dethroned client. The officers also, who had received their commands from the usurper, restored their military belts to the legitimate Emperor, and humbly implored his forgiveness. 'And now, surely,' any discriminating observer might have thought, 'a just and honourable peace will be concluded between Alaric and Honorius, and Italy will rest from her anguish.'

Renewed
overtures
to Honorius.

The hindrance to the fulfilment of these hopes came this time from Sarus the Goth, a man who is to us scarcely more than a mere name, but about whom a real historian, writing contemporaneously, would probably have told us much. At present we know little, except that he was at first a friend and follower of Stilicho¹, but turned against him (as has been already described) with the turn in the tide of fortune, and sought, but unsuccessfully, to earn the price set upon his head. Then had come his short-lived success and ignominious failure in the campaign against Constantine, notwithstanding which he was still deemed by the people the fittest man to make head against his

Sarus
prevents
peace.

¹ Zosimus, v. 30.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.

countryman Alaric after Stilicho's death¹. He was not, however, chosen for that purpose by the Emperor, but had since remained near Ravenna with a small force of his countrymen, standing sullenly aloof from both the combatants. He had some cause of rankling enmity against Ataulfus, if not against Alaric also, and some have conjectured that an old Teutonic blood-feud existed between his house and theirs. Now there came either a skirmish or an apprehension of one between the old enemies². In the end, Sarus, with 300 chosen warriors, entered Ravenna and exerted all his influence to break off the negotiations between Honorius and the Visigoths.

He succeeded: Alaric retired from the conferences and marched southwards, this time in deadly earnest, intent upon *The Third Siege of Rome*.

Our ignorance as to the details of the Third Siege of Rome.

Of this, the crowning act of the great drama, the real end of old Rome, the real beginning of the new age, it must be confessed that we scarcely know more than we do of the fall of Babylon. The history of Zosimus comes to an abrupt end just short of the climax. That the work is incomplete is manifest from the preface, in which Zosimus contrasts it with that of Polybius, and evidently implies that as the latter had told the story of the rise of Rome, so he would describe her fall. The capture of the city in 410 would have been the fitting dramatic close to his narrative, and it

¹ Zosimus, v. 36.

² Zosimus says that Ataulfus lay in wait for Sarus, but did not succeed in fighting him. Sozomen declares that Sarus attacked Alaric, knowing that any treaty which he might make with the Emperor would be prejudicial to *his* interests, and implies that the attack was successful.

is quite impossible to suppose that he did not at least intend to write of it. The ecclesiastical historians have transmitted a few anecdotes illustrative of the religious aspect of the struggle; we are grateful for these details, which preserve us from utter darkness, but the very importance attached to them, the frequency of their repetition by subsequent chroniclers, show how little was really known of the more important incidents of the siege. Rome, which had described with such eager minuteness the death-pangs of a hundred cities which she had taken, has left untold the story of her own overthrow.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
410.

Alaric was spared, this time, the necessity of reducing the city by a slow blockade. On the night of the 24th¹ of August, it would seem almost immediately after his appearance before the walls, his troops burst in by the Salarian Gate², near the eastern flank of the Pincian Hill, close to the gardens of Sallust, and about half a mile from the Baths of Diocletian³.

Alaric
breaks into
the city,
24th Aug.,
410.

Hints indeed are let fall that the gates were opened to him by treachery, but they rest only on the very doubtful authority of Procopius, who wrote more than a century after the event. He describes circumstantially⁴ a stratagem of Alaric's, who, he says, presented to the Roman nobles three hundred of the bravest youths of his nation under the guise of slaves, by

Doubtful
stories of
treachery
within the
city.

¹ Or 26th. These two dates rest on the authority of Theophanes and Cedrenus, both late authors.

² The Salarian Gate stood upon the Salarian Way, the road by which in old times the Romans used to carry sea-salt up to the country of the Sabines.

³ The site of the modern railway station.

⁴ De Bello Vandalico, i. 2.

BOOK I. whom, when the fitting time came, he was admitted
 CH. 17. through the Salarian Gate. Or else, says the same
 410. author, the venerable Christian matron Proba (mother
 of the Consuls Probinus and Olybrius), pitying the
 sufferings of the people from famine, ordered her slaves
 to open the gate by night and so end their misery.
 Neither story harmonises with the characters or mutual
 relation of the chief actors in the scene ; and the words
 of the contemporary Orosius¹, 'Alaric appears, he
 besieges the trembling city, he throws it into confusion,
he breaks into it,' seem almost conclusive against the
 hypothesis of treachery. In confirmation of this view,
 that Rome was taken by assault, we find it stated very
 emphatically that the splendid palace of Sallust was
 set on fire—just what we might expect to have hap-
 pened if there was hard fighting around the Salarian
 Gate.

Savage
 deeds of
 the Goths.

It was said in a preceding chapter that we must not
 think of the Visigoths as savages, scarcely even, except
 in the classical sense of the word, as barbarians. Now
 however that they have entered Rome, now that, after
 years of waiting and marching and diplomatising, the
 prize is at last theirs, the accumulated treasures of the
 world at their feet, and few days in which to pick them
 up, we may have to fall back for a time upon that
 more popular conception of their character. Every
 army during the sack and pillage of a conquered town
 sinks to the level of the savage ; a fever of avarice,
 cruelty, lust, burns in the veins of men to whom, after
 months of hardship and discipline, all at once every-

¹ 'Adest Alaricus : trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrumpit.'
 (Orosius, vii. 39.)

thing is permitted, nothing is forbidden. The latent demon in each man's heart suddenly asserts himself, looks into the eyes of demon brethren, and becomes ten times more terrible by the communion of evil. Thus, though the soldiers of Alaric were ministers of mercy when compared with those of Alva or Tilly, we cannot doubt that brutality and outrage of every kind marked their entrance into the conquered city.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.

One instance recorded is doubtless the type of thousands. On the Aventine hill dwelt, as has been already said¹, the widow Marcella, with her friend and adopted daughter Principia. Of noble birth and conspicuous beauty, Marcella had lost her husband in her early youth after only seven months of married life. Refusing all offers of re-marriage she devoted herself thenceforward to a life of seclusion and charity, turned her palace on the Aventine into a convent, and bestowed the greater part of her substance on the poor. While the great advocate of monasticism, Jerome, had dwelt in Rome, Marcella had been one of his most earnest supporters; after he retired to his cave at Bethlehem she was one of the most highly favoured of his correspondents. This had been her manner of life for fifty years or more: she was now verging upon extreme old age when she saw the ruin of her country. The blood-stained Gothic soldiers, who rushed into her house expecting large spoils from so stately a palace, eagerly demanded that she should surrender the treasures which they were persuaded she had buried. She showed her mean and threadbare garments, and told them how it came to pass that she, a Roman matron, was destitute of wealth. The words 'voluntary poverty'

Brutal ill-treatment of the aged Marcella.

¹ p. 525.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.

fell on unbelieving ears. They beat her with clubs, they scourged her: she bore the strokes with unflinching courage, but fell at their feet and implored them not to separate her from Principia, dreading the effect of these horrors on the young maiden if called to bear them alone. At length their hard hearts softened towards her; they accepted her statement as to her poverty, and escorted her and Principia to the Basilica of St. Paul. Arrived there she broke forth into a song of thanksgiving, 'that God had at least kept her friend for her unharmed, that she had not been made poor by the ruin of the city, but that it had found her poor already, that she would not feel the hunger of the body even though the daily bread might fail, because she was filled with all the fulness of Christ.' But the shock of the cruelties she had endured was too great for her aged body, and after a few days she expired, 'the hands of her adopted daughter closing her eyes, and her kisses accompanying the last sigh ¹.'

Fugitives
to the
Christian
churches
unharmed.

Our other anecdotes of the capture of the city are of a less melancholy kind. The Christian apologists naturally dwell on every fact, which suggests the reflection how much worse might the state of Rome have been, had heathens been its captors. Before entering the city Alaric had given strict orders, which appear to have been obeyed, that all the Christian edifices should be left uninjured, and that the right of asylum in them, especially in the two great basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, should be rigorously respected. Great multitudes of Pagans, as well as of Christians, availed themselves of this provision, which was accom-

¹ Jerome, Epist. xvi: 'Ad Principiam virginem, Marcellae viduae epitaphium.'

panied by a general recommendation from Alaric to spare human life as much as possible while satiating themselves with spoil¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
410.

One of the Goths, a man in high position and professing the Christian faith, burst into a house, which formed part, though he knew it not, of the possessions of the Church. Meeting an aged nun therein, he asked her, not uncourteously, whether she had any gold or silver. She replied that she had much of both, and would immediately produce it. She then set before him such a splendid array of gold and silver vessels as the barbarian had probably not seen before. Bewildered, he enquired as to the nature and use of them. She replied boldly, 'They are consecrated to the service of the Apostle Peter. I am not strong enough to defend them from you. Take them if you are not afraid to do so : you will have to answer for the deed.' The officer, struck by her boldness, and fearful of incurring the guilt of sacrilege, sent to ask orders from Alaric, who commanded that the sacred vessels, the woman who had so faithfully guarded them, and any Christians who might wish to accompany her, should be escorted by soldiers to the Basilica of St. Peter. A kind of triumphal procession was formed, the soldier and 'the virgin of Christ' at its head ; brawny Gothic arms carried the sacred vessels on high ; the Roman Christians sang hymns ; their barbarian brethren raised the melodious antiphone ; many Pagans, wondering and trembling, joined themselves to the crowd, and thus through the blood-stained, smoking streets that strange chorus moved on in safety to the shelter of the great Basilica².

The soldier
and the
nun.

¹ Orosius, vii. 39.

² Ibid.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.
The soldier
and the
matron.

Within the same inviolable enclosure a Roman matron, young and of surpassing loveliness, was conducted by another Gothic soldier. When he had sought to offer her outrage, she had preferred death to dishonour, and bared her neck to his sword. He struck, and the blood flowed copiously; he struck again, but he could not slay; then he relented, and leading her to the church gave her into the charge of the officers who were stationed there, and at the same time handing them six *aurei*¹, desired them to conduct her safely to her husband².

The city
itself in all
probability
not greatly
injured.

The amount of injury done by the Goths to the city itself it is not easy to determine. Writers, who were remote from the scene and declamatory in their style³, speak as if the whole city had been wrapped in flames, every building shattered, nothing left but ruins. It is easy to see from subsequent descriptions of the appearance of the city that this is a gross exaggeration, and it is *a priori* most improbable that the Goths, who only stayed a short time in Rome, and had much plundering to accomplish in that time, should have devoted so large a part of their energies to the destruction of mere buildings. On the other hand, it is clear that they did use fire in one case, when they burned the palace of Sallust, and probable enough that other edifices may have suffered in the same way, though it is singular that this one palace is the only building which any historian condescends to specify as having been de-

¹ This curious payment, which gives a somewhat ludicrous air to the close of the story, was perhaps due to the Teutonic idea of *weregild*.

² Sozomen, ix. 10.

³ Jerome, Procopius, Philostorgius.

stroyed by fire. Orosius, writing history as an advocate, and having to maintain the thesis that Rome had not suffered since her conversion to Christianity greater calamities than befell her in her Pagan times, is not, it must be admitted, an entirely trustworthy witness on this point. But he, a contemporary writer, distinctly says that 'the destruction wrought by fire at the hands of the Gothic conqueror was not to be compared with that caused by accident in the 700th year from the foundation of the city¹.' This verdict seems a probable one, and may support a conjecture that Rome suffered less, externally, from the barbarians in 410, than Paris from the leaders of the Commune in 1871.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.

Little as we know from eye-witnesses of the actual details of the siege, we are not left in ignorance of the effect which the news of its fatal result produced on the minds of the provincials. Especially are we able to note the impressions received by the two greatest writers of that age, St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

In his cell at Bethlehem, St. Jerome was laboriously constructing his commentary on Ezekiel, wrestling with the shadowy difficulties of the most enigmatical of Prophets, when suddenly 'a terrible rumour from the west was brought to him.' The story of all the three sieges seems to have reached him at once, the famine, the purchased peace with its vain humiliation, the capture and the sack. All filled his soul with one sorrow and consternation, a consternation so bewildering that, as he himself says, 'to quote a common proverb, I wellnigh forgot my own name.' Then came the troops of exiles, men and women of the noblest families

Effect of
the tidings
of the fall
of Rome
on St.
Jerome.

¹ This was the fire after the funeral of Clodius, and is generally assigned to the year of the City 702, before Christ 52.

BOOK I. in Rome, once abounding in wealth, now beggars.
CH. 17.

410.

At that sight 'I was long silent, knowing that it was the time for tears. Since for us to relieve them all was impossible we joined our lamentations with theirs, and in this state of mind I had no heart for explaining Ezekiel, but seemed likely to lose all the fruit of my labour.' He quotes Lucan,

'What is enough, if Rome be deemed too small'¹?

and proposes to modify the question thus—

'What can be safe, if Rome in ruins fall'²?

Then he quotes Virgil (with slight alterations)

'Not though a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues
Were mine, or came my voice from iron lungs,
Could I rehearse each tortured captive's pain,
Or swiftly tell the names of all the slain'³;

Isaiah, 'In the night Moab is taken, in the night has her wall fallen'⁴;

Asaph, the Psalmist, 'O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled, they have laid Jerusalem on heaps'⁵;

And again his favourite Virgil—

'What witness could recount aright
The woes, the carnage of that night,

¹ 'Quid satis est si Roma parum est?'

² 'Quid salvum est si Roma perit?'

³ 'Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
Ferreus vox, omnes captorum dicere poenas
Omnia caesorum percurrere nomina possim.'

Virgil has in the second line 'scelerum comprehendere formas,' and in the third 'poenarum.' Aeneid vi. 625-7.

⁴ Chap. xv. 1. (The A. V. differs.)

⁵ Psalm lxxix. 1.

Or make his tributary sighs
 Keep measure with our agonies ?
 An ancient city topples down
 From broad-based heights of old renown.
 There in the streets confusedly strown
 Lie age and helplessness o'erthrown,
 Block up the entering of the doors
 And cumber Heaven's own temple-floors¹.

BOOK I.
 CH. 17.

 410.

In the midst of his distress and consternation, Jerome does not fail to improve the opportunity for enforcing his own ascetic views. The first quotation from Virgil occurs in his celebrated letter 'De Monogamia,' addressed to the young widow Ageruchia, to dissuade her from re-marriage, 'Not even your sighs are safe,' he says; 'it is dangerous to weep over your calamities. Tell me, dear daughter in Christ, will you marry in the midst of such events as these? What do you mean your husband to do—fight? or fly? In either case you know what sad results to expect. For the Fescennine song², the terrible trumpet will crash upon your ears, and your bridesmaids may have to change their part and act as mourners for the dead.'

He improves the event to enforce his advice in favour of asceticism.

Again, in writing to Gaudentius as to the education

¹ Conington's translation of—

'Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
 Explicit, aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?
 Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos;
 Plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
 Corpora, perque domos

 et plurima mortis imago.'

Aeneid ii. 361-5 and 369.

This fondness for quotation from Virgil is one of the many resemblances between Jerome and his great namesake, Girolamo Savonarola.

² The merry verses chanted when the bride was being led to the house of her husband.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.

of his infant daughter Pacatula, he seems almost to rejoice that she is born into so dreary a world, because there is a greater chance of her being trained to abhor it. 'O shame,' he says, 'the frame of the world is falling into ruin, yet our sins fall not from us! That renowned city, the head of the Roman world, has been destroyed by one conflagration. There is no region where the exiles from Rome are not found; churches, once sacred, have fallen into heaps of ashes; and yet we are still set upon covetousness! . . . Into such times as these our little Pacatula has been born; these are the playthings by which her infancy is surrounded; she is learning tears before laughter, sorrow sooner than joy. Oh, let her think that the world has ever been like this; let her be ignorant of the past, avoid the present, yearn only for the future.'

But the climax of his ascetic enthusiasm is reached in his letter to Demetrias, daughter of the Olybrius whose Consulship, along with that of his brother Probinus, Claudian sang of, and granddaughter of Proba who was accused of opening the Salarian Gate to the Goths. In this letter he asserts that on Demetrias consecrating herself to a life of perpetual virginity 'Italy changed her garments of mourning, and the ruined walls of Rome almost resumed their former glory. This signal instance of Divine favour made the Romans feel as if the Gothic army, that off-scouring of all things, made up of slaves and deserters, were already cut to pieces. It made them rejoice more than their ancestors had done over the first victory which succeeded the terrible disaster of Cannae.' Was it genuine monkish enthusiasm, or flattery, or the slavery of a declamatory author to his own rhetoric, which

made Jerome write such extraordinary sentences as these¹ ?

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

On his great African contemporary Augustine, the tidings of the capture of Rome produced an effect as powerful as upon Jerome. As powerful, and in a certain sense more durable, since it stimulated him to the composition of his greatest work, the offspring of thirteen years of toil, his treatise on *The City of God*. In his 'Retractations' he thus describes the origin of the book:—

410.
Effect of
the same
tidings on
St. August-
tine.

'Rome, meanwhile, by the invasion of the Goths, under their king Alaric, was overthrown with the crash of a mighty slaughter. This overthrow, the worshippers of many and false gods (whom we are accustomed to call Pagans) endeavoured to connect with the Christian religion, and accordingly they began to blaspheme the name of the true God with even more than their usual bitterness. Wherefore I, inflamed with zeal for the Lord's house, determined to write a treatise on The City of God, in order to refute the mistakes of some and the blasphemies of others. This work kept me employed during several years, being interrupted by many other engagements which had to be attended to immediately. But this great work *De Civitate Dei* is at length completed in twenty-two books.'

He then goes on to describe the plan of the treatise. The first five books refute the error of those who assert

The 'De
Civitate
Dei.'

¹ I owe this quotation and the reflections suggested by it to Milman (History of Latin Christianity, i. 105, *note* 1). The other passages quoted from Jerome are from Ep. xi. (De Monogamia) Ad Ageruchiam; Ep. xii. (De Pacatulæ infantulæ educatione) Ad Gaudentium; Ep. xvi. (Marcellæ viduæ epitaphium) Ad Principiam Virginem; Ep. lxxxii. Marcellino et Anapsychiæ; and from the preface to the third book of his Commentaries on Ezekiel.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

that the prosperity of mankind depends on Polytheism. The next five are directed against those who admit that misfortunes sometimes befall the worshippers of the gods, but who contend that they ought still to be adored for the sake of the happiness which they are capable of bestowing in a future state. So much for the negative part of the work. Then, for the positive part, in the remaining twelve books he seeks to establish the truth of the Christian religion. In the first four (11th to 14th) he traces the origin, in the second four (15th to 18th) the growth, and in the last four books (18th to 22nd) the destined consummation of the two eternally separate cities whereof one is the City of God, the other the City of the World.

Such is the general outline of the great *Apology* of victorious Christianity, but there is many a creek and inlet of curious disquisition, of antiquarian lore, of fantastic speculation concerning Man and concerning Nature, of which this sketch-map gives us no hint. Its value as a piece of Christian polemic is, if one may venture to say so, far inferior to its value as a repository of the thoughts and feelings of Pagan Rome. As a mere piece of argument it suffers, not only from its intolerable prolixity, but yet more from the very completeness of its victory. Through page after page Augustine wrangles on with the Romans upon such topics as their worship of the goddess Felicity¹. Why did they worship both Felicity and Fortune? What was the difference between them? Why did they not worship Felicity in the earlier ages of the Republic, and yet introduce her worship afterwards? Were they

¹ Book iv. §§ 18-23.

not really happier before than after they began to worship Felicity? And so on. Arguments of this kind seem to a modern reader a most wearisome slaying of the slain: and yet the passage from Zosimus, quoted in this chapter, about the insult offered to the statue of Valour, shows that these deified abstractions really retained some hold on the reverence of the average Pagan intellect, and that Augustine was not fighting mere phantoms, though much of his sword-play seems to us superfluous.

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
410.

Upon the whole, while recognising the justice of its claim to a place in the front ranks of Christian literature, it may be said that the book is less than its title, that the single thought 'The City of God abideth for ever though the greatest City of the World has fallen in ruin,' is the most sublime thing which the author has to put before us, and that many of the arguments by which he tries to buttress his great thesis add no strength and no beauty to the edifice. As a work of art the *De Civitate Dei* certainly suffers from its extreme diffuseness and from the evident anxiety of the author to deal with every difficulty which had come before him in the course of a world-wide correspondence with the faithful. Still it is a great book, worthy of the fateful age in which it appeared, worthy to close the chapter of the old polytheistic literature of Greece and Rome, and to open the chapter of the new mediaeval literature which was to be the common possession of Christian Europe. The thought of this grand unseen City of God which was slowly forming itself out of the wrecks of kingdoms and empires was one which tended to realise itself in the lives of Christian men, and which undoubtedly influenced the policy of

BOOK I. Emperors as well as Popes, of Charles and Otho as well
 CH. 17. as of Hildebrand and Innocent.

410.

As we might expect from his position in the argument, Augustine strongly insists on all the mitigating circumstances in the fall of Rome, the respect shown to the churches, the privilege of sanctuary, and so forth; while, on the other hand, his statement that in so great a carnage the bodies could not even be buried¹, and the many pages devoted to the unhappy lot of the women who had been dishonoured by the barbarians², clearly show that the usual horrors of a town taken by assault were not lacking in the case of Rome.

The same great thesis, 'Rome has not suffered these things on account of her desertion of Paganism,' guides and informs the whole history of Orosius, which has been so often quoted in these pages, and which is dedicated to Orosius' friend and master Augustine.

Move-
ments of
the Goths
after the
capture of
Rome.

But it is time to return from the theological schools of Bethlehem and Hippo to Rome and her invaders. Three days only, or, at the most, six, did the Goths tarry in the famine-wasted and probably fever-stricken city. Then, with their heavy burden of spoils, and a long train of captives³ to help in bearing them, they marched southwards through Campania. Rome fallen, no meaner city seems to have even attempted resistance. We hear incidentally of one captured town, Nola, which

¹ i. 12.

² i. 16-19.

³ Among these captives, we are told, (on the somewhat doubtful authority of an inscription in the church of St. Agnes at Rome, recorded in Gruter, p. 1173. 3, but apparently copied by him from Baronius) was a certain deacon named Dionysius, who by his great skill in medicine, which he prescribed without fee or reward, won the hearts of his captors.

had resisted Hannibal when flushed with his great success at Cannae, but which apparently did not even delay the victorious march of Alaric. Here round the tomb of St. Felix (who suffered martyrdom probably in the persecution under Diocletian) Paulinus the bishop had erected a little suburb of convents. He had long ere this voluntarily exchanged great wealth for a life of poverty; and, to quote the words of his friend Augustine¹, 'When he was taken prisoner by the barbarians he put up this prayer, as he afterwards informed me, "Lord, let me not be tortured to make me reveal my gold and silver, for where all my wealth is gone thou knowest."' The context of the passage seems to imply that the prayer was granted, and that the good bishop did not even lose the little fragment of property which still belonged to him².

From Campania Alaric and his Goths pressed on still southward into Bruttii, the modern Calabria. They collected some ships at Reggio — intending to invade Sicily, some historians say; to pass on thence into Africa, says Jordanes the Goth. There can be little doubt that he is right, that Africa was the present object of Alaric's attack. Not necessarily, however, the ultimate object. His military instinct showed him that there, in the great granary of Rome, must the question of dominion over the Eternal City be decided; that

¹ De Civitate Dei, i. 10.

² Every year on the Feast Day of St. Felix (14th January) Paulinus wrote a 'Carmen Natalitium' in his honour. Seventeen of these poems are preserved, in whole or in part, but their vapid fluency throws very little light on the history of the times, and as the order of the poems is itself uncertain, all the vigorous attempts which have been made to fix by their means the order of historical events result in nothing but reasoning in a circle.

BOOK I. while Heraclian still held Africa for Honorius, the
 CH. 17. phantom-Emperor at Ravenna could not be dethroned.

410. He was going, then, to Africa, but doubtless with the intention of returning to Rome.

But whatever might be his intentions, they were frustrated. The wave of Teutonic invasion had reached its extreme limit at Reggio, and was henceforward to recede. With delight, doubtless, and gratitude for what seemed like an interference of Providence on their behalf, the citizens of Sicilian Messina saw a great storm arise, by which Alaric's fleet was dashed to pieces, and a considerable part of his army, already embarked thereon, destroyed¹. The Visigothic king could not bring himself to acknowledge defeat, even by the elements. He lingered near Reggio, still perhaps dreaming of conquests beyond the seas. Suddenly, in the midst of his warlike schemes, Death surprised him. We are told nothing as to the nature of his malady, except that it was of short duration. It is probable that in his case, as in that of so many other Northern invaders of Italy, climate proved itself mightier than armies, and that Fever was the great avenger.

Death of
Alaric.

His burial
under the
River
Busento.

The well-known story of the burial of Alaric derives some additional interest from the remembrance of his birthplace. He was born, as the reader may recollect,

Apud Pho-
tium iii.
261 (ed.
Migne).

¹ According to Olympiodorus, the Gothic invasion of Sicily was said to be in some mysterious manner barred by a sacred image, erected in old times and containing within one foot a flame of ever-burning fire, in the other a portion of never-failing water. Its destined function was to protect Sicily from ravages by the fire of Etna, and from assaults of barbarians across the seas, by both of which scourges the island was grievously tormented after the image was overthrown (a few years later than this time) by Aesculapius, steward of the Sicilian property of Constantius and Placidia.

on an island at the mouth of one of the greatest rivers of Europe. The flow of the broad but sluggish Danube, the sound of the wind in the pine-trees¹, the distant thunder of the Euxine upon its shore,—these were the sounds most familiar to the ear of the young Visigoth. Now that he had swept with resistless force from the Black Sea to the Straits of Messina, a river must flow over his grave as it had encircled his cradle. Forth from the high pine-woods of the Calabrian mountain-range of Sila leaps the stream of the Busento, which, meeting the larger river Crati coming from the Apennines, encircles the town of Cosenza, where the great Visigoth met his death. To provide their leader with a tomb which no Italian hand should desecrate, the barbarians compelled a number of their captives to labour at diverting the Busento from its ordinary channel. In the dry bed of the river they dug the grave, in which, amid many of the chosen spoils of Rome, the body of Alaric was laid. The captives were then ordered to turn the river back into its ancient course, and their faithful guardianship of the grim secret was secured by the inviolable seal of death printed upon their lips. So, under the health-bringing² waters of the rapid Busento, sleeps Alareiks the Visigoth, equalled, as it seems to me, by only three men in succeeding times as a changer of the course of history. And these three are Mohammed, Columbus, Napoleon.

Of that other triad who marked for us the commencement of the year 395, two are gone—Stilicho and Alaric. Honorius, their ignoble contemporary, as is the manner

BOOK I.
CH. 17.
410.

Effect of
the tidings
of the fall
of Rome
on Honorius.

¹ The island of Peuce, Alaric's birthplace, was named from the forests of pine (πέυκη) with which it was covered.

² Jordanes calls it 'unda salutifera' (cap. 30).

BOOK I.
CH. 17.

410.

of human affairs, survives, and is to live on yet for thirteen years. Something has been said of the effect of the tidings of the fall of Rome upon Jerome and Augustine: it would be improper not to mention the impression which they are said to have produced on the mind of the Roman Emperor. A chamberlain, says Procopius¹, rushed into the Imperial presence, announcing that Rome had perished. ““Rome perished!” said the Emperor. “It is not an hour since she was feeding out of my hand.” He understood the sad news as relating to a very fine fowl to which he had given the name of Rome. Then the eunuch explained to him that it was only the city of Rome which had been destroyed by Alaric. “But I thought, my friend,” said Honorius, evidently relieved, “that you meant that I had lost my *bird* Rome.””

The anecdote can hardly be true, but even the invention of such a story shows the estimate which his subjects had formed of the fatuous folly of the prince who is styled upon his coins, Honorius, the Pious and the Fortunate, the Triumpher over the nations of the barbarians.

¹ De Bello Vandalico, i. 2.

NOTE J. STATISTICAL ASPECTS OF THE CONTEST BETWEEN
ROME AND THE BARBARIANS.

OF really trustworthy statistics concerning the numbers and NOTE J.
resources of the two powers whose struggle we have been con-
templating, it must at once be confessed that we have none. We
have only guesses by learned and ingenious men, from data so
vague or so distant in point of time that error from a thousand
different sources, which no learning or ingenuity can detect, may
have flowed in and vitiated their conclusions.

1. *Number of the Goths.*

On this point it is no wonder that precise information is not forthcoming. One would not expect the tumultuary inroads of an unlettered people to show an accurate muster-roll or a scientifically arranged commissariat. Our most valuable number is the 200,000 fighting men of the Visigothic nation who, according to Eunapius, were collected in the year 376 on the Wallachian shore of the Danube under the leadership of Fridigern. Add to these the other Visigoths under Sueridus and Colias, and under Athanaric, who may have afterwards become amalgamated with them, deduct the losses by battle, plague, and famine, add again the natural increase of the population during the peaceful reign of Theodosius, deduct for those whom Alaric may have left behind him in Illyria, and the reader can then form his own conjecture as to the number of Gothic troops who encompassed Rome in the three great sieges.

By a singular coincidence we have the same number, 200,000, mentioned ¹ as that of the soldiers of Radagaisus who were shut up by Stilicho in the hill-country near Florence. There are some very slight indications that Alaric made his second invasion of Italy less of a national migration than the first, and

¹ Orosius vii. 37.

NOTE J. that this was one cause of his greater success in 408 than in 402. Possibly he may have been warned by the calamity which befell the unwieldy host of Radagaisus in the interval between those two dates, and may therefore have led a better disciplined and more compact army into Italy, and left the long train of waggons, the women and the children, behind. If I were to venture on a guess at all it would be that Alaric's army in his second and successful invasion of Italy ranged between 50,000 and 100,000 men.

2. *Number of the Roman army.*

At the time when the *Notitia* was compiled (probably on the eve of the battle of Pollentia) there were thirty-seven *Numeri* and eight *Vexillationes* serving in Italy¹. These thirty-seven *Numeri* consisted of fifteen Legions and twenty-two *Auxilia Palatina*. If the conjectural estimate on p. 629 be correct, this would give us

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 15 \times 6100 & = & 91,500 \\ 22 \times 500 & = & 11,000 \\ 8 \times 500 & = & 4,000 \end{array}$$

106,500 men of all arms

as the total force on paper. But I must refer to what I have before said (p. 634) as to the difficulty, amounting perhaps to impossibility, of satisfactorily co-ordinating the various statements as to the disposition of the troops made in the *Notitia*. In the demoralised, exhausted, bankrupt state of the Empire, one may imagine almost any deduction that one pleases from this total to bring it down to the effective force under the command of Stilicho; but on the other hand one must also increase it by an equally vague and conjectural estimate for the troops withdrawn from the defence of the provinces in order to take service among the defenders of Italy.

3. *Population of Italy.*

In a young and vigorous community, the number of the civil population from whom fresh recruits might be drawn to oppose an invader who remained three years in the land, might have been an important consideration. But Alaric probably knew that he might safely despise any accessions to the Imperial strength that might be drawn from the exhausted and spiritless

¹ *Notitia Occidentis*, cap. vii.

population of Italy. What the number of that population was we cannot determine with any approach to accuracy. The only datum for the calculation is the number of the *levée en masse* of citizens from sixteen to forty-six years of age, which, according to Polybius, was made throughout Italy south of a line drawn from Spezia to Rimini in the year 225 B.C. in expectation of a fresh Gaulish invasion. The number then raised amounted to about 700,000 foot-soldiers and 70,000 horse. On this basis Von Wietersheim calculates the population of that portion of Italy at 4,700,000, to which he adds from Lombardy, Piedmont, and Venetia, 4,700,000; for the Alpine districts, 300,000; giving a total of 9,700,000 for all Italy at its fullest extension; and, notwithstanding the fearful waste of life in the Social, Servile, and Civil Wars, he claims a sufficient increase of population to bring up the number to at least 11,000,000 in the time of Augustus.

NOTE J.

From these numbers those adopted by Mr. Bunbury in his article 'Italia,' in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, do not greatly differ, though he adopts a somewhat lower estimate. He fixes the population of Italy south of the Spezia-Rimini line at 4,000,000, exclusive of slaves, and remarks that the population of the same district at the present time considerably exceeds 9,000,000.

It will be evident that in deducing the number of the inhabitants of Italy at the Christian Era from the statistics of a period more than two centuries earlier, there is already great danger of error. For the four centuries between Augustus and Theodosius we have absolutely no guide in reference to this subject, only the strong and almost passionate utterances of Pliny as to the depopulating effect of the slave-system of agriculture. Such utterances, and the whole course of Imperial history, justify us in believing that if the population of Italy was 11,000,000 at the time of Augustus, it was considerably less than that number at the time of Theodosius. It is to be remarked, however, that the estates were not so large nor the withering effects of slave-culture so terribly visible in the Lombard plain as in the centre and south of Italy. Possibly one reason of the ill-success of Alaric's first invasion was that he never passed beyond the former and more populous district. If so, his rapid march at the opening of his second invasion, across

NOTE J. Umbria to Rome, may have been a stroke of sagacious boldness like Sherman's celebrated Georgian campaign at the close of the American Civil War, and may have succeeded for the same reason, because it led him through a country the heart of which was already eaten out by slavery.

4. *Population of Rome.*

If the population of Italy might have been a source of strength to her defenders, that of Rome, under the critical conditions of its food-supply, was an obvious source of weakness. What then was the number of those multitudes who watched for the approach of the corn-ships to Ostia, and who thronged round Attalus shouting 'Inpone pretium carni humanae'?

There are two chief data upon which all the enquirers into this subject found their reasonings:—

1. The *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the marble tablet upon which Augustus records his donations to the Roman people. The sentence to which they attach most importance runs thus, 'Consul xii, trecentis et viginti millibus Plebei urbanae sexagenos denarios viritim dedi' (In my 12th Consulship [B.C. 15] I gave to every man of the urban commonalty, being 320,000 in number, sixty denarii).

This seems as if it should give some secure foothold to the statistician, at any rate for the time close upon the Christian Era. If we know the number of the poor free citizens, to estimate that of the senators, and all above the 'plebs urbana,' should not be difficult. The great element of uncertainty, however, arises from the slaves. Most enquirers concur in assuming them at something like the same number as the free population. This is however only a guess, and one which our comparative ignorance of social life in Rome leaves us no means of accurately testing. There are other difficulties of detail connected with the inscription, questions how low down in point of age this distribution of cash extended, whether girls as well as boys were included in it, and why in the same inscription other numbers (250,000 and 200,000) are mentioned, apparently for the same class of recipients.

Thus it is not surprising that from the same somewhat vague premises the following very different conclusions are drawn by their respective authors:—

Bunsen fixes the population of Rome (B. C. 15) at	1,300,000.	NOTE J.
Marquardt	1,630,000.	
Zumpt	1,970,000.	
Hoeck	2,265,000.	

I take this comparison of their different results from Von Wietersheim (i. 243), who himself arrives, by a course of reasoning of his own, at results very similar to those of Bunsen, making the total population of the city 1,350,000.

2. The *Curiosum Urbis*, a description of the city of Rome assigned to the age of Constantine, gives the number of the dwellings therein as 1790 Domus, and 46,602 Insulae¹. Scholars are generally agreed that the former are the great self-contained mansions of the rich, and the latter the blocks of what we should call 'tenemented property' let out in flats and rooms to the poorer classes.

From this number of dwellings Gibbon infers a population of 1,200,000, and Von Wietersheim 1,470,000 at the beginning of the fourth century.

It is obvious, however, how exceedingly liable to error are all calculations of the population of a city from a conjectural allowance of so many inhabitants to each house. While the city was in the height of its prosperity, and 'overcrowding' was being practised, such calculations might be below the mark, and they would be almost sure to be greatly above it when the wave of prosperity was receding. The stately *domus* would still remain though the retinue of slaves was gone, and one or two solitary lodgers might represent the once teeming population of a crowded *insula*. It is, I suppose, considerations of this kind which have led Gregorovius to put the population of Rome at the time of Alaric's invasion as low as 300,000. To me, notwithstanding the undoubted influence of the removal of the Courts of Constantinople and Ravenna, so great a decline of population from the 1,500,000 which he admits for the time of Rome's greatest prosperity, seems too much, especially as the report of the Prefect of Albinus (to be mentioned in the next chapter), as to the rapid recovery of population by the city after

¹ These are the numbers of the summation at the end of the *Curiosum Urbis* and the *Notitia Regionum Urbis* xiv, as edited by Jordan (*Topographie der Stadt Rom*. ii. 572).

NOTE J. Alaric's sieges, shows that Rome still exercised a strong attraction of gravitation upon the people of Italy. I should be disposed to conjecture that the inhabitants of the city at the commencement of the first siege might still amount to 1,000,000. But the reader will see how much is left to mere guess-work in all these calculations. The Romans of the Empire had accurate census-tables and registers, but unfortunately the labours of the amanuensis, which have preserved to us their school-books and their religious tracts in almost too great abundance, have scarcely saved for us one of these.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LOVERS OF PLACIDIA.

Authorities.

Sources:—

We still derive a little light from OROSIUS, whose polemical history ends with the restoration of Placidia in 417. BOOK I.
CH. 18.

But our chief authority is OLYMPIODORUS, a contemporary, but known to us only at second hand by the abstract of his work contained in the 'Library' of PHOTIUS ('Olympiodorus apud Photium' is the usual form of quotation).

PHOTIUS is the celebrated litterateur-bishop, whose elevation to the see of Constantinople in the middle of the ninth century, followed by the appeal of his deposed rival Ignatius to Pope Nicolas I, was one of the chief causes of the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. The history of his stormy life may be read in Milman's *Latin Christianity* (Book v, chap. 4), or in Finlay's *Byzantine Empire* (Book i, chap. 3). With all his many faults he was an earnest scholar, and, whatever injury he may have inflicted on the Church, his services to literature are unquestionable. Sent on an embassy to the Court of Bagdad, he employed his leisure hours in writing for his absent brother Tarasius, an abstract of all the books, 279 in number, which he had been reading since they parted. As many of these books have utterly perished, the value of this abstract, called the *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*, is obviously very great. Among other subjects, the religious controversies of the fourth century and the barbarian invasions of the fifth seem to have engaged the learned patriarch's special attention; and hence it is that we have not only a valuable abstract of the Arian historian Philostorgius (quoted in previous chapters), but also one of OLYMPIODORUS.

This author was a native of the Egyptian Thebes. He was

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

by profession a poet, and by religion a Greek, that is, a worshipper of the old Olympian gods. It is singular that Egypt should have given us *two* such valuable guides to the history of the West as Claudian and Olympiodorus. He composed his history probably under the reign of Valentinian III: what is certain is, that beginning with the year 407 it closed with the accession of that prince in 425. It consisted of twenty-two books, which are represented in the Abstract of Photius by not quite so many pages. Photius says that 'the style of the book is poor, and that there is a tendency to vulgarity in it, so that it can hardly be called a regular history, and that he seems to have felt this himself, for he calls it only "Materials for History," though on the other hand he adopts the conventional division into books, and endeavours to adorn it with a dedication to Theodosius.'

It may be permitted to us to conjecture that, as was natural enough for an Egypto-Greek historian, he took Herodotus for his model. Certainly his long digressions about the Egyptian oases, his complaints about the hardships of his voyages, his valuable though ludicrous account of the schools of philosophy at Athens, and his anecdotes about a favourite parrot which danced and sang and called people by their names, remind one more of the garrulous old man of Thurii than of any intervening historian. But be it dignified or undignified, would that we had still the twenty-two books of his history.

My quotations of Olympiodorus are generally made from the fourth volume of Müller's '*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*.'

It has seemed necessary to relate with almost tedious minuteness the marches and counter-marches, the intrigues, the negotiations, and the plunderings, which preceded or accompanied the Gothic sack of Rome.

Other sieges and pillages of the Eternal City lie before us, but we shall not find it necessary to bestow on all the same close attention which has been claimed for the first. Now that the secret of Rome's weakness is disclosed, many a nomadic horde wandering over the Scythian steppes has heard the strange exciting history,

and will not rest till it, too, has stood victorious on the Capitolian Hill. But we hear and we tell the adventures of Columbus, and of his fellow mariners, who could say

‘ We were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea,’

with an interest which we do not accord to the journal of a modern passenger traversing the same waters with all the appliances and all the luxuries of our modern civilisation ; and uninteresting as the latter class of travellers do some of the more recent ravagers of Rome appear, on their commonplace and easily accomplished errand of destruction.

Not yet however for another generation is the example of Alaric to be followed. Forty-two years of something like repose for Italy have first to elapse. In journeying over this long piece of level ground we shall find our attention chiefly attracted by the story of the sister of Honorius and the sister-in-law of Alaric, the Queen of the Goths and the Augusta of the Romans, the lady Galla Placidia.

The second marriage of Theodosius, as the reader has already been told, was a somewhat romantic affair, springing out of the murder of Valentinian II and the flight of his mother and sisters to Constantinople. The issue of that marriage, his daughter Galla Placidia, was thus the representative of two Imperial houses, the granddaughter of the warrior Valentinian, the daughter of the warrior Theodosius. She was born probably about the year 390¹, and can have remembered little

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

Birth and
parentage
of Galla
Placidia.

¹ I see that the statement on p. 569 (l. 10) may be understood as meaning that Placidia was born in 394 at the time of her mother's death. That is not my meaning, but I venture to think that Sievers

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

either of father or mother, the Empress Galla having died before she was four years old, and Theodosius having departed immediately after for his last campaign in the West. As she inherited one of her names from her mother, so she seems to have been the only member of the family who inherited anything of the vigour and capacity of her father, character, as is so often the case, not being transmitted according to sex.

Her resi-
dence at
Rome
during the
Gothic in-
vasion.

For some reason unknown to us¹, she did not follow her brother's court to the safe shelter of Ravenna, but remained in Rome at the time of the Gothic invasion. It is with sorrow that we find her at the time of the first siege assenting to the judicial murder of Serena, as decreed by the Senate². We can well believe that the

(Studien, p. 447) is wrong in saying that the child born in 394 died at the same time as its mother. (See Zosimus iv. 57.)

¹ One reason, perhaps, might be that her kinswoman Laeta, widow of Gratian, was still residing in Rome.

² Zosimus v. 38. Thierry (Trois Ministres des fils de Théodose, p. 376) attributes the initiative to Placidia. 'Elle comparut devant le Senat: elle accusa Serene de trahison,' &c. This is not a fair inference from the brief words of Zosimus: *ἑδόκει κοινῇ τε γερουσίᾳ πόσι καὶ Πλακιδίᾳ τῇ ὁμοπατρίᾳ τοῦ Βασιλέως ἀδελφῇ ταύτην ἀναιρεθῆναι* ('The Senate, and Placidia the half-sister of the Emperor, jointly determined that she should be put to death'). The whole story of Eucherius' suit and Placidia's rejection of it, as told by Thierry (p. 326), seems, as I have before remarked, much too large a fabric for the few lines of Claudian (In Cons. Stilichonis, ii. 350-361) upon which it is based. The following is the passage:

'Parte aliâ spumis fucantem serica frena
Sanguineis, primae signatus flore juventae,
Eucherius flectebat equum; jaculisque vel arcu
Aurea purpureos tollentes cornua cervos,
Aureus ipse, ferit. Venus hîc, invecta columbis,
Tertia regali jungit connubia nexu;
Pennatique nurum circumstipantur honores
Progenitam Augustis, Augustorumque sororem.

wife of Stilicho had been a hard duenna towards her young kinswoman : and a few words of Claudian suggest the possibility that the suit of her son Eucherius for the hand of his cousin may have been too importunately pressed : still, the sanction which this young maiden of eighteen is said to have given to the death of one so unfortunate and so unjustly slain as Serena must remain as a stain upon her memory.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

408-410.

After one of the three sieges of Rome, probably the second, Placidia was taken captive by the barbarians ; and though treated with all the courtesy and deference due to a lady of royal birth, was nevertheless distinctly spoken of as a hostage, obliged apparently to move as the army moved, and used as a lever to bring the endless peace-negotiations with the Court at Ravenna to a satisfactory issue.

Placidia
taken
prisoner
by the
Gothic
army.

But after the death of Alaric, and when his brother-in-law Ataulfus¹ had been raised upon the shield and proclaimed King of the Visigoths, a change gradually came over these negotiations, and the restitution of the lady Placidia was less and less willingly offered by the barbarians. There was a change in the mind of Ataulfus, who was beginning to wish to be the champion rather than the enemy of Rome. ‘When I was at Bethlehem,’ says his contemporary Orosius, ‘I heard a citizen of Narbonne, who had served with distinction under Theodosius, and who was besides a

Ataulfus
becomes
philo-
Roman.

vii. 43.

Eucherius trepido jam flammea sublevat ore
Virginis : arridet laeto Thermantia fratri.
Nam domus haec utroque petit diademata sexu ;
Reginasque parit, reginarumque maritos.’

¹ The name Ata-ulfus is a word of four syllables, possibly derived from Atta-Wulfs, Father-Wolf, and so equivalent to Wolf-son. It survives in the modern Adolf.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

wise and religious person, tell the most blessed Jerome that he had been on terms of the greatest intimacy with Ataulfus at Narbonne, and that he had frequently heard him say that, in the first exuberance of his strength and spirits, he had made this his most earnest desire—to utterly obliterate the Roman name, and bring under the sway of the Goths all that had once belonged to them—in fact, to turn *Romania* into *Gothia*, and to make himself, Ataulfus, all that Caesar Augustus had once been. But when he had learnt, by long experience, that the Goths would obey no laws on account of the unrestrained barbarism of their character, yet that it was wrong to deprive the commonwealth of laws without which it would cease to be a commonwealth, he at least for his part had chosen to have the glory of *restoring* the Roman name to its old estate, and increasing its potency by Gothic vigour, and he wished to be looked upon by posterity as the great author of the Roman restoration, since he had failed in his attempt to be its transformer.’

Ataulfus
and Pla-
cidia in
love with
one an-
other.

Such were the plans which, during the years immediately following 410, were passing through the brain of the Gothic chieftain, and at the same time his heart was cherishing day by day more loving thoughts about the fair wise face of his captive Placidia. She appears to have been ready to return his affection; and it is therefore with some surprise that we find a space of four years elapse before the marriage ceremony takes place.

But the
marriage is
delayed by
the influ-
ence of

This delay seems to be chiefly due to the fact that the Visigoth had a powerful rival in the person of the Emperor’s new general and adviser, Constantius¹,

¹ The reader is requested to observe that the British usurper of the sovereignty of the Gauls is *Constantine*; this new minister of

before whose rising star the influence of Olympius and Jovius successively succumbed¹. He too had set his heart on winning Placidia for his wife, and the effectual services which he rendered to her brother seemed to excuse the pertinacity of his suit. Therefore it was that whenever Goths and Romans met to negotiate a peace, the restitution of Placidia was the point most strongly insisted upon by the ministers of Honorius, most sedulously evaded by the envoys of Ataulfus.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

the new
favourite
at Ra-
venna, Con-
stantius.

By a rare piece of good fortune we are favoured with some details as to the outward appearance of the two rivals, and can therefore imagine some of the contending emotions which agitated the heart of Placidia.

Character-
istics of
the two
rivals.

Ataulfus, among his tall countrymen, was not distinguished for his stature, but his shapely figure and dignified countenance more than atoned for this deficiency².

Constantius, on the other hand (an Illyrian by birth, who had served in many campaigns under the great Theodosius), is described³ as having a downcast, sulky look. His broad head was set upon a large neck; his great full eyes were darted with a scowl to right and left of him, so that men said he looked thoroughly like

Honorius is *Constantius*. The habit of giving the names of the still popular Constantian dynasty greatly perplexes the annals of this period. We meet with two or three persons of the name of Constans, and one Julian, about this time, in addition to this Constantine and Constantius.

¹ Olympius first lost his ears, and then was beaten to death with clubs, by order of Constantius (Olympiodorus, Fr. 8, ed. Müller). The particulars of the fall of Jovius are not recorded.

² Jordanes, cap. xxxi.

³ By Olympiodorus (fr. 23).

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

a tyrant¹: and when he rode he rolled forward on the neck of his horse. But this slouching, gloomy tyrant was agreeable enough in his cups. At suppers and banquets he showed himself a pleasant and polite person; nay, so great was his condescension that when the time came for the comic actors to enter and enliven the feast, he would often rise from the table and contend with them for the prize of buffoonery.

We must again interrupt for a time the course of the history of Italy in order to glance at the affairs of Gaul and Spain, in which Constantius played a prominent part. The year 409, which witnessed the elevation and the short-lived glory of Attalus, saw also another anti-Emperor proclaimed in Spain, threatening the throne of the usurper Constantine. There was disaffection and mutiny among the Spanish troops of Constantine, which was connected in some way (whether as cause or effect our authorities will not enable us to say) with the fact that the three barbarian nations, Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, who had once before ineffectually dashed themselves against the barriers of the Pyrenees, now succeeded in penetrating the mountain-passes, no longer defended by the old national militia, and were soon surging wildly over the fat and fruitful land which since the birth of Christ had scarcely seen a spear thrown in anger². Three-quarters of Spain at least were lost

28th Sept.,
409.

¹ Or *king*. *Tύραννος* is of course susceptible of either meaning.

² Idatius says 'Alani et Wandali et Suevi Hispanias ingressi aeri CCCXLVIII (=A.D. 410) alii quarto Kalendas (28 Sept.) alii tertio Idus Octobris (13 Oct.) memorant die, tertiâ feriâ Honorio VIII et Theodosio Arcadii filio III consulibus.' The consulships fix the year to 409 not 410. The interval between the two dates mentioned, 28 Sept. and 13 Oct., might well be occupied in the passage of so numerous a horde through the mountain defiles.

to the Empire, and in the remaining quarter usurper and counter-usurper were struggling for supremacy. For Gerontius, the British lieutenant of Constantine, being for some reason superseded in his command, refused to accept his dismissal, and proclaiming one of his dependants¹, a life-guardsman named Maximus, Emperor, in his name waged bitter and on the whole successful war against Constans, the son of his former chief Constantine. In the year 410 he seems to have succeeded in driving Constans out of Spain, and to have followed him into Gaul, intent on overthrowing the new dynasty. Gerontius besieged and took Vienne, probably in the early part of 411, and having put the young Constans to death, turned southward to besiege the strong city of Arles, where Constantine, given over to gluttony and sloth, was dragging out his inglorious reign.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

But not for Gerontius was reserved the glory of stripping the purple robe from the base-born usurper. At the same moment, apparently, that he was marching on Arles from the North, Constantius, eager to do some signal service to Honorius and to win by the sword the hand of Placidia, was approaching it from the East. Ere either army had formed the siege the bulk of the army of Gerontius had melted away from his standards and had joined themselves to the host of Constantius.

¹ All the other authorities except Olympiodorus say or imply that this was the relation between Gerontius and Maximus. Olympiodorus Fr. 16. seems to make them father and son, saying Γερόντιος . . . Μάξιμον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, εἰς τὴν τῶν δομestikῶν τάξιν τελούντα, Βασιλέα ἀναγορεύει. I think we must conclude either (which is very probable) that Photius, on whose notes we rely, misunderstood the meaning of his author, or that Olympiodorus used the word παῖς in the meaning of 'servant,' which like the Latin 'puer' it sometimes bears. The Latin translator in Müller's edition renders 'ejus filius [potius, ejus domesticus].'

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

411.

Perhaps, in fighting Constantine, they had persuaded themselves that they were showing their loyalty to Honorius, and did not dare to oppose in arms the representative of the legitimate ruler of the Empire. Perhaps, as Spaniards, they shared that feeling of loyalty to the Theodosian house which had brought Didymus and Verenianus into the field. Whatever the cause, Gerontius, finding himself general of an ever-dwindling army, threw up the game, and stole away into Spain. But the soldiers among whom he came, despising him for what they deemed his cowardly flight, mutinied against him, and took counsel to slay him. They surrounded his house at nightfall, but he, with one faithful henchman, of Alan blood, and a few slaves, mounted to the top of the house and did such execution with their arrows that 300 of the besiegers fell. At length, the arrows were all exhausted; the slaves, under cover of the night, glided away from the house: and Gerontius might easily have done the like. But he would not leave his wife, who for some reason could not share his flight, and his Alan comrade would not leave him. So all three were still remaining on the house top when the day was dawning. The bloodthirsty mutineers gathered around and set fire to the house. Flight was impossible: the only thought of the defenders was how to escape ignominy and torture. At the earnest request of his friend, Gerontius cut off the head of the faithful Alan, then of his wife, a devout Christian, who with prayers and tears besought him thus to preserve her honour. Then he thrice struck himself with his sword, but failing each time to inflict a mortal wound, he drew forth the trustier dagger and stabbed himself to the heart.

Meanwhile, the siege of Arles, though of some length, had upon the whole gone favourably for the cause of legitimacy. After four months the siege seemed likely to be raised by the approach of Edobich, a Frank, in the usurper's service, who had been sent to collect auxiliaries among his barbarous countrymen on the lower Rhine. But by a clever stratagem, Edobich's army was surrounded and defeated: by the ingratitude of an old friend Edobich was slain, and Constantine was forced to recognise that the pleasant years of Empire were over. He took refuge in a church, and there received priest's orders. The people of Arles, on obtaining the assurance of the Imperial clemency both for themselves and their late lord, opened their gates to Constantius. As far as the citizens were concerned, the compact was honourably kept, but not so as to the late Augustus. He was sent, with his son Julian, to the court of Honorius, but messengers met them at the twentieth milestone from Ravenna, bearing the orders of the Emperor, in whose mind the insult offered to his own majesty and the cruel murder of his kinsmen, outweighed the obligations of good faith and the respect due to his general's plighted word. Constantine and Julian were put to death, and their heads were fixed up outside the gates of Carthage, where those of Maximus and Eugenius, the usurpers of a previous generation, had already for many years been exposed, a ghastly memorial of an anti-Emperor's perils¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

411.

18th Sept.,
411.

¹ The words of Olympiodorus are clear, ἀποτίθενται ἄμφω αἱ κεφαλαὶ Fr. 19. Καρθαγένῃς ἔξωθεν. It is certainly rather difficult to understand why Carthage should be selected as the scene of this object lesson on the duties of subjects: but I agree with my critics that to propose to substitute Milan for Carthage, as I did in the first edition, is to take

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

The revolt
of Hera-
clian, go-
vernors of
Africa.

But the lesson which these ghastly trophies were meant to teach was not learned even in Carthage itself. Heraclian, the murderer of Stilicho, whom we have seen valiantly and loyally holding Africa for Honorius, at length (in the year 413) raised the standard of rebellion himself, detained the usual tribute of corn which should have gone from his province to Rome, and set sail for the coast of Italy with an armament which the terror-stricken citizens believed to be larger than any squadron that had been seen since the days of Xerxes, and to consist of 3700 ships. Something however—perhaps the remains of the old Roman loyalty—lingering near his conscience, made him, who had been so staunch in his defence, falter in his attack. The Count Marinus resisted him with some vigour, and he immediately lost heart and fled, with one ship, to Carthage, where he was at once arrested and put to death¹. So was the death of Stilicho avenged. Constantius asked for the confiscated property of the rebel, and obtained it, the historian says, ‘at one asking’—so ductile was the soft nature of Honorius. It amounted to £4600 in gold, and about £92,000 worth of landed estate: much less than Constantius had reckoned on receiving, but sufficient to enable him to celebrate his consulship (in the year 414) with becoming splendour.

We return to Ataulfus and his Visigoths. Two an unwarrantable liberty with the text. Mr. Bury’s suggestion that Carthago Nova in Spain is meant would be quite satisfactory as far as Constantine and Julian are concerned, but one fails to see why it should have been chosen for the other usurpers. *Καρχηδόνη* seems to be the correct form of the Greek name of Carthago Nova as much as of Carthago Vetus.

¹ Readers of ‘Hypatia’ will remember the use which Kingsley has made of this abortive stroke for empire on the part of Heraclian.

years after the sack of Rome they quitted Italy, never again to come back through the Alpine passes. The reason of their departure is not made clear to us. It may be that Gaul, whither they at first directed their steps, seemed a fairer prize than the much-ravaged plains of Italy: it may be that the desire of conserving instead of destroying 'Romania' induced the Gothic chieftain to withdraw from a land, the security of which was essential to the recovery of the prestige of Rome: it may be that the departure of the barbarians from the near neighbourhood of Ravenna was meant to soothe the Roman Emperor into giving that consent to the marriage with Placidia which threats had been unable to extort.

BOOK I.
Ch. 18.

The Visi-
goths
march
from Italy
into Gaul.
412.

But strangely enough, if this was the aim of Ataulfus, he next appears as supporting the cause of Jovinus, one of the many usurpers of the Empire, who, relying on the aid of the Tartar Alans and the Teutonic Burgundians, had lately raised the standard of revolt at Mentz. That pitiable shadow of an Emperor, Attalus, who still followed in his train, had counselled Ataulfus to make this inexplicable move. One important result followed from the visit to the camp of Jovinus. The hereditary enemy, or, as the Germans would say, the *Erb-feind*¹, of Alaric and of his successor, he who was in heart the murderer of Stilicho, Sarus, was coming to the same headquarters of mutiny, disgusted with the ungrateful feebleness of Honorius, who had allowed his faithful servant, Belleridus by name, to be murdered at the Imperial Court without making any inquisition for his blood.

Ataulfus
supports
the usurper
Jovinus.

Unawares, the revolter Sarus rushed into the deadly

¹ The Goths would probably call him *Arbi-fjands*.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

412.

Sarus
taken and
killed by
Ataulfus.

embrace of his enemy. Ataulfus waylaid him with 10,000 men, against whom the eighteen or twenty followers of Sarus fought with useless intrepidity. At length one of this immensely superior force, anxious to take the captive alive to his master, threw a piece of coarse sacking over the head of Sarus, and so brought him helpless, but still living, into the presence of Ataulfus, by whose orders he was slain.

Except this event, little followed from the visit of Ataulfus to the camp of Jovinus. The usurper deeply offended his powerful friend by proclaiming, contrary to that friend's advice, Sebastian, his brother, as his partner in the Imperial dignity.

413.
Jovinus
and his son
surrendered by
Ataulfus
to Honorius
and
put to
death.

With the opening of the year 413, Ataulfus sent an embassy to Ravenna offering to bring in the heads of all the usurpers if 'a just and honourable peace' were concluded. The offer was accepted, oaths were exchanged, and the ambassadors returned. First of all, Sebastian's head was despatched as a present to Honorius; then Jovinus, besieged and taken prisoner, was sent in bonds to Ravenna, and there slain by the Praetorian Prefect with his own hand. The heads of the two brothers were then exposed outside the gate of Carthage, where the two pairs of usurpers had already preceded them.

The court-
ship of
Placidia
proceeds
slowly.

Great services were these which the Visigoth had rendered to the Emperor: still, the cardinal point, the restitution of Placidia, could not be agreed upon. Constantius began to press more eagerly for her return. Ataulfus, to evade this demand, raised his terms, for concessions in land, in money, in corn, yet higher and higher. In the midst of the peace negotiations, he even made a sudden attack upon the town of Marseilles.

The general commanding there, Bonifacius, a man who afterwards played a great part in the service of Placidia, repulsed him with great loss, and he scarce escaped with life. Still, however, Ataulfus pushed on his preparations for the marriage; and at last, in the year 414, the year which witnessed the consulship of the other lover, Constantius, Honorius was induced, chiefly by the good offices of a certain general, Candidianus¹, to give his consent to the match.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

413.

The time was the early part of the month of January; the place where the marriage was solemnised was the city of Narbonne, the capital of Gallia Narbonensis, the chief province of Gaul. The house of Ingenuus, one of the principal personages of the city, was given up for the ceremony. Here, in the inner apartment² which was adorned after the manner usual with wealthy Romans, sat Placidia in the seat of honour, arrayed in royal robes. To her entered Ataulfus, not wearing the furs and carrying the great battle-axe of the Goths, but dressed in the fine woollen tunic³ which was the appropriate wedding garment of the Romans, and in all other respects costumed like a countryman of the bride. The religious ceremony may probably enough have been performed by Sigesarius the Arian bishop who baptized

414.
The wedding at Narbonne.

Olympiodorus ap. Photium, Fr. 24 (ed. Müller).

¹ Candidianus is mentioned again by Olympiodorus as assisting in the restoration of Placidia and her son in 425. He also presided at the Council of Ephesus (431), where his influence was exerted on the side of Nestorius. He was then 'Comes Domesticorum.' The 'Pons Candidiani' at Ravenna, mentioned by Jordanes (*De Rebus Geticis*, cap. xxix) as the limit of Alaric's advance in that quarter, was probably named after him.

² Or it may be in the 'atrium,' or long porch in front of the house. The Greek word *παστράς* seems susceptible of either interpretation.

³ *χλαρίς*.

BOOK I. Attalus, and who seems to have acted as a kind of
 CH. 18. chaplain to the Visigothic army.

414.

And so the complicated and unsatisfactory negotiations of the last four years were brought to a successful issue. Romans and barbarians were made for the time one people; the captor and captive were fond husband and devoted wife.

The gorgeousness of the wedding presents which the Visigoth gave to his bride was long remembered. Fifty beautiful youths dressed in silken robes (the material for which came not then from Lyons, but across trackless deserts from the far East of Asia) knelt before the bride, whose slaves they were henceforward to remain. Each held in his hands two chargers, one filled with gold, the other with precious, or more properly, priceless, stones. The gold and the jewels were the spoils of Rome, but Placidia must have been more or less than woman if at that moment the thought of the possession of so many lustrous gems did not in some measure efface the remembrance of the woes of 'the daughter of her people.'

Attalus
acts as
choir-
master.

After the presentation of the wedding gifts came the singing of wedding songs, in which the aesthetic Attalus, ex-Praetorian Prefect, ex-Emperor of Rome, but ever true to his Greek instinct for Art, led the chorus.

Importance of the
marriage
as pre-
figuring
the union
of the
Latin and
Teutonic
peoples.

The day ended with loud demonstrations of joy on the part of both the populations whose union was typified by this event. And, in truth, small as was the result which actually followed from this marriage, we can hardly attribute to it too great an importance as symbolical of that amalgamation between the Roman and the Germanic races which was yet to be, though

confused and bloody centuries were to elapse before it was finally achieved. Augustus or Tiberius would have as soon accepted a menial slave for a son-in-law as the German hero Arminius. In the four centuries which have elapsed since those days, 'Gothia' has risen much in the scale of civilisation, and 'Romania' has learned that her very existence may depend on the clemency of these barbarians. And so it comes to pass that the sister of the Roman Augustus and the *Thiudans* of the Teutonic people are joined with mutual love and reverence in the honourable estate of holy matrimony; the word Barbarian loses half its potency as an epithet of reproach, and Mediaeval History begins to show itself above the horizon.

The issue of this marriage was a son, named after his maternal grandfather Theodosius. It might well be thought that high fortunes were in store for this child, that he would one day mount the throne of the Caesars and restore to Rome, by the arms of his father's soldiers, all and more than all that she had lost by the might of one uncle and the weakness of another. But it was not so to be. Ataulfus, though more than ever, since this infant's birth, disposed to be friendly towards the Empire, found his overtures for peace persistently declined on account of the predominant influence of Constantius. Nay more: without actual battle he appears to have been, by a kind of blockade of the Gallic coast, forced over the Pyrenees, and obliged to enter Spain where Vandals, Alans, and Sueves, having penetrated before him, left little to be plundered and much toil to be undergone by the latest comers. Soon after the Visigothic host had entered Spain the infant Theodosius died. His parents made great lamentation

BOOK I.
CH. 18.
414.

Birth of
Placidia's
eldest son,

415.

who dies
an infant.

BOOK I. over him, and buried him in a silver coffer in a church
CH. 18. outside their new capital, Barcelona.

415.
Ataulfus
murdered
by his
groom.

The death of the child was speedily followed by that of the father. Ataulfus had among his servants a Goth named Dobbius (or Dubius)¹, whose former master, the chief of some petty tribe, he had conquered and slain. Dobbius was loyal to the memory of his earlier servitude, and watched for an opportunity of revenge. It came one morning when the king, according to his usual custom, was, like many a Teuton since, going the round of his stables and enjoying the sight of his horses feeding. Then, apparently, the treacherous groom came behind him and stabbed him in the back. Dying, for he was not killed on the spot, he was able to whisper his commands to his brother, 'If possible live in friendship with Rome, and restore Placidia to the Emperor.' And with those words surely a spasm of grief shook the frame of the dying warrior as he remembered all the years wasted on windy negotiations. Four years of these and only one of actual possession of his fair

¹ According to Jordanes, the assassin was a certain Wernulf, at whose small stature his master had frequently mocked. But Olympiodorus, whose account I have followed, is much more likely to be right than Jordanes. The modern historians, including even the careful Aschbach, make the assassin a former servant of Sarus. I venture to think that they are mistaken. Olympiodorus, who knows the history of Sarus well and has described his death, simply says Πάλαι γὰρ ἦν ὁ τούτου δεσπότης μοίρας Γοθικῆς ῥῆξ ὑπὸ Ἀδαυλφου ἀνηρημένος, 'For the master of this man was, of old, king of a Gothic troop, and had been slain by Adaulphus.' Had it been Sarus, he would surely have mentioned the name. Tillemont evidently thinks so, for he describes the event thus: 'Il fut tué dans son écurie par un de ses domestiques nommé Dobbie, de sa propre nation et qu'il avoit pris depuis longtemps à son service. Mais c'estoit après avoir tué son maistre qui estoit Roy d'une partie des Goths: et il n'avoit jamais pu luy faire oublier ce premier maistre.' (v. 629.)

young bride. The thought lent a fresh bitterness to death as the soul of Ataulfus went forth whither Alaric had preceded him.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

415.

The successor of Ataulfus was Singeric¹, the brother of Sarus. Seeing the brother of the Erbfeind thus reaping the advantage of Dobbius's crime, we shall probably not be far wrong in supposing that he was an accomplice before the fact. His acts are those of a man determined to pursue the blood-feud to the uttermost. He tore the sons of Ataulfus (children of an earlier marriage than that with Placidia) out of the very arms of Bishop Sigesarius and put them to death. Placidia he durst not slay, but he dared to insult her. Mingled with a crowd of other captives she was forced to walk before his horse out of the gates of Barcelona, and this insulting procession² was continued till it reached the twelfth milestone from the city. Strange reverse of fortune for the daughter, sister, and grand-daughter of Emperors, humbled thus before an insolent barbarian on the soil of her own ancestral Spain!

Singeric,
successor
of Ataulfus,
insults
Placidia.

But the reaction, if such there was in the Visigothic camp in favour of the family of Sarus, was but for a moment. After a reign of only seven days Singeric was slain, and the brave Walia, a worthy successor, though not, as far as we know, a relative of Alaric and Ataulfus, was raised upon the shield in his stead.

He is slain,
and Walia
succeeds
him.

Almost the first act of King Walia was to restore

¹ Otherwise Segeric (Orosius) or Regeric (Jordanes).

² The word used by Olympiodorus for this procession, *προπομπή* is sometimes used of a *funeral* procession. Is it possible that Singeric, with a refinement of cruelty, inflicted this insult on Placidia while she was actually following the dead body of her husband to the grave?

BOOK I. Placidia to the Romans. His chamberlain Euplutius
CH. 18.

416.

Placidia
restored to
Honorius
and a treaty
concluded
between
the Empire
and the
Visigoths.

was charged to escort her to the foot of the Pyrenees, whither came Constantius with almost regal pomp to receive her. A firm treaty of peace between the two nations was at length concluded, and in return for the surrendered princess the Visigoths received 600,000 measures (nearly 19,000 quarters) of corn. This was possibly the amount of pay which had been stipulated for and wrangled over in the previous negotiations between Ataulfus and Honorius.

Miserable
condition
of Spain.

And in truth the state of Spain, wasted and trodden under foot by four barbarian tribes (Vandals, Alans, Suevi, and Visigoths), as well as by the remaining Roman soldiery, was such that any considerable quantity of corn might well seem a good exchange for a princess. The usual terrible stories of cannibalism are told of this time. In one Spanish town, it is said, a woman who had four children ate them all. As the first and the second and the third disappeared, she pleaded the necessity of affording some sustenance, however dreadful, to the remainder, but when the fourth was eaten this plea availed her no longer, and she was stoned to death by her horrified townsmen. One commercial transaction, long remembered and talked of beside many a barbarian camp-fire, marked this time of famine. Some Gothic soldiers bought from some Vandals a *trula* of wheat for an *aureus*. As the Trula was only the third part of a pint, and the Aureus was worth about twelve shillings, the bargain did not redound greatly to the profit of the Visigoths, who received from the other nation the contemptuous nickname of *Truli*. Many a time, as we can well imagine, were the streets of Spanish towns made

Olympiodorus,
Fr. 29 (ed.
Müller).

red with Teuton blood, and the yellow locks of slain barbarians lay thick across the pathway, after the taunting shout *Truli, Truli*, and some unknown word of answering defiance had greeted the ears of the trembling provincials.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

The thought that Rome would be the gainer by all these dissensions among her invaders is expressed by the barbarians themselves with a plainness which seems most improbable (were we not reading the words of a contemporary) in the following passage of Orosius:—

Expecta-
tion that
the dissen-
sions of the
barbarians
would res-
cue the
Empire.

‘ Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, all sent embassies to Honorius, at the same time as the Visigothic king Walia, and on the same errand. “Do thou live at peace with all of us,” said they, “and accept the hostages of all. We fight with one another, perish with one another, conquer for thee: thy commonwealth will reap immortal gain if both parties among us perish.” ’

Orosius upon this remarks, ‘ Who would believe these things, unless the fact itself persuaded him of it. But so it is, that up to this very time we hear from numerous messengers that wars are being daily waged among the barbarous nations in Spain, and that the bloodshed on both sides is enormous: especially that Walia, the king of the Goths, is earnest in keeping the peace which he has made with us. Wherefore I would for my part concede that the age of Christianity should be abused as much as ever you please, if you can show me anything from the foundation of the world till the present time that has ever been managed with similar success.’ And so, with a few complimentary words to St. Augustine, he ends his history ‘ of the passions and punishments of men during 5617 years, namely, from

Conclusion
of Orosius’
history.
417.

BOOK I. the creation of the world till the present day.' Here
 CH. 18.
 ————— we part company with the worthy ecclesiastic, not entirely convinced that the then condition of the Roman Empire was the most fortunate thing that the world had ever seen, nor regretting that the truth of the Christian Revelation rests upon some other arguments besides those alleged in the Seven Books of the Histories of Orosius.

We part
 company
 from the
 Visigoths.

Their sub-
 sequent
 career.

Here also our path diverges from that of the Visigothic nation. In order to trace the fortunes of Placidia, the type of the alliance between Rome and the barbarians, we have followed the Visigoths over the Alps and the Pyrenees. It is now time to return within the frontier of Italy. But having accompanied their waggons so long, we may in parting from them give a brief glance at their future history. The successors of Alaric will establish a powerful and well-ordered kingdom on both sides of the Pyrenees, the capital of which will be the city of Toulouse, its northern frontier the River Loire, and its southern the Mediterranean and Atlantic. They will take a leading part in repelling the invasion of the Huns. Towards the close of the fifth century the fairest of their possessions north of the Pyrenees will be wrested from them by the Franks under Clovis and his sons. In the sixth century they will consolidate their Spanish kingdom, they will renounce Arianism, and be numbered among the most steadfast supporters of the Catholic faith. The elective character of their monarchy, the predominance of the great nobles, and then of the great ecclesiastics, will continue during the seventh century special marks of their polity, in which the power wielded by the great Councils of Toledo will

also be a remarkable feature. But during all this time the Gothic conquerors, while daily losing that rough and martial vigour which gave them the ascendancy over the Roman provincials, will still treat them as a subject population, and will but slowly and grudgingly admit them to even theoretical equality with themselves. And thus, when in 711 the wave of Saracen fanaticism shall break against the throne of 'Roderic the last of the Goths,' the whole fabric of the state will fall like a house of cards, and one lost battle by the Guadalete will make the Moors masters of Spain for centuries. The new Christian state, which will emerge from the mountains of Asturias and slowly win back town by town and province by province for the Cross, will be one in which Goth and Roman and Spaniard will be all welded together into one homogeneous mass by the fires of adversity, though a few Gothic names may survive, and even 'the blue blood' of the future Spanish hidalgo will faintly keep alive the memory of those fair-skinned warriors of the Danube, who in the fifth century descended, conquering, among the sunburnt populations of the South.

We return from the history of the Visigoths to that of their late Queen, Galla Placidia. Constantius, who was waiting to receive her at the foot of the Pyrenees, had received from Honorius the assurance that by whatsoever means, peaceable or warlike, he might succeed in liberating Placidia, he should receive her hand in marriage.

Some little time may, for the sake of appearances, have been conceded to the widow so recently a wife. But soon the courtship of the successful general, backed by the Imperial mandate, commenced in good earnest.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

416.
Placidia
received by
Constantius,

who again
presses his
suit

BOOK I. Placidia again and again rejected his overtures. The
 CH. 18.
 sullen, broad-headed, loose-limbed soldier, whose large eyes shot forth tyrant-glances on all around, could not understand why the widow of the comely and courteous Ataulfus should prefer the remembrance of the dead, to union with the living, lover, and was full of wrath against her confidential servants, to whose hostility he attributed her coldness.

and at last
 succeeds.

The wed-
 ding.

Issue of the
 marriage.

At length the fortress surrendered. The year 417 was distinguished by the eleventh consulship of Honorius and the second of Constantius. On the day when the new consuls entered office, the Emperor took his sister by the hand and delivered her over to his colleague as a bride. The wedding festival, celebrated probably at Ravenna, was of unusual magnificence. It may have been a point of honour with the Roman general to eclipse the splendour of the far-renowned marriage-feast at Narbonne in the house of Ingenuus. Two children were the issue of this marriage ; first, a girl, named after her Imperial uncle, Honoria, and then (in the year 419), a boy, who, in remembrance of his great-grandfather, the sturdy soldier-emperor, received the name of Valentinian. For this son Placidia obtained from her brother the title *Nobilissimus*, a sort of recognition of his presumptive heirship to the Empire.

Attalus a
 captive.

The same year, 417, which witnessed Placidia's second wedding-feast, witnessed also the final degradation of the unfortunate child of Genius, who so gracefully led the revels at her first—the ex-Emperor Attalus. It is said that this poor piece of jetsam and flotsam had once more mounted to the top of the waves, and had been again proclaimed Emperor in Gaul in the year 414.

If so, he was soon again deposed, and 'as bearing the empty simulacrum of empire,' was carried by the Goths into Spain. There he wandered, miserable and aimless, till he could endure his life no longer, and took ship to sail anywhither away from his barbarian protectors. He was captured at sea by the ships of Honorius, brought to Constantius, and by him sent to Rome to await the Emperor's pleasure ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.
417.

This capture of an old antagonist, and some successes obtained in Spain by King Walia, fighting as the Emperor's lieutenant, against the Vandals and other barbarous tribes, suggested and seemed to justify the idea of a triumph at Rome. It was not much for which to stand in the triumphal car, and to ascend the *Clivus Capitolinus*; but it was as much of a pretext as was likely to be found in the lifetime of Honorius.

Triumph of Honorius.

The outward appearance of the city was doubtless much improved since the three sieges by Alaric. Shortly before this time, the Prefect, Albinus, had reported to the Emperor that the largess² of victuals to the people must be greatly increased, since the population was rapidly augmenting, and as many as 14,000 had passed in through the gates in one day². The

Rome recovers her prosperity.

¹ This is Orosius's account. According to other authors the Visigoths themselves surrendered him along with Placidia.

² Μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Γότθων ἀλωσιν τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀλβίνος ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἑπαρχος, ἤδη ταύτης πάλιν ἀποκαθισταμένης, ἔγραψε μὴ ἐξαρχεῖν τὸ χορηγούμενον μέρος τῷ δήμῳ εἰς πλῆθος ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδιδούσης· ἔγραψε γὰρ καὶ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τετέχθαι ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδων δεκατεσσάρων. As it is utterly out of the question to suppose that there can have been 14,000 *births* in one day in Rome, scholars seem to be agreed in substituting *τετάχθαι* for *τετέχθαι*, and understanding it of the number of strangers who streamed into the city and were marshalled perhaps for the Prefect's inspection. But the passage is not clear, and should be quoted under some reserve.

Olymp. ap. Phot., Fr. 25 (ed. Müller).

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

417.

largesse may explain part of the influx of population, and the narrative may show not so much the recovery of Rome as the more profound exhaustion of Italy. Still it seems probable that the city was not much changed in outward seeming from the days when real triumphs were exhibited within its walls, and that a crowd of curious and not discontented citizens 'climbed up' as of old 'to walls and battlements, to see' Honorius 'pass the streets of Rome.'

Punish-
ment of
Attalus.

All that we hear concerning the pageant is that the Emperor, having ascended the tribunal, ordered Attalus to come to the lowest step of it; and, after his old rival had humbled himself in the dust before him, he (reminding that rival doubtless of his own similar menaces when Alaric stood before Ravenna) ordered the thumb and forefinger of his right hand to be cut off, and then despatched him to one of the Lipari islands, where, as one of the annalists epigrammatically expresses it, he was 'left to life'.

417-421.
Constantius
Augustus.

Four comparatively uneventful years followed the marriage of Constantius and Placidia. Then, with the reluctant assent of Honorius, his brother-in-law was associated with him on the Imperial throne, and his sister took the title of Augusta.

The East-
ern Court
refuses to
recognise
him.

The tidings of this addition to the Imperial partnership were not welcomed at Constantinople, where the young Theodosius, or rather his sister Pulcheria, who administered the government in his name, refused to recognise the new Emperor or to receive his statues, which, according to the etiquette of the period, were sent for erection in Constantinople.

¹ 'Truncatâ manu vitæ relictus est.' Marcellinus, s. a. 412 (five years too early).

Great was the wrath which this refusal kindled at BOOK I.
CH. 18.
Ravenna, and the long-smouldering jealousy between
the two courts seemed likely to break forth into a
flame of discord. And yet in a short time no one
perceived more clearly than Constantius himself his 421.
Constantius finds
the throne
an uncom-
fortable
seat.
unfitness for the position of dignified nothingness to
which he had been raised, and no one more heartily
regretted that elevation. The jovial, active soldier
could no longer come and go as he pleased, no longer
vie with the comic actors in provoking the laughter
of the banqueters: every step which he took in the
purple buskins of royalty was prescribed by the tedious
court ceremonial invented by Diocletian, and perfected
by the eunuchs of an earlier Constantius. His health He be-
comes low-
spirited
and dies.
began to give way, and, like many men of high animal
spirits, he fell an easy prey to nervous depression. One
night, six months after he had begun to reign, a figure
appeared to him in a dream, and uttered the words,
apparently innocent, but, to his ear, full of evil omen:
'Six are finished: the seventh is begun.' He was
shortly afterwards attacked by pleurisy, and justified
the dream and the interpretation thereof by dying
before the end of his seventh month of royalty.
Rarely has the world had so frank a confession of
the unjoyousness of a kingly life as it received from
this clumsy, roystering, and yet not altogether odious
husband of Placidia.

Not long before his death a transaction was proposed, Proposed
art-magic
of Liba-
nius.
which reminds us of the Roman senate's dealings with
the Etruscan soothsayers during Alaric's siege. A
certain Libanius, a mighty magician, sprung from Asia,
appeared in Ravenna, and promised, with the Emperor's
leave, to perform great marvels against the barbarians,

BOOK I. entirely by means of his art-magic, and without the
 CH. 18. aid of any soldiers. Constantius gave his consent
 421. to the meditated experiment, but Placidia, a fervent
 Christian always, and not too fondly attached to her
 second husband, sent him word that if he permitted
 that faithless enchanter to live she would apply for a
 divorce. Upon this Libanius was killed.

Strange
 conduct of
 Honorius.

After her second widowhood Placidia was for a time
 the object of extravagant and foolish fondness on the
 part of her brother, whose uncouth kisses, frequently
 bestowed upon her in public, moved the laughter of the
 people. Then his fatuous mind wavered round from
 fondness to mistrust and from mistrust to aversion.
 He was jealous of her nurse, her waiting-woman, her
 grand chamberlain; the jealousy of the masters reflected
 itself in the squabbles of the domestics: the Gothic
 followers of Placidia, the veterans who had served
 under the standard of Constantius, often came to
 blows with the Imperial soldiers in the streets of
 Ravenna, and wounds were inflicted, if no lives
 were lost.

423.

Placidia
 retires to
 Constanti-
 nople.

At length the quarrel became so embittered that
 Placidia, finding herself the weaker of the combatants,
 withdrew with her two children to the court of her
 nephew Theodosius II at Constantinople.

Honorius
 dies.

Soon after, on the 26th of August of the same year
 (423), Honorius died of dropsy—his feeble mind and
 body having no doubt been shaken by these domestic
 storms—and his poultry and his people passed under
 other masters. The child 'more august than Jove,'
 whose birth and whose destinies Claudian had depicted
 in such glowing colours, died at the age of thirty-nine,
 having been by his weakness the cause of greater

changes than are often accomplished by the strength of mighty heroes.

BOOK I.
CH. 18.

On the death of Honorius some obscure palace intrigue raised Joannes, the chief of the Notaries, to the vacant throne. The office of the *Primicerius Notariorum*, though useful to the state, was not one which put the holder of it in the foremost rank of the official hierarchy. He could only claim to be addressed as *Spectabilis*, not as *Illustris*, and his chief duty seems to have been the editing of that very *Notitia Imperii* which has been so often quoted in these pages.

423.

Joannes
proclaimed
Emperor.

It is not easy for us to understand why a comparatively obscure member of the Civil Service should have been permitted to array himself with the still coveted Imperial purple, until we ascertain that Castinus, who was then master of the soldiery, and who the following year shared the honours of the Consulship, supported the pretensions of Joannes to the diadem, intending doubtless to enjoy the substance of power himself while leaving its shadow and its dangers to his creature.

At the inauguration of Joannes an event occurred which showed the influence still exerted over the minds of the people by the omen of the *voice* (*φήμη*). While the officers of the court were proclaiming the style and titles of '*Dominus Noster Joannes Pius Felix Augustus*,' a cry, by whom uttered none could tell, was suddenly heard. 'He falls, he falls, he does not stand.' The multitude, as if desiring to break the spell, shouted with one accord, 'He stands, he stands, he does not fall;' but the ill-omened words were none the less remembered.

It was not to be expected that the family of the

BOOK I. great Theodosius, having still the resources of the
CH. 18. Eastern Empire at their disposal, would tamely acquiesce in the assumption of the Western diadem by a

423.
Theodosius
II deter-
mines to
restore
Placidia
and her
son.

424.

clerk in the Government Offices. The only question was whether Theodosius II would interfere for his cousin or for himself. He chose the former and the more generous course, confirmed Placidia in her title of Augusta, and Valentinian in that of Nobilissimus (titles which on account of the quarrel with Constantius had not previously been recognised at Constantinople), and equipped an army to escort them to the palace at Ravenna. He himself accompanied them as far as Thessalonica, but was prevented by sickness from further prosecution of the journey. However, he caused his young kinsman to be arrayed in the Imperial robes, and conferred upon him the secondary title of Caesar.

Expedition
of Arda-
burius and
Aspar.

Ardaburius, the general of horse and foot, and his son Aspar¹, whose names betoken their barbarian origin, were entrusted with the chief conduct of the expedition. Candidianus also, he who, ten years before, had so zealously promoted the marriage of Ataulfus and Placidia, was now entrusted with a high command in her service.

Ardaburius, after some successes in Dalmatia, set sail for Aquileia. An unfavourable wind carried him to a different part of the coast: he was separated from his followers, and taken in chains to Ravenna. Feigning treachery to the cause of his Imperial mistress, he received from Joannes the gift of his life, and was

¹ This Aspar is the same who in 457 raised Leo I to the Eastern throne, and was afterwards assassinated by him. His son, as well as his father, was named Ardaburius.

kept in such slight durance that he was able to sow the seeds of real treachery among the generals and courtiers of the usurper.

BOOK I
CH. 18.
424.

Aspar, however, was deeply distressed and terrified for his father's life, and Placidia feared that her cause was hopeless; but the brilliant victories of Candidianus, who captured many towns in North Italy, revived their drooping spirits.

What follows is related by the contemporary ecclesiastical historian Socrates, and the compiler feels himself therefore in some sort bound to insert it for the reader to deal with as he thinks fit.

425.

vii. 23.

'The capture of Ardaburius made the usurper more sanguine in his hope that Theodosius would be induced, by the urgency of the case, to proclaim him Emperor, in order to preserve the life of this officer. . . . But at this crisis the prayer of the pious Emperor again prevailed. For an angel of God, under the appearance of a shepherd, undertook the guidance of Aspar and his troops, and led them through the lake near Ravenna. Now, no one had ever been known to ford that lake before: but God then rendered that passable which had hitherto been impassable. Having therefore crossed the lake, as if going over dry ground, they found the gates of the city open, and seized the tyrant.'

An alleged
miracle.

Philostorgius, who was a contemporary historian in a stricter sense than Socrates, being a middle-aged man when these events occurred, attributes the defeat of Joannes to the treachery of his followers, who had been tampered with by Ardaburius; and he knows nothing of the angelic shepherd.

xii. 13.

Joannes was thus deposed after a reign of about eighteen months. He was led a prisoner to Aquileia,

Joannes
deposed
and slain.

BOOK I. where Placidia and her son were abiding. In the
 CH. 18. hippodrome of that city his right hand was cut off.
 425. He was then sent in derisive triumph round the town riding upon an ass, and, after many similar insults had been heaped upon him by the soldiery, the Notary-Emperor was put to death.

Sack of
 Ravenna.

Placidia with the Caesar her son entered Ravenna, which was given up to sack by the soldiers of Aspar to punish the inhabitants for their sympathy with the usurpation of Joannes.

Valentinian III
 Emperor.

Ardaburius was of course liberated. Helion, the master of the offices, and patrician, escorted the little Valentinian, now seven years old, to Rome, and there, amidst an immense concourse of citizens, arrayed him with the purple of empire, and saluted him as Augustus¹.

Pious rejoicings at
 Constantinople.
 Socrates,
 vii. 23.

The tidings of all these prosperous events reached Constantinople while Theodosius and his people were watching the sports of the hippodrome. 'That most devout Emperor' called upon the people to come with him to the Basilica, and offer thanks to God for the overthrow of the tyrant. They marched through the streets singing loud hymns of praise, and the whole city became, as it were, one congregation at the Basilica, nor ceased from their religious exercises till daylight faded.

¹ With the proclamation of Valentinian III we lose the guidance of Olympiodorus.

NOTE K. USURPERS IN THE WESTERN EMPIRE DURING THE
REIGN OF HONORIUS.

Orosius remarks that the fall of all the five usurpers by whom NOTE K. Honorius was attacked was a manifest proof of Divine favour, and a reward for his zeal in persecuting the heretics who disturbed the unity of the African Church (vii. 42). It may be convenient to have a short summary of these obscure and complicated transactions. The five tyrants were :—

(1) *Constantine*, proclaimed Emperor in Britain in 407; conquered Gaul in that year, Spain in 408 (death of Didymus and Verenianus); defeated by Gerontius in 411; taken prisoner by Constantius at Arles, and slain in the neighbourhood of Ravenna in the same year.

(2) *Maximus*, proclaimed Emperor in Spain by his patron Gerontius (rebellng against Constantine) in 409. In the year 411 Gerontius took to flight on hearing of the approach of the victorious Constantius. His soldiers mutinied, and he committed suicide as related in the text. Maximus, hearing the news, escaped to the barbarian auxiliaries in Spain. In the year 417, when Orosius wrote, he was still wandering about in Spain a needy exile. He is said, but on the rather doubtful authority of Marcellinus, to have been brought to Ravenna and executed in the year 422.

(3) *Attalus*, proclaimed at Rome by Alaric in 409. Dethroned the same year; restored (possibly) in 414; surrendered to Honorius in 416; punished by the loss of a hand, but not slain.

(4) *Jovinus*, a general of troops on the Rhine, proclaimed at Mentz in 412 by Goar, a chief of the Alans, and Guntiar, a chief of the Burgundians. He associated his brother Sebastian with him. Ataulfus slew Sebastian and sent Jovinus a prisoner to Ravenna in 413.

(5) *Heracianus*, Count of Africa, proclaimed Emperor, invaded Italy, was defeated, fled to Carthage, and was put to death, all in the same year, 413.

CHAPTER XIX.

PLACIDIA AUGUSTA.

Authorities.

Sources:—

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

FOR twenty years or more after the death of Honorius we have to pass through what Von Wietersheim calls 'eine fast quellenlose Zeit,' a time almost destitute of historical sources.

The before-mentioned annalists, PROSPER, IDATIUS, and MARCELLINUS, supply us with a few scraps of information. The ecclesiastical historian SOZOMEN throws an occasional gleam of light over civil history. In this general failure of authorities we are also grateful for such information as may be vouchsafed by a compilation once or twice referred to already,

The HISTORIA MISCELLA. This curious *farrago* of history forms the first part of Muratori's great collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*. The first ten books are substantially the work of Eutropius (the familiar Eutropius of our boyhood) and reach down to the accession of Jovian. The next six books which reach to the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy (553) are the work of Paulus Diaconus, the historian of the Lombards, who died near the close of the eighth century. Paulus generally compiles his history from sources which are already accessible to us, especially from Prosper, Jordanes, Beda, and Orosius, but occasionally he gives us a fact drawn from some author whose works we have lost. His history was continued, with additions, down to the reign of Leo the Isaurian (717-741) by a Lombard, otherwise unknown to us, who is called Landulfus Sagax, and who appears to have lived about the beginning of the eleventh century. It was this curiously agglomerated

work to which Pierre Pithou, a scholar of the sixteenth century, seems to have given the name of *Historia Miscella*. BOOK I.
CH. 19.

For the early history of Ravenna, which forms one of the subjects of this chapter, our chief authority is AGNELLUS (*Liber Pontificalis*) in the second volume of Muratori's *Scriptores*. The date and character of this ecclesiastical biographer are sufficiently described in the text.

The chief points of interest in Ravenna, its churches and its mosaics, are admirably brought out by Professor Freeman in his article 'The Goths at Ravenna' (*Historical Essays*, third series).

The topography of Ravenna, owing to the changes in the course of the rivers effected both by nature and art, is an exceedingly difficult subject. Pallmann, who, in the second volume of his *Völker-wanderung*, exhibits eight maps of Ravenna from approved sources, all differing in important points, has felt the difficulty, but has not done much to solve it. Possibly some fresh light may be thrown upon the subject by the labours of Corrado Ricci, a young citizen of Ravenna (now Dr. Ricci and a Professor at Bologna), full of enthusiasm for the antiquities of his native town, who has written the best popular guide-book to the place '*Ravenna e i suoi Dintorni*' (1878).

WE have now followed the varying fortunes of Placidia's life till we behold her in the thirty-fifth year of her age, seated upon the throne of the Western Empire, which for the next twenty-five years she governs, first with absolute sway as regent for her son, and then with power not less real, though apparently veiled, as the chief adviser of an indolent and voluptuous young man. Placidia
rules the
Western
Empire for
a quarter
of a cen-
tury.

Ravenna continued to be the head-quarters of the Imperial authority. Would that it were possible to convey to the mind of the reader who has not seen Ravenna, a small part of the impressions which it produces on him who visits it in the spirit of a pilgrim of history, not caring about Nineteenth Century interests or pleasures, but solely intent on studying its Ravenna
her capital.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

weird antiquities and learning from them the spell by which he can bridge over fourteen swiftly-flowing centuries, and stand again in that Ravenna which heard of the downfall of Rome and saw the marriage of Placidia.

Present
aspect of
Ravenna.

Lying in a vast alluvial plain, with only the sharp ridge of the mountains of San Marino to break its monotonous horizon, Ravenna is now doubly stranded; for the sea which once lapped its walls, and brought the commerce and the squadrons of the world under its towers, has retreated to a distance of five miles, and is only discernible from the top of its church spires, while the railway has left it thirty miles or more out of its main course, and only recognises its existence by two feeble branches provided with infrequent trains. Yet, as the inhabitants point out to the visitor, this silent and desolate-looking town is by no means devoid of commercial activity. As an agricultural centre it transacts a large trade in pollenta and flour; above all, it is famous for its eels, which swarm in the mud of the canals that once sheltered Honorius, and which are so highly esteemed throughout Italy that a Neapolitan fisherman would rather sell the coat off his back than dispense with his Ravenna eel on Christmas Eve.

Fluviatile
deposits.

This mud, poured forth age after age by the sluggish river which has gathered it out of the black loam of Lombardy, has sealed up Ravenna, immuring her from the busy world. The process still goes on visibly. The last deposit made by the river is mere marsh (like that through which the troops of Aspar found their mysterious way) and this marsh can only be used for the cultivation of rice. You see with pity bare-

legged peasants in March or April, toiling in this sticky slime, preparing the ground for the crop, and the thought occurs to you whether similar scenes were present to the mind of Dante when he condemned the irascible and the sullen to immersion in a muddy marsh :—

‘And I, who stood intent upon beholding,
Saw people mud-besprent in that lagoon,
All of them naked and with angry look.

.

Fixed in the mire, they say, “We sullen were
In the sweet air which by the sun is gladdened,
Bearing within ourselves the sluggish reek;
Now we are sullen in this sable mire¹.”

Gradually, as the muddy deposit increases, the soil becomes firmer, and that which was only a rice swamp becomes solid soil suitable for the cultivation of maize.

When Honorius took refuge in Ravenna, it was probably defended by islands and lagoons, and approached by deep-sea channels, nearly in the same way as Venice now is. The islands protected the inner pools from the fury of the ocean, and allowed the deposit of the river to go forward quietly, while the lagoons, counterfeiting at high water the appearance of sea, made navigation difficult and almost impossible to those who were not accurately acquainted with the course of the deep-sea channels which wandered intricately amongst them.

Ravenna
in the
Fourth
Century
resembled
Venice.

Here Augustus, with his usual wise intuition, had fixed the great naval station for the Adriatic. The town of Ravenna was already three miles distant from the sea (no doubt owing to a previous alteration of the coast line), but he improved the then existing

Suburbs.

¹ Inferno, vii. 109–111, 121–124 (Longfellow’s translation).

BOOK I. harbour, to which he gave the appropriate name of
CH. 19.

Classis, and connected it with the old town by a causeway, about which clustered another intermediate town called Caesarea.

and Classis. Classis, then, in the days of the Roman emperors, was a busy port and arsenal—Wapping and Chatham combined—capable of affording anchorage to 250 vessels, resounding with all the noises of men ‘whose cry is in their ships.’ Go to it now and you will find one of the loneliest of all lonely moors, not a house, scarcely a cottage in sight: only the glorious church of San Apollinare in Classe, which, reared in the sixth century during the reign of Justinian, still stands, though the bases of its columns are green with damp, rich in the unfaded beauty of its mosaics. Beside it is one desolate farm-house occupied by the guardian of the church.

The Pine
Forest.

Looking seaward, you cannot, even from thence, see the blue rim of the Adriatic, only the dark masses of the *Pineta*, the ‘immemorial pinewood’ of which Dante, Dryden, and Byron have sung, and which is the one feature of natural beauty in all the dull landscape of Ravenna¹.

¹ For a charming and truthful picture of the *Pineta*, see Symonds’s *Sketches in Italy and Greece—Ravenna*. The whole article is of great excellence, and fills up many gaps in the necessarily incomplete sketch given above. The English reader will scarcely need to be reminded of Byron’s lines on the *Pineta* (*Don Juan*, iii. 105–6)—

‘Sweet hour of twilight,—in the solitude
Of the pine-forest, and the silent shore
Which bounds Ravenna’s immemorial wood,
Rooted where once the Adrian wave flowed o’er,
To where the last Caesarean fortress stood.
Evergreen forest! which Boccaccio’s lore
And Dryden’s lay made haunted ground to me,
How have I loved the twilight hour and thee.

It may be said that this picture of Ravenna offers but little inducement to any traveller to turn out of his way to visit it. It is true: and as Plato wrote over the doors of his school, 'Let none enter in but the geometrician,' so may it be said of Ravenna, 'Let no man who has not the historic enthusiasm strong within him set his face towards that city of the dead.' But for such an one, notwithstanding all the monotony of her landscape and the dullness of her streets, she has treasures in store which will make the time of his sojourn by the Ronco noteworthy even among Italian days. He will see the tombs of Western emperors and Gothic kings; he will look upon the first efforts of Christian art after it emerged from the seclusion of the catacombs; he will walk through stately basilicas in which classical columns, taken from the temple of some Olympian god, support an edifice dedicated to the memory of a Christian Bishop; he will be able to trace some of the very earliest steps in that worship of the Virgin which, in the fifth and sixth centuries, was beginning to overspread Christendom: above all, he will gaze in wonder upon those marvellous mosaics which line the walls of the churches—pictures which were as old in the time of Giotto as Giotto's frescoes are now, yet which retain (thanks to

The shrill cicadas, people of the pine,
 Making their summer lives one ceaseless song,
 Were the sole echoes save my steed's and mine
 And vesper bells that rose the boughs along,' &c.

The general opinion is that the Pineta itself stands on soil recovered from the sea, and Byron's lines show that this was his view. But it seems more probable that the land on which it stands was one of the islands which stretched in front of the harbour, as Lido and Malamocco stretch in front of Venice.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

the furnace through which the artist passed his materials) colours as bright and gilding as gorgeous as when they were first placed on those walls in the days of Placidia or Justinian.

Mosaics as
contrasted
with Fres-
coes.

Mosaics: it may be well to pause for a moment upon this word, in order to remind the reader of the special characteristics of the pictures thus produced, and wherein they differ from that other great branch of wall-decoration, the Fresco. The Mosaic is as it were a painted window deprived of its transparency. Fragments of glass carefully pieced together are the artist's sole material. Richness of colour, and deep metallic lustre, are his chief pictorial resources. Beauty of form, strength of outline, wonders of foreshortening, do not seem naturally to belong to the Mosaic, whether from the necessary conditions of the art or from the character of the ages in which it was chiefly practised. Domes of dark blue studded with golden stars, golden glories round the heads of saints, garments of deep purple and crimson, and faces which, though not beautiful, often possess a certain divine and awful majesty¹: these are found in the Mosaic, and most conspicuously in that great temple in which Venice sets herself to copy and to outdo the splendours of Byzantium—the Basilica of St. Mark. Owing to the fact that mosaic decoration was then re-introduced into Italy from the East, it has long been invested with a specially Byzantine character; but the existence of chapels and baptisteries at Ravenna, dating from the time of Honorius and Placidia, and richly ornamented with mosaic work,

¹ Notably the face of the Redeemer in the apse of the Basilica of San Miniato near Florence, and the grand figure in the Cathedral of Monreale near Palermo.

shows that it was originally common to both Western and Eastern empires. Always, whether the work be well or ill executed, dimly majestic or uncouth and ludicrous, we have the satisfaction of feeling that we are looking upon a picture which is substantially, both in colour and in form, such as it was when it left the hand of the artist, perhaps fourteen centuries ago ¹.

All these conditions are completely reversed in the art of Fresco-painting, as exhibited, for instance, by Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua, by Fra Angelico in San Marco at Florence, or by Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel at Rome. Here we have a material which necessitates rapid workmanship, and invites to free and flowing outline; we have beauty of form, fertility of thought, and facility of expression; we have a continual progress from the conventional to the natural; but here we have *not* now what the artist first painted, but only a faded, almost colourless picture, which, even where it has escaped the white-wash of the eighteenth century, is not, cannot be, anything but the ghost of that which the artist's contemporaries gazed upon.

Cardinal Wiseman has truly said that for him who wishes to study the remains of early Christian Art undisturbed by the admixture of the great works of Pagan architects, Ravenna is a better place than Rome. A negative recommendation certainly. Yet he who has visited Rome, and been at times almost bewildered by the converging interests of so many ages, nations, schools of art, and confessions of religion, will admit

Cardinal
Wiseman
on
Ravenna.

¹ 'Les Maîtres Mosaïstes' of George Sand gives an interesting imaginary sketch of the life of an artist in mosaics.

BOOK I. that to some moods of his mind the advice comes
CH. 19. soothingly.

Ravenna
has three
points of
contact
with
modern
mediaeval
history.

Byron.

Gaston de
Foix.

Dante.

We may say the same thing from an opposite point of view. In Ravenna that varied wealth of mediaeval and modern memories which enriches nearly every other Italian city is almost entirely absent, and the fifth and sixth centuries rule the mind of the beholder with almost undivided sway. Almost, but not quite; there are three noteworthy exceptions. Byron lived here for a year and a half, in 1820 and 1821¹. Here, three centuries before, in 1512, the young Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII of France, gained a bloody victory over the leagued powers of Spain, Venice, and the Pope; and then, pushing on too hastily in pursuit, fell, pierced by fourteen pike wounds, on the banks of the Ronco, a few miles from the walls. Here, too, remounting the stream of time to the thirteenth century, we meet with the austere figure of Dante, wandering through the congenial shade of the Pineta, yet sighing in vain for the hills of Fiesole and the swift Arno of his home. But when we have visited these three places of pilgrimage, the Casa Byron, the Column

¹ It is a striking and disappointing illustration of the 'subjective' quality of Byron's genius,—perhaps it would be more truthful to say, of his disagreeable egotism,—that in the volume and a half of his *Biography* devoted to his letters from Ravenna there is scarcely the faintest allusion to the great historic interests of the place. There are endless chafferings with his publisher about the price of his poems, plenty of details about his connexion with the Countess Guiccioli, but nothing about the mosaics in the churches, only a line or two for the Ostrogothic king, and nothing about Placidia. The verses in *Don Juan* quoted above, praising 'the solitude of the pine-forest,' are his best tribute to Ravenna: those on the *Colonna dei Francesi* and Dante's tomb might have been the work of a meaner bard.

of Gaston (or Colonna dei Francesi), and the Tomb of Dante, there is nothing left to distract our attention from these dying days of the Western Empire, of which even the names at the street corners, 'Rione Galla-Placidia,' 'Rione Teodorico',¹ continually remind us.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

All else
is pre-
mediaeval.

The aspect of Ravenna in the fifth century is represented in the following passage from a letter² of the Gaulish nobleman, Apollinaris Sidonius, who in 467 (seventeen years after the death of Placidia) visited this city on his road to Rome:—

Apollinaris
Sidonius on
Ravenna.

'It is hard to say whether the old city of Ravenna is separated from the new harbour or joined to it by the Via Caesaris which lies between them. Above the town the Po divides into two branches, of which one washes its walls, the other winds among its streets. The whole stream has been diverted from its main channel by large mounds thrown across it at the public expense, and being thus drawn off into the channels marked out for it, so divides its waters that they furnish protection to the walls which they encompass, and bring commerce into the city which they penetrate. By this route, which is most convenient for the purpose, all kinds of merchandise arrive, especially food. But against this is to be set the fact that the supply of drinking water is miserable. On the one side you have the salt waves of the sea dashing against the gates, on the other the canals filled with sewage and of the consistency of gruel, are being constantly churned up by the passage of the wherries; and the river itself, here gliding along with a very slow current, is made

¹ 'Galla-Placidia quarter,' 'Theodoric quarter.'

² *Epistolarum*, lib. i. 5.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

Martial's
epigrams
on the
water-
supply.

muddy by the punt-poles of the bargemen, which are continually being thrust into its clayey bed. The consequence was that we were thirsty in the midst of the waves, since no wholesome water was brought to us by the aqueducts, no cistern was free from sewage-pollution, no fresh fountain was flowing, no well was without its mud.' This scarcity of drinking-water was an old joke or grievance against the city of the Adriatic. Thus Martial, writing at the end of the first century, says ¹—

'I'd rather, at Ravenna, own a cistern than a vine,
Since I could sell my water there much better than my wine.'

And again, rather more elaborately ²—

'That landlord at Ravenna is plainly but a cheat;
I paid for wine *and water*, and he has served it neat.'

Further
description
by Sidon-
ius.

We have another picture of Ravenna, still less complimentary, from the pen of Sidonius in the Eighth Epistle of the First Book. It is easily seen, however, that he is speaking in a tone of raillery, and that his words are not to be taken too literally.

He is writing to his friend Candidianus: 'You congratulate me on my stay at Rome, and say that you are delighted that your friend should see so much of the sun, which you imagine I seldom catch a glimpse of in my own foggy Lyons. And you dare to say this to me, you, a native of that furnace, not town, which they call Cesena' (a city about fifteen miles south of Ravenna), 'and who showed what your own opinion was of the pleasantness of your birthplace by migrating thence to Ravenna. A pretty place Cesena must be if Ravenna is better; where your ears are pierced by

¹ Epigr. iii. 56.

² Ibid. 57.

the mosquito of the Po, where a talkative mob of BOOK I.
frogs is always croaking round you. Ravenna, a mere CH. 19.
marsh, where all the conditions of ordinary life are reversed, where walls fall and waters stand, towers flow down and ships squat, invalids walk about and their doctors take to bed, baths freeze and houses burn, the living perish with thirst and the dead swim about on the surface of the water, thieves watch and magistrates sleep, clergymen lend on usury and Syrians sing Psalms¹, merchants shoulder arms and soldiers haggle like hucksters, greybeards play at ball and striplings at dice, eunuchs study the art of war and the barbarian mercenaries study literature. Now reflect what sort of city contains your household gods, a city which may own territory, but cannot be said to own land' [because it was so frequently under water]. 'Consider this, and do not be in such a hurry to crow over us harmless Transalpines, who are quite content with our own sky, and should not think it any great glory to show that other places had worse. Farewell.'

Having quoted this long tirade from Sidonius, it ought in fairness to be added that Strabo² (who lived, it is true, more than four centuries before him) praises the healthiness of Ravenna, and says that gladiators were sent to train there on account of its invigorating climate. When he attributes this healthiness to the ebb and flow of the tide (practically non-existent on the Western shore of Italy) and compares Ravenna in this respect with Alexandria, when all the swampy

Strabo's
panegyric
on
Ravenna.

¹ There may be some allusion here to an ecclesiastical tradition that all the bishops of Ravenna for the first four centuries were of Syrian extraction.

² P. 301 (Oxford edition, 1807).

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

ground about it has been turned into lakes by the rising Nile of summer, we can at least understand his argument. But when he says that 'much mud is washed *into* the town by the combined action of the rivers and the tides, and thereby the malaria is cured,' we can only conclude that then, as now, the causes of heath and disease in Italy must have been inscrutable by the Transalpine mind.

Ecclesiastical atmosphere of Ravenna in the Fifth Century.

We cannot properly understand the conditions of the life led by the Augusta and her counsellors at Ravenna without imbuing our minds with some of the ecclesiastical ideas already associated with the place. It seems probable that there was here none of that still surviving conflict between the old faith and the new, which disturbed the religious atmosphere of Rome during the early part of the fifth century. Ravenna, like Constantinople, owed all its glory as a capital to Christian emperors, and contentedly accepted the Christian faith from the hands that so honoured it. As an important Christian city, it claimed to have its special connecting link with the history of the Apostles. The mythical founder-bishop of the Church of Ravenna was Saint Apollinaris, a citizen of Antioch, well versed in Greek and Latin literature, who, we are told, followed Peter to Rome, was ordained there by that Apostle, and eventually was commissioned by him to preach the Gospel at Ravenna. Before his departure, however, he had once passed a night in St. Peter's company at the monastery known by the name of the Elm ('ad Ulmum'). They had slept upon the bare rock, and the indentations made by their heads, their backs, and their legs were still shown in the ninth century¹.

St. Apollinaris founder of the see.

¹ This form of legend seems to have some especial connection with

The arrival of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna was signalled by the restoration of sight to a blind boy. He overthrew the idols of the false gods, healed lepers, raised a young man from the dead, cast out devils, baptized multitudes in the river Bedens, in the sea, and in the Basilica of St. Euphemia, where once more the hard stone upon which he was standing became soft and retained the impress of his feet. When persecution arose he was loaded with heavy chains and sent to the 'capitol' of Ravenna, where angels ministered to him. Three years of exile in Illyricum and Thrace followed: on his return he was again seized by the persecutors, forced to stand upon burning coals, and subjected to other tortures, which he bore with great meekness, only addressing the Imperial Vicar as a most impious man, and warning him to escape from eternal torture by accepting the true faith. At length he received the crown of martyrdom during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, a name which is not usually branded with the stigma of persecution.

How much of the story which is here related obtained credence in the fifth century we cannot precisely say, for our chief authority is Agnellus, who lived a generation later than the Emperor Charles the Great. Yet the evidence of the Basilicas of the Honorian period

*Lives
of the
Bishops of
Ravenna
by Agnellus.*

the memory of St. Peter, probably on account of his name ('a rock'). All visitors to Rome will remember the cavity in the rocky side of the Mamertine prison, marking the place where a cruel gaoler dashed the Apostle's head against the wall. The impressions of the feet of Christ on stone, shown in the church of St. Sebastian, and copied in that of 'Domine quo vadis,' seem to belong to the same class of traditions. And the author from whom the account in the text is taken speaks of a Monastery of St. Peter in the Janiculum, where the stone, wax-like, retained the impress of the knee of St. Peter, praying.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

and that immediately following it, shows that the names of St. Apollinaris and others illustrated by the catalogue of Agnellus, were already considered holy. True, this chronicler, with more candour than many of his tribe, remarks¹, 'Where I have not found any history of these bishops, and have not been able by conversation with aged men, or inspection of the monuments, or from any other authentic source, to obtain information concerning them, in such a case, that there might not be a break in the series, I have composed the life *myself* with the help of God and the prayers of the brethren.' But notwithstanding this honest avowal, as it is clear that he wrote from frequent reference to mosaic pictures, many of which are now lost, we may conjecture that he represents, fairly enough, the traditions of the fifth and sixth centuries, though with some subsequent legendary incrustations which we should now vainly seek to remove.

The quaint and vivid details of the personal appearance of the bishops seems to confirm the supposition that Agnellus wrote much on the authority of the mosaics. Thus, one bishop 'was bent double by the too great fulness of his years²;' another 'was crowned with the grace of white hairs;' another's 'countenance, like a clear mirror, shone over the whole congregation;' and so on.

The story of the election and episcopate of Severus³, a bishop of the fourth century, must have been still fresh

¹ In the Life of St. Exuperantius (Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, ii. 62).

² 'Pro nimia dierum plenitudine curvus effectus est.' (Agnellus ap. Muratori, ii. 33.)

³ 'Severus cujus nomen intelligitur in compositione *Saevusverus*,' remarks Agnellus, with whom philology is not a strong point.

in the minds of the people of Ravenna when Placidia reigned there, and it would be interesting to know what shape it had then assumed. Four hundred years later it was told on this wise. Severus was a journeyman woolcomber, and one day when he was wearied with his work, he said to his wife who wrought with him, 'I will go and see this wonderful sight, how a dove shall descend from the high heaven and light upon the head of him who is to be chosen bishop.' For this was the day of the election of a new bishop of Ravenna, and it was the special boast of the Church of that city that her prelates were thus manifestly designated by the descent of a dove from heaven.

But the wife of Severus began to mock at him, and to scold him, saying, 'Sit here ; go on with thy work ; do not be lazy ; whether thou goest or not, the people will not choose thee for Pontiff.' But he pressed, 'Let me go,' and she said, jeeringly, 'Go, then, and thou wilt be ordained Pontiff in the same hour.' So he rose, and went to the place where the people with their priests were gathered together ; but having his dirty working clothes on, he hid himself behind the door of the place where the people were praying.

As soon as the prayer was ended, a dove, whiter than snow, descended from heaven and lighted upon his head. He drove it away, but it settled there a second and a third time. Thereupon all the authorities who were present crowded round him, giving thanks to God, and hailed Severus as bishop. His wife, too, who before had mocked at him, now met him with congratulations. The woolcomber-bishop appears to have occupied the episcopal throne for many years. He sat in the Council of Sardica in 344, and subscribed the decrees which

BOOK I. refused to make any alteration in the Nicene For-
 CH. 19. mula.

After some time, his wife Vicentia (or Vincentia) died, and, some years later, his daughter Innocentia. When the mourners came together to lay Innocentia in her mother's tomb, it was found to be too small to hold both bodies. Severus, mindful evidently of many a matrimonial altercation in long-past years, cried out, 'Ah! wife, why wilt thou be thus vexatious unto me? Why not leave room for thy daughter, and receive back from my hands her whom I once received from thine? Let the burial proceed in peace, and do not sadden me by thy obstinacy.' At these words the bones of his dead wife gathered themselves together, and rolled away into one corner of the stone coffin with a swiftness which the living body could scarcely have equalled, and room was left for the dead Innocentia by her side. When his own time came to die, after celebrating mass, he ordered the same coffin to be opened, and, arrayed as he was in his pontifical robes, he laid him down between his dead wife and child, and there drew his last breath¹.

The chronology of the see of Ravenna at this period is very confused, but Severus appears to have ended his episcopate about the middle of the Fourth Century. Near the close of that century lived Ursus, who built the great cathedral which still bears his name. During

¹ In the ninth century the bodies of St. Severus and of Saints Vincentia and Innocentia (for the whole family was by this time canonised) were abstracted, by fraud or force, from their resting-place at Ravenna, and carried to Mayence and thence to Erfurt. Father Bacchini, writing about 1708, congratulates his dear friend the Abbot of the Monastery of Classis on having recovered a considerable portion of the body of the saint and restored it to its home, 'a benefit which the Church of Ravenna will keep in everlasting remembrance.'



PLACIDIA'S VISION OF ST. JOHN
FROM A BAS-RELIEF IN THE TYMPANUM OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA AT RAVENNA

the first half of the fifth century, the two most honoured names in the hagiology of Ravenna were those of John the Angel-seer (Joannes Angeloptes) and Peter the Golden-worded (Petrus Chrysologus). The former was so called on account of the tradition that shortly before his death, when he was celebrating mass in the Church of St. Agatha, an angel descended at the words of consecration, and standing beside him at the altar, handed him the chalice and paten, fulfilling throughout the service the office of an acolyte. Peter, who, like Chrysostom, received his surname from the golden stores of his wisdom and eloquence, was no citizen or priest of Ravenna, but a native of Imola, who was designated for the high office of bishop by the voice of Pope Sixtus III, in accordance with the apostolic monition of St. Peter and St. Apollinaris conveyed to him in a dream. Notwithstanding his alien extraction, no name is now more living in Ravenna than that of 'San Pier Crisologo,' who built the marvellously beautiful little chapel in the Archbishop's Palace, on whose vaulted ceiling four great white-robed angels, standing between the emblems of the four Evangelists, support with uplifted arms, not a world, nor a heavenly throne, but the intertwined letters X P, the mystic monogram of Christ.

It was into this world of ecclesiastical romance, of embellishment by legend and by mosaic, that Galla Placidia entered when she returned to Ravenna, destined herself to contribute no unimportant share to its temples and to its traditions. Near her palace she built the Church of the Holy Cross, now ruined and modernised. But a much more interesting monument to her fame is the Basilica of St. John the Evangelist, now flanked by the Strada Garibaldi and the road to the railway-

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

Joannes
Ange-
loptes.

Petrus
Chryso-
logus.

Placidia
builds the
church of
St. John
the Evan-
gelist

BOOK I. station. The basilica itself was rebuilt in the twelfth
 CH. 19.
 or thirteenth century, and its mosaics have been for the most part replaced by the frescoes of Giotto ; but a bas-relief over the chief entrance, sculptured at the time of the rebuilding, still retains, not indeed the contemporary, but the mythical portraiture of the Augusta herself. There she is represented as prostrating herself at the feet of the Evangelist, who is arrayed in priestly garb, and engaged in incensing the altar. Meanwhile his Imperial worshipper clasps his feet, and with gentle compulsion constrains him to leave one of his sandals in her hands.

to com-
 memorate
 her de-
 liverance
 from ship-
 wreck.

This bas-relief, executed about 800 years after the death of Placidia, illustrates, not inaptly, the growth of ecclesiastical tradition. On her voyage from Constantinople to Ravenna, the Augusta and her children were terrified by the arising of a great storm, which threatened to overwhelm them in the deep. In her distress she vowed a temple to the son of Zebedee—himself a fisherman, and well acquainted with stormy seas—if he would deliver her from so great a danger. The wind ceased, she reached Italy in safety, and, as we have already seen, wrested the sceptre from the hands of Joannes the Notary. In fulfilment of her vow she built the Basilica of St. John the Evangelist, had it consecrated either by Joannes Angeloptes or Petrus Chrysologus, and bade the mosaics on the walls and even the wavy outlines of the pavement tell the story of her escape¹. Round the

¹ ‘ JUBET Augusta ubique naufragii sui praesentari formam, ut quodammodo tota operis facies Reginae pericula loqueretur. Pavimentum undosum undique mare quod quasi ventis agitatum procellosae tempestatis gerat imaginem’ (Spicilegium Ravennatis Historiae ap. Muratori, tom. i, pars 2, p. 568).

apse of the basilica, and over the heads of the mosaic portraits of the Imperial family, ran this inscription: 'Strengthen, O Lord, that which thou hast wrought for us: because of thy temple at Jerusalem shall kings bring presents unto thee.' And higher yet was an inscription to this effect: 'To the Holy and Most Blessed Apostle John the Evangelist. Galla Placidia Augusta, with her son Placidus Valentinianus Augustus and her daughter Justa Grata Honoria Augusta, in fulfilment of a vow for deliverance from peril by sea.'

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

Agnelli
Liber Pon-
tificialis (ap.
Muratori,
ii. 68).

So far the contemporary monuments as described, faithfully no doubt, by Agnellus, in the ninth century. Four hundred years later, when the original church had fallen into ruin and was replaced by a new edifice of Italian-Gothic architecture, a legend had grown up that the Augusta, when she had built her church, was filled with sadness by the thought that she had no relic of the Apostle wherewith to enrich it. She imparted her grief to her confessor, St. Barbatian, and besought his prayers. At length, upon a certain night which they had determined to spend in watching and prayer in the precincts of the church itself, it came to pass that they both fell into a light slumber. To Barbatian, between sleeping and waking, appeared a man with noble countenance, vestments of snowy whiteness, and with a golden censer in his hand. The confessor awoke, the form did not vanish, he pointed it out to the Augusta, who rushed forward and seized his right sandal with eager hands. Then the Apostle John, for he it must have been, vanished from their sight, and was carried up into heaven. The 27th of February, when this event was supposed to have occurred, was kept as a festival by the Church of Ravenna, 'but the place where the

The legend
of the
Sandal of
St. John.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

Other
ecclesiastical
legends
about the
family of
Placidia.

sandal was laid up by the Empress is unknown to all men. Meanwhile in *many* places is still to be seen a title, writ long ago, to this effect: (Here) rests the Sandal of the Blessed Apostle and Evangelist John¹.

Nor was Placidia's the only head which was surrounded with this halo of ecclesiastical tradition. It was believed (at the time of Agnellus) that to a niece of hers, named Singleida, as to whose existence history is silent, appeared in vision a man in white raiment and with hoary hair, who said to her, 'In such and such a place, near the church which thy aunt hath reared to the Holy Cross do thou build a monastery, and name it after me, Zacharias, the father of the Fore-runner' [John the Baptist]. She went to the place next day, and saw a foundation already prepared for the building, as if by the hand of man. She returned with joy to her aunt, and received from her thirteen builders, by whose labours, in thirteen days, the house was finished, which she then adorned with all manner of gold and silver and precious stones.

It is remarkable that the ecclesiastical historian, Sozomen, in closing his history, comments on the special favour shown by God to the Emperor Honorius, in permitting the relics of many holy men to be discovered during his reign. Chief among these discoveries was that of the body of Zachariah, son of Jehoiada, slain by the command of Joash, king of Judah. A richly-dressed infant lay at the feet of the holy man, and was believed to be the child of the idolatrous king, whose death was the punishment of his father's sin, and who was therefore buried in the grave of the victim. The identity of

¹ See, for further comments on this story, Hemans' *Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art*, 358-360.

the name suggests the probability that the vision of the unknown Singleida and the discovery of the relics of the prophet may be variations of one and the same story.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

But it is time to leave the moonlight of ecclesiastical tradition, and come back into secular history.

Two great events, both of them calamities, marked the quarter of a century of Placidia's reign, for during the whole of this time Placidia truly reigned, though her son's effigy appeared on the coins. They were the Vandal invasion of Africa and the uprising of the power of Attila, king of the Huns. These events will be dealt with more fully in the next volume, and as the appearance of the Huns in Italy preceded that of the Vandals, we shall have to deal with their story first, though strictly speaking the Vandal was the terror of the earlier, and the Hun of the later years of Placidia and her counsellors.

But as the loss of Africa is said to have resulted from a certain ill-advised step taken by Placidia, it will be well to narrate here so much of the story of that event as is connected with the Empress herself, and the feud between her two chief advisers, Bonifacius and Aetius. 'Each of these men,' says Procopius, 'had the other not been his contemporary, might truly have been called the last of the Romans.' We may add that each alone might have possibly saved the life of the Empire, or at least prolonged it for a century, but that their contemporaneous existence destroyed it.

Rivalry of
Aetius and
Bonifacius.

The chorus of a Greek tragedy would have found in the parallel history of these two men a congenial subject for its meditations on the strange ways of the Gods and the irony of Fate. Bonifacius, the heroic, loyal-

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

hearted soldier, 'whose one great object was the deliverance of Africa from all sorts of barbarians¹, stands conspicuous to all after-ages as the betrayer of Africa to the Vandals: Aetius, the brave captain, but also the shifty intriguer, Roman by birth, but half-barbarian by long residence at the Hunnish Court, deserves the everlasting gratitude of posterity as the chief deliverer of Europe from the dominion of Attila, as he who more than any other individual man kept for the Romance and Teutonic nations a clear course to glory and happiness, free from the secular misery and desolation which are the effects of Tartar misrule.

Past
services of
Bonifacius.

We first hear of Bonifacius² in the year 412 as repelling a sudden assault of Ataulfus in the city of Marseilles. The Gothic king was wounded by Bonifacius himself, and hardly escaping death fled to his own encampment, leaving the city in joy and triumph, and all the citizens sounding the praises of the most noble Bonifacius. Our next clear trace of him is in the year 422. An expedition has been ordered against the Vandals in Spain. Castinus, at that time the chief Minister at War of Honorius, decides to take the chief command, but will give no suitable place on his staff to Bonifacius, notwithstanding the renown for skill in war which he has already acquired. Thereupon Bonifacius refusing to serve under this insolent commander in any subordinate post breaks away from the expedition altogether, journeys rapidly to Portus, and thence sets sail for Africa. We know nothing of the circumstances in which that province was left after the revolt of Heraclian had been quelled, but in the general paralysis

¹ Olympiodorus, Fr. 42 (ed. Müller).

² From Olympiodorus, Fr. 21 (Ibid.).

of authority which resulted from the incapacity of Honorius it would almost seem as if Africa had become a sort of No-man's land, which any stout soldier might enter and rule if he would only defend it from the ever more desolating raids of the tribes of Mount Atlas. This service, Bonifacius, though holding only the rank of Tribune, did effectually perform. The irregularity, if such it was, of his first occupation of the seat of government¹ was apparently condoned, and the legitimacy of his position was assured when after the death of Honorius he steadfastly refused to recognise the rule of Joannes, the aspiring notary, whom his old enemy Castinus had robed in the purple. Amid the general defection from the Theodosian house Bonifacius alone preserved his loyalty, sending large sums from his wealthy province to Placidia, and throwing all his energies into her service². And in fact, as we are expressly told, it was the necessity under which the usurper found himself of sending large detachments of troops for the re-conquest of Africa which more than anything else promoted the success of the expedition of Ardaburius and Aspar³.

Bonifacius had a high reputation for justice and even for holiness. His justice was shown when a peasant came to his tent to complain that his wife had been seduced by one of the barbarian mercenaries in the army of Bonifacius. The general desired the complainant to return on the morrow; meanwhile, at dead of night, he rode a distance of nine miles to the peasant's

His justice
and holi-
ness.

¹ This is probably what is meant by Idatius, s. a. 421, 'Bonifacius palatium deserens Africam invadit.'

² Olympiodorus, Fr. 40.

³ Prosper, s. a. 424.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

house, satisfied himself of the truth of the accusation, was himself both judge and executioner, and returned to his tent with the head of the offender, which next morning he exhibited to the husband, astonished, but delighted at the swift foot of avenging Justice.

His holiness—as that age accounted holiness—was shown by a correspondence with Augustine, which induced him, after the death of his wife, to take a vow against re-marriage, though without retiring from the active business of life. This vow he afterwards broke, taking to himself a rich wife named Pelagia, who was doubly objectionable to his spiritual advisers as a woman and as an Arian; and modern ecclesiastical commentators¹ trace to this fall from the high ideal of ascetic virtue the whole of his subsequent errors and calamities.

Early
career of
Aetius.

Such then was the career and such the high reputation of Bonifacius. Aetius, his great rival, was born at Durostorum, a town on the Lower Danube, well known to us under the name of Silistria. His father, Gaudentius, a man probably of barbarian origin, rose high in the service of the Western Empire, being successively Master of the Cavalry and Count of Africa. In this latter capacity he was entrusted by Honorius with a commission to root out idolatry and destroy the idol-temples in Carthage. At a later period he figures as Master of the Soldiery in Gaul, and while holding that command was killed by his own soldiers in a mutiny. Aetius himself when quite young, and serving among the Imperial Guards, was given over as a hostage to Alaric, and remained in that condition in the Gothic

¹ Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, vi. 190), and Baronius as quoted by him.

camp for three years. Later on, he was again given, probably by Honorius, as a hostage to the Huns. The hardy and athletic young soldier seems to have made many friends among the barbarian armies; perhaps, also, he acquired a knowledge both of their strong and weak points, which made him a wiser enemy when he had to take the field against them than the incompetent generals of Honorius.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

After the death of the latter Emperor, he adhered to the faction of the Secretary Joannes, who, in the crisis of his own affairs, sent Aetius northward to obtain assistance from his friendly Huns. He returned with 60,000 Huns at his back, but only to find that the power of Joannes had, three days before, fallen before the armies of Placidia. It is said that a battle between the Huns and the forces of Aspar, the Byzantine general, then took place. We may conjecture that it was but a hollow contest, meant to enhance the price of peace. At any rate, we find the barbarians shortly after concluding a treaty with the Romans, under which they receive a sum of gold, and agree to return quietly to their homes. Aetius does not suffer by the general reconciliation. He is raised to the rank of Count (probably Count of Italy), and becomes thenceforward the chief adviser of Placidia and her son.

It was not unnatural that between these two, who were now the foremost men of the Empire—Bonifacius, *Vir Spectabilis, Comes Africae*, and Aetius, *Vir Spectabilis, Comes Italiae*—rivalry and dissension should arise. Bonifacius felt that his lifelong fidelity to the house of Theodosius was scantily rewarded by his mistress. Aetius could not deem himself secure in his post of confidential adviser at the Court of Ravenna, while

BOOK I. there ruled at Carthage a man with such transcendent
CH. 19. claims upon the Imperial gratitude.

De Bello
Vandalico,
i. 3.

The manner in which this rivalry worked out into daylight is disclosed to us only by Procopius, one of the most cynical of historians, and separated by nearly a century from the events which he records. One cannot therefore claim the reader's entire confidence for the story which follows, but it must be told thus because no other version of it has come down to us¹.

Plot of
Aetius
against
Bonifacius.

It appears, from the not very precise language of Procopius, that during a visit of Count Bonifacius to the Imperial Court, Placidia had bestowed upon him some higher rank than he already bore, in connection with the government of the African province². Aetius concealed his real dissatisfaction at this promotion of his rival under a mask of apparent contentment and even friendship for Bonifacius. But as soon as he had returned to Africa, the Count of Italy began to instil into the mind of Placidia suspicions that Bonifacius would prove another Gildo, usurping supreme authority over the whole of Roman Africa³. 'The proof,' said he, 'of the truth of these accusations was easy. For if she

¹ [I have left the Procopian story of the fall of Bonifacius as it stood in the first edition. It will be seen that I had then grave doubts as to its accuracy, and since I wrote, it has been subjected to a severe and searching investigation by Professor Freeman (Historical Review, July, 1887). His judgment is decidedly adverse to what he terms 'the Procopian legend,' which he must be admitted to have grievously shaken, if he have not altogether overthrown it. I refer the reader to Note L at the end of this chapter for a fuller discussion of the subject.]

² The office which he now received was probably that of Comes Domesticorum, which conferred upon the holder 'Illustrious' rank.

³ 'Africa,' as thus used, does not of course include either Egypt or the Cyrenaica, which formed parts of the Eastern Empire.

summoned him to her presence, he would not obey the order.' The Augusta listened, thought the words of Aetius full of wisdom, obeyed his counsels, and summoned Bonifacius to Ravenna. Meanwhile Aetius wrote privately to the African Count, 'The Augusta is plotting to rid herself of you. The proof of her finally adopting that resolution will be your receipt of a letter from her, ordering you, for no earthly reason, to wait upon her in Italy.' Bonifacius, believing his rival's professions of friendship, accepted the warning, refused to obey the Empress's summons, and thereby at once confirmed her worst suspicions. In the year 427 he was declared a public enemy of Rome.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

Feeling himself too weak to grapple with the Empire alone, Bonifacius began to negotiate for the alliance of the Vandals, who were still struggling with Visigoths and Suevi for the mastery of that Spain which they had all made desolate. The Vandals came, under their young king Gaiseric, and never returned to the Peninsula.

Bonifacius
calls in the
Vandals.

428.

The details of the Vandal conquest of Africa, which occupied the years from 428 to 439, are postponed to a later portion of this history; our present business is only with the unhappy author of all those miseries which marked its progress. Not many months after Gaiseric had landed in Africa, some old friends of Bonifacius at Rome, who could not reconcile his present disloyalty with what they knew of his glorious past, crossed the seas and visited him at Carthage¹. He consented to see them; mutual explanations followed,

The plot of
Aetius ex-
posed and
Bonifacius
cleared.

¹ Tillemont thinks that this reconciliation was effected by a certain Count Darius, a correspondent of Augustine's whom the Saint congratulates on having 'killed war' (Ep. 229 and 230).

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

the letter of Aetius was produced, and the whole web of treachery was at once in their hands. They returned with speed to Placidia, who, though she did not feel herself, in that sore emergency, strong enough to break with Aetius, sent, nevertheless, assurance of her forgiveness to Bonifacius and earnest entreaties to forsake his barbarian alliances and re-enter the service of Rome. He obeyed, but could not now conjure down the storm which he had raised. He made magnificent promises to the Vandals if they would consent to quit Africa. They laughed at his promises; the Vandal vulture had her talons too deep in the rich province of Africa to have any thought of returning to Spain, where her sister birds of prey would have given her a gory welcome.

Bonifacius
returns to
Italy

And thus it came to pass that Bonifacius was soon engaged in battle against his previous allies. In the year 431 he fought with some success, but in 432, though he had received large reinforcements from Constantinople under the command of Aspar, he was utterly beaten by the Vandals in a pitched battle, and compelled to fly to Italy. Notwithstanding his defeat, he was received with enthusiasm at Rome, and with perfect trustfulness and oblivion of his past disloyalty by Placidia¹. She conferred upon him the title of *Magister utriusque Militiae*, which had been borne for three years by his rival Aetius, and she seems to have been about to bestow upon him her full confidence, and to make him virtually chief ruler of the Empire. At this point, however, Aetius reappeared upon the scene, fresh from a successful war against the Franks. A battle ensued

and is slain
by Aetius
in single
combat,

¹ The remainder of this paragraph is not derived from Procopius, but from the annalists Prosper and Marcellinus, especially the latter.

between them, in which Aetius was defeated ; but in the single combat which took place, and which seems already to show the influence of Teutonic usages on the dying world of classicalism, Bonifacius received a wound from a javelin (or dart) of unusual length, with which his enemy had provided himself on the eve of the combat, and from the effects of that wound he died three months after.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

432.

Though there is so much of fraudulent intrigue about the conduct of Aetius, it is impossible not to feel a kind of foretaste of the coming age of chivalry about the five years' duel between these two mighty champions, 'each one worthy to have been called the last of Romans.' Nor is this impression weakened when we find Bonifacius on his death-bed exhorting his wife to accept no one's hand in re-marriage but his rival's only, 'if his wife, who was then living, should die.' The ecclesiastical advisers of the Count of Africa perhaps would see in this strange command a legacy of woe such as the dying Centaur bequeathed to his victor, Hercules, and might thus claim Bonifacius himself as a voucher for their theory that his second marriage had been his ruin. But a more probable explanation of the story, be it true or false, is the popular belief that each hero recognised in the other his only worthy competitor in war, in politics, or in love.

As for Aetius, he did not immediately regain his old position at the Court of Ravenna. The remembrance of his treacheries was too vivid, the power of the party of Bonifacius still too strong, and he was fain to betake himself once more to exile among the friendly Huns. Again he was restored to power, apparently by their aid, in the year 433, and for the remaining seventeen

Aetius
chief
minister
of Placidia
for the last
seventeen
years of
her reign

BOOK I. years of the joint reign of Placidia and Valentinian he
 CH. 19. was, as before, the ruling spirit of the Western Empire. He was often battling in the distracted province of Gaul, with Visigoths, with Burgundians, with Franks, and generally obtained successes in the field; but no military successes could root out the barbarian multitudes from the Gaulish soil, or do more than keep alive some semblance of Imperial authority in certain of the towns by the Rhone and the Garonne and in the mountain fastnesses of Auvergne.

The legend
 of 'The
 Groans
 of the
 Britons.'

It is during this period and in the year 446 that the well-known legend related by Gildas (a rhetorical and untrustworthy historian) places the abject supplication, entitled 'The Groans of the Britons. To Aetius for the third time Consul. The barbarians drive us to the sea: the sea drives us back upon the barbarians,' and so forth. It is a tribute to the greatness of Aetius that, even in a legend like this, the appeal should be represented as being addressed to him rather than to his Imperial masters.

Marriage
 of Valen-
 tinian III
 with his
 cousin,
 Eudoxia,
 437.

Four years after Aetius' restoration to power an event happened which threw a gleam of gladness over the clouded horizon of the Court at Ravenna. This was the marriage of Valentinian III with Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius II. The two cousins had been betrothed to one another while yet children during Placidia's exile at Constantinople¹, and now in the nineteenth year of his age the young Augustus of the West set forth to claim his Imperial bride. Theodosius offered to meet his intended son-in-law at Thessalonica, and celebrate the nuptials there², but Valentinian cour-

¹ Socrates, vii. 47.

² Ibid., 44.

teously waived the offer, and passed on to Constantinople, where, in the presence of a brilliant throng of courtiers from both sections of the Empire, he received from the Patriarch Proclus the hand of the princess, the daughter of the beautiful Athenian, the grand-daughter of the beautiful Frank, and herself perhaps not less beautiful than either. As the only child of the Emperor of the East she might reasonably cherish the hope of bearing to Valentinian a son who should one day rule over the whole re-united Empire: but far other was the destiny reserved for her and for her offspring in the days that were to come².

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

29¹ October, 437.

In their political aspect, the twenty-five years of the reign of Placidia represent the slow settling down of the Roman Empire of the West into irretrievable ruin and disorganisation. There was during this interval no great stroke of the enemy upon Italy itself, such as Alaric's three sieges of Rome; on the contrary, the soil of Italy seems to have enjoyed a strange immunity from barbarian invasion. But the hope of recovering any of the lost provinces of the Empire—Britain, Gaul, Spain—was becoming more and more visionary; the crowns of the barbarian kings were passing from father to son, and the new intruding dynasties were deriving a sanction and a kind of legitimacy from time.

Political aspect of Placidia's reign.

Meanwhile Africa, the great granary of Rome, was

Separation of Africa from the Empire.

¹ Chronicon Paschale, Prosper, and Marcellinus.

² Of this marriage Cassiodorus says (Var. xi. 1): 'Placidia obtained a daughter-in-law by the loss of Illyricum, and the marriage of the ruler was the cause of a lamentable loss of his provinces.' This probably means (as Güldenpenning and others interpret it) that on the occasion of the marriage Valentinian surrendered to his father-in-law the province of Dalmatia. This statement, if true, throws a little light on the difficult question discussed on p. 678.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

being severed from the Empire. We need only turn back to Claudian's picture of the distress occasioned by Gildo's usurpation, to know what that involved for Italy and Rome. If one year's stoppage of the supplies of African grain had caused the Mistress of the World to 'speak low as out of the dust,' and 'all the faces of her citizens to gather blackness,' what must, first the devastation, and then the permanent hostile occupation, of the province have done? Soon after Alaric's sieges, as we have been told by Olympiodorus, the population came flocking back into Rome at the rate of 14,000 a day, so that the former largesse of victuals was no longer found sufficient. Now, we may fairly conjecture, the Imperial largesse would no longer be given. 'Circenses,' (at least the gladiatorial part of them) had been stopped by the command of the Most Christian Emperor; the more needful 'Panis' would have to be stopped also, however reluctantly, by his sister; and we shall surely not be wrong in supposing that now commenced that decline in the population of the Imperial City, which went on at a still more rapid rate in the latter half of the century.

Fortunes of
some of the
Roman
nobles still
unim-
paired.

Still, however, the fortunes of the great Roman nobility survived in some of their old magnificence. It is of a time nearly coincident with the commencement of Placidia's rule that Olympiodorus writes when he tells that every one of the great houses of Rome had in it all the appliances which a well-ordered city might be expected to contain—a hippodrome and forum, temples and fountains and magnificent baths. At sight of all this stateliness the historian exclaimed—

'One house is a town by itself: ten thousand towns to the city¹.'

¹ *Εἰς δόμος ἄστυ γέλει· πόλις ἄστεα μυρία κείθει.* (Fr. 43).

Many Roman families received revenues of 4000 pounds of gold (£160,000) yearly, besides corn and wine and other produce, which, if sold, would bring in one-third of that amount. The noble families of the second rank received from £40,000 to £60,000 per annum. Probus, the son of Olympius, who was prefect of the city during the short-lived tyranny of Joannes, spent £48,000 in order to illustrate his year of office. Symmachus the orator, who as we have seen was a senator of moderate rank, spent £80,000 over the shows of his son's praetorship. This, it is true, was before the taking of Rome by Alaric. Even he however was surpassed by a certain Maximus, who, upon *his* son's praetorial games, expended no less than £160,000. And the shows upon which these large sums of money were lavished lasted only for one week.

To Placidia herself and her innermost circle of friends it is probable that the ecclesiastical aspect of her reign, as has been hinted in the description of her capital, seemed infinitely more important than the political. She signalised her accession to supreme power by the usual bead-roll of laws against the Jews, forbidding them to practise in the courts of law or to serve in the Imperial armies; against the Manicheans, the astrologers, and the heretics generally, banishing such even from the environs of the cities. At the same time she ordained that the clergy should be subject only to ecclesiastical judges, 'according to the ancient edicts.' It may be doubted whether this provision applies to civil rights and wrongs; and if any exemption from the ordinary tribunals in such cases were granted to them, it seems clear that it was revoked by an edict of her son,

Ecclesiastical aspect of Placidia's reign.

BOOK I. two years after her death¹. But the very discussion
 CH. 19. seems to show us the ecclesiastical theories of the Middle Ages asserting themselves by the death-bed of the classical mythology: seven centuries pass away like a dream, and we hear the voice of Becket arguing against the Constitutions of Clarendon.

The contro-
 versy as to
 the union
 of the two
 natures in
 Christ.

For yet other reasons, the period during which Placidia presided over the destinies of the Western Empire looms large in the history of the Church. In the year 431 was held the Council of Ephesus, which anathematised the doctrine of Nestorius; in 451, the year after her death, the famous Council of Chalcedon condemned the opposite heresy of Dioscorus. During those twenty years therefore (and in the East for half a century longer) raged the furious and to us almost incomprehensible struggle concerning the two natures of Christ. Old and mighty states were falling to pieces; new and strange barbaric powers were enthroning themselves in the historic capitals of the West; shepherds were becoming kings, and patricians were being sold into slavery as swineherds; but still the interminable metaphysic talk flowed on. Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite, said each his say. To them entered Protagoras and Gorgias, and the whole brilliant progeny of the sophists. With Oriental long-windedness and Hellenic subtlety they argued as to the precise limits of the divine and the human in the person of our Saviour; and an outbreak of insane monks, a robber-council beating a bishop to death, an insurrection of the Byzantine populace against their 'Manichean' Emperor varied the otherwise monotonous manufacture of creeds and anathemas.

¹ See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, vi. 185 and 204.

The rage of this conflict, though felt in Italy, was not so fierce there as in the East ; and Placidia, more fortunate than her nephew Theodosius II, trod the narrow path of orthodoxy with reputation unimpaired, so that the ecclesiastical historians generally speak of her with high respect.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

The weak point in her historical record is her failure to mould the character of her children. Both her son and her daughter in various ways, as we shall see hereafter, brought scandal and calamity upon the Empire by their sensualities. Procopius (whose delight it is to find fault) plainly accuses her of having given the young Valentinian an effeminate and enervating education, and invites us to conjecture that his character was thus intentionally enfeebled in order that his mother might retain the reins of power in her hands, after her duty as regent would naturally have terminated. The conjecture is an obvious one, but there does not seem to be any evidence to support it. Doubtless the relation of a Queen Mother to a son growing up to manhood is a difficult one at the best of times and where both are actuated by the highest principle. A better illustration of this could not perhaps be found than that which is afforded by Maria Theresa and the Emperor Joseph II. But Placidia, we must remember, was really the man of her family. She had the energy and the wisdom of her father ; her brothers, her son, her nephew exhibited through life that strange lethargy which at intervals crept even over him. And her husband, the coarse and brutal buffoon, may well have contributed to the natures both of Valentinian and Honoria a taint of sensuality which the wisest mother would have found it difficult to eradicate. The Theo-

Placidia's
failure
with her
children.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

dosian sullenness and the Constantian vulgarity were poor materials out of which to form an Emperor of Rome.

Upon the whole issue, without palliating her alleged share in the judicial murder of Serena, or denying her ill-success in the training of her children, one may plead for a favourable verdict as to the character of Placidia. Her love for Ataulfus, her grief at his death, her brave endurance of the insults of his murderer, long ago enlisted me on her side; and now, after carefully reading all that her detractors have to urge against her, I look upon her still as the sweetest and purest figure of that dreary time.

Death of
Placidia.

She died at Rome on the 27th November, 450¹, near the 60th year of her age. Apparently the whole Imperial Court removed in this year to the city by the Tiber; but Placidia's body was carried back to that Ravenna which she had so lavishly adorned.

Her mau-
soleum at
Ravenna.

The mausoleum of Galla Placidia, otherwise called the church of St. Nazarius and St. Celsus, is a little building shaped like a Latin cross, measuring about 38 feet by 30. At the centre of the cross you see above you a dome covered with mosaics. On a deep blue ground are scattered golden stars, and in the zenith is a jewelled cross. In the arches immediately below the dome stand eight prophets, two on each side of the square chapel. Below these again are other arches more deeply recessed; in one of them the Good Shepherd, lifting his cross on high, sits surrounded by his sheep; in another, Christ², wielding his cross like

¹ 451 according to Idatius, but Prosper, who gives the date 450, is the safer guide.

² Or, according to one art-critic, not Christ, but St. Lawrence.

a sword, and by his form and attitude reminding one of the description in the first chapter of the Apocalypse, stands with an open book, probably the Gospel of St. Mark, in his hand; at a little distance off, an opened bookcase discloses the other three gospels; between him and them is a great brazier, in which heretical books, perhaps those of the Nestorians, are seen to be burning, the flames and the smoke being very vividly rendered. In each of the side arches corresponding to these, two stags, surmounted and surrounded with strange arabesques, are pressing through their intricacies to drink at a pool in the forest. All this picture-work is of course mosaic.

BOOK I.
CH. 19.

Below, on the floor of the chapel, stand three massive sarcophagi of Greek marble.

In the sarcophagus on the left repose the remains of Valentinian III and Constantius, the son and the husband of Placidia. In the bas-relief outside two lambs, standing between two palm-trees, look up to another lamb standing in the middle of the picture, upon a little eminence whence proceed four streams, probably the four rivers of Paradise. The glory round the head of this central figure and the anagram XP show that it is intended as a type of Christ.

The sarcophagus on the other side shows the central lamb (but without the glory round the head) standing on the hillock whence issue the four streams, together with three crosses. On the transverse bar of the central cross sit two doves, a somewhat unusual addition. The spiral columns, the pediment resting upon them, and some other features, remind us of the work of the *Renaissance*. Yet there is no doubt that all the mosaics and sculpture in the mausoleum of

BOOK I. Galla Placidia are entirely contemporary, fifth-century
CH. 19. work.

Let the beholder give one more look at that mighty sarcophagus on his right, for it contains all that earth is still cumbered with of Honorius.

At the end of the mausoleum, immediately behind the altar, which is made of semi-transparent alabaster, stands the largest of all the sarcophagi, which contains the ashes of Galla Placidia. There are no bas-reliefs on this tomb, which is said to have been once covered with silver plates, long since removed. For eleven centuries the embalmed body of the Augusta remained undisturbed in this tomb, sitting upright in a chair of cypress wood, and arrayed in royal robes. It was one of the sights of Ravenna to peep through a little hole in the back and see this changeless queen. But unhappily, three hundred years ago some careless or mischievous children, determined to have a thoroughly good look at the stately lady, thrust a lighted taper through the hole. Crowding and pushing, and each one bent on getting the best view possible, they at length brought the light too near to the corpse: at once royal robes and royal flesh and cypress wood chair were all wrapped in flames. In a few minutes the work of cremation was accomplished, and the daughter of Theodosius was reduced to ashes as effectually as any daughter of the Pagan Caesars.

With this anecdote of the year 1577 ends the story of Galla Placidia.

NOTE L. BONIFACIUS AND AETIUS.

I shall give in this note a summary of the conclusions to NOTE I. which I am brought by a study of the important article on this subject contributed by Professor Freeman to the Historical Review. 'The Procopian legend' of the feud between Placidia's two chief counsellors, and the curious addition from Marcellinus about the single combat in which it ended, have been given in the text. Professor Freeman throws suspicion on almost every part of the story, chiefly because of the contradiction which he finds to exist between it and the notices in Prosper's chronicle. It must be emphatically stated that for all this part of the history, from 425-441 (Olympiodorus to Priscus) we have no contemporary historian to guide us. Procopius is an invaluable historian for his own times, but he lived a hundred years after the events with which we are now dealing, and he is often strangely misinformed as to matters which lay so far behind him. (For instance, he says that Joannes the Notary-Emperor kept his usurped power for five years, whereas in reality only about two years intervened between his elevation and his deposition.) For contemporary information we must go to the annalists, and of these incomparably the most important and trustworthy is Prosper. I will quote here all the entries in Prosper which bear on our present subject, requesting the reader to watch especially for the names of four men, each of whom at one time or another held the office of *Magister Militum*, Castinus, Felix, Bonifacius, and Aetius.

422. Honorius for the 13th time, and Theodosius for the 10th time, Consuls.

At this time an army was sent to Spain against the Vandals, under the command of Castinus, who, by a foolish and insulting order, excluded Bonifacius, though a man renowned for his skill in

NOTE L.

war, from companionship in his expedition. The latter, deeming it to be both dangerous and degrading to follow a leader whom he had found to be both quarrelsome and arrogant, rushed hastily to the City's harbour (Portus?), and thence to Africa. This was the beginning of many sorrows to the Commonwealth.

423. Marinus and Asclepiodotus, Consuls.

Honorius dies, and Joannes seizes his throne, with the connivance, as was supposed, of Castinus, who commanded the army as *Magister Militum*.

424. Castinus and Victor, Consuls.

Theodosius makes his aunt's son Valentinian, Caesar, and sends him with his August mother to receive the kingdom, at a time when Joannes was weakened for purposes of defence by his endeavour to reconquer Africa which Bonifacius was holding.

425. Theodosius for the 11th time and Valentinian, Consuls.

Placidia Augusta and Valentinianus Caesar, by marvellous good luck, cut off the usurper Joannes. Aetius is pardoned because the Huns whom Joannes had sent for through his intervention were, also by his good offices, induced to return home. Castinus, however, was driven into exile, because it appeared that Joannes could not have assumed the Imperial dignity without his connivance.

Arles, a noble city of the Gauls, was attacked by the Goths with a large army, until, on the imminent approach of Aetius, they retired, not unpunished.

426. Theodosius for the 12th time and Valentinian for the 2nd time, Consuls.

Patroclus, Bishop of Arles, is slain, being mangled with many wounds by a certain barbarian Tribune, which crime was referred to the secret orders of Felix, Master of the Soldiery, to whose instigation also was attributed the murder of Titus the Deacon, a holy man who was engaged in distributing money to the poor at Rome.

427. Hierius and Ardabures [Ardaburius], Consuls.

At the bidding of Felix, war in the name of the State was declared on Bonifacius (whose influence and glory in Africa were increasing) because he had refused to come to Italy (Bonifacio, cujus potentia gloriaque in Africâ augebatur, bellum ad arbitrium Felicis, quia¹ ad Italiam venire abnuerat, publico nomine illatum est). The leaders of the expedition were Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinox. By

¹ Most MSS. read 'qui,' but there can be no doubt that 'quia' is the right reading.

the treachery of Sinox, Mavortius and Galbio were slain while they were besieging Bonifacius, and presently he himself, being detected by Bonifacius in deceitful practices, was put to death. Thereafter the sea was made a thoroughfare to the [barbarous] nations which were ignorant of the management of ships, their aid being invoked by the combatants. [Exinde gentibus quae uti navibus nesciebant, dum a concertantibus in auxilium vocantur, mare pervium factum est]: and the care of the war which had been begun against Bonifacius was transferred to Count Sigisvult. The nation of the Vandals crossed over from Spain to Africa.

NOTE 1.

428. Felix and Taurus, Consuls.

Part of Gaul bordering on the Rhine, which the Franks had appropriated for their own possession, was recovered by the arms of Count Aetius.

429. Florentius and Dionysius, Consuls.

Felix was advanced to the Patrician dignity, and Aetius was made Master of the Soldiery.

430. Theodosius for the 13th time and Valentinian for the 3rd time, Consuls.

Aetius, having been forewarned that Felix, with his wife Padusia and the deacon Grunnitus, were laying snares against him, slew them. The Bishop Augustine, a man in all ways most excellent, dies on the 28th August, being engaged at the very end of his life, and amid the rush of the besieging Vandals, in replying to the books of Julian, and gloriously persevering in the defence of Christian grace.

432. Aetius and Valerius, Consuls.

Bonifacius came from Africa through the city [Rome? or Carthage?] to Italy, having received the dignity of Master of the Soldiery. Having overcome in battle Aetius, who was resisting him, he died of disease a few days after. But Aetius, when, having laid aside his power, he was living on his own land, was there attacked by a certain enemy of his, who endeavoured to cut him off by a sudden onslaught, and fleeing to the city, and thence to Dalmatia, finally arrived at Pannonia and the dwellings of the Huns, whose friendship and help he used to obtain peace from the sovereigns, and the right to resume the power which he had lost: [quorum amicitia auxilioque usus pacem principum et jus interpolatae potestatis obtinuit.]

Idatius, for the year 422, gives us this information:—

‘Castinus, Master of the Soldiery, with a great force and with

NOTE L.

Gothic auxiliaries, wages war in Baetica against the Vandals. Whom, when he had reduced by blockade to such extremities that they were already preparing to surrender, he rashly engaged with them in a pitched battle, was deceived by the bad faith of his auxiliaries, and fled to Tarragona, a beaten man.

Bonifacius, deserting the palace, intrudes on Africa [Africam invadit].

We must now make a few extracts from the Pseudo-Prosper, though he darkens counsel by his terrible confusion of dates.

424. First year of Theodosius II (after the death of Honorius).

Placidia sends to Theodosius to pray for help. Sigisvuldus hastened to Africa against Bonifacius.

425. Aetius, son of Count Gaudentius, who was slain by the soldiers in Gaul, enters Italy with the Huns to bring help to Joannes.

427. Arles is delivered from the Goths by Aetius.

431. About 20,000 soldiers of those who are warring in Spain against the Vandals are cut to pieces. The Vandals, crossing over the straits to Africa, caused great slaughter among the Romans, harrying the whole province.

432. Aetius, having celebrated his entry on the Consulship, desires to avoid Bonifacius, who on the summons of the Empress [*Regina*] had arrived from Africa, and accordingly ascends to more fortified places [*ad munitiora conscendit*].

The sharpness of the excessive cold proved fatal even to the life of a great many people. Bonifacius being wounded in a contest which he had against Aetius, departed conqueror indeed, but about to die.

433. When Aetius betook himself after the battle to the nation of the Huns, over which Rugila then presided, he obtained help and returned to the Roman soil. The Goths were invited by the Romans to bring them aid.

434. Aetius is received into favour. Rugila, king of the Huns, with whom peace is confirmed, dies, and is succeeded by Bleda.

We must add one extract from Marcellinus Comes (circa 530–560).

Fifteenth Indiction: Valerius and Aetius, Consuls [432].

‘By the instigation [instinctu] of Placidia, the mother of the Emperor Valentinian, a great war was waged between Bonifacius and Aetius, Patricians. Aetius, having the day before prepared for himself a longer spear than that of Bonifacius, wounded Boni-

facius in the *malée* [congre^dientem], being himself unhurt: and in the third month Bonifacius died of the wound which he had received, exhorting Pelagia, his wife, a very wealthy woman, to marry no one else unless it were Aetius.' NOTE L.

Let us gather up the fragments of information here afforded us and see wherein they differ from the Procopian narrative.

1. As to *Castinus*. He is a person as to whom a real historian of the time would evidently have had much to say. After the death of Constantius he is apparently the chief military counsellor at the Court of Ravenna, succeeding to the same position which Stilicho and Constantius had held before him. He thwarts and represses the brave and aspiring Bonifacius, and will not give him his proper place in the expedition which he prepares against the Vandals of Spain (422). He throws away a victory by his bad generalship, flies to Tarragona and apparently returns to Ravenna just in time to take part in the events of 423, when on the death of Honorius he puts the notary Joannes upon the throne. In 424 he receives the honour of a Consulship, and we may perhaps conjecture that he commands the troops which are sent into Africa to wrest that province from Bonifacius who has zealously espoused the cause of Placidia. Of his operations in Africa we hear nothing, but he seems to be absent from the scene when Ardaburius and Aspar conduct their campaign against Ravenna. He falls with the fall of his Imperial puppet, is driven into exile and disappears from history.

All this supplements, but does not contradict, the information given by Procopius.

2. *Felix*, Master of the Soldiery from 426-429, and Patrician 429-430. He too is a great official of whom we should know nothing but for the annalists, and he is one against whom, on account of his violent and sanguinary interference in ecclesiastical affairs, Prosper has a strong feeling of antagonism. He is generally suspected of having caused the murder of Patroclus, Bishop of Arles, and of the saintly deacon Titus who was at the very time of his murder engaged in relieving the distress of the proletarians of Rome. He is higher in nominal rank than Aetius, for when Felix gets a step in promotion Aetius takes the place which he had vacated: and in fact we may probably consider him as chief adviser, and what we should call Prime Minister of Placidia during the first five years of her reign.

NOTE L. But Aetius though nominally second in command is evidently the more powerful character: possibly his mysterious barbarian connections give to his action a stringency which makes it almost equivalent to a command. At any rate when Felix, his wife, and the family chaplain are proved, or suspected to be conspiring against him, Aetius appears to have no difficulty in procuring the execution of all three.

The important point for our present purpose is that Prosper expressly tells us that it was at the will ('arbitrium') of *Felix* that war was in 427 declared against Count Bonifacius. Professor Freeman dwells with just emphasis on this entry, so unlike what we should have expected from 'the Procopian legend,' and suggests that Aetius had really nothing to do at this time with the disgrace of Bonifacius, but that his name has been introduced here by Procopius owing to a confusion between the events of 427 and 432, at the latter of which dates there was undoubted enmity between Aetius and Bonifacius. On the other hand, if Aetius was the master-spirit and Felix the nominal head of Placidia's *consistorium* (which I suspect to have been the case) the intrigue against Bonifacius might justly be attributed to either (just as we might say that the disgrace of Marlborough was the work either of Harley or of St. John): and in this way both Prosper and Procopius may possibly be right.

3. *Bonifacius*, as we learn from the interesting and beautiful letter addressed to him by St. Augustine¹, had once, when only Tribune, done good service against the barbarian (probably Moorish) invaders of Africa, though he had only a small band of *foederati* at his disposal. This may have been after 422 when in 'Africam invasit,' but is much more likely to have been before. He seems to have been sincerely loyal to Placidia², and the diversion which he effected in her favour was an important factor in Valentinian's restoration. After the death of his first wife (we know not the date of this event) he was thinking of retiring from public life and devoting himself to 'sacred leisure,' and only the thought of the duty which he owed to the State and the desire to protect the Churches of Christ from the

¹ Letter 220, translated at full length in the first edition of this book.

² This is emphatically asserted by Olympiodorus (Fr. 40): Καὶ μόνος αὐτῇ (sc. Πλακιδίᾳ) Βονηφάτιος τὰ πιστὰ φυλάτταν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἧς ἦρχε. Καὶ χρήματα ὡς ἐδύνατο ἔπεμπε. Καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην αὐτὸς ἔσπειδε θεραπείαν ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάληψιν ἅπαντα συνεβάλετο.

molestations of the barbarians retained him in office. 'Thou the while' says Augustine in the above-mentioned letter 'wast to seek from this world nothing but what was needed for the mere support of life for thee and thine, being girt with the belt of chastest continence, and, under the armour of a Roman soldier, being yet more safely, yet more strongly fortified by the panoply of God.'

NOTE 1.

'While I believed, and rejoiced to believe, that thou wast still firm in this purpose, thou madest a voyage, thou marriedst a [second] wife. The voyage was a part of that obedience which, according to the Apostle, is owing to the higher powers. But the wife thou wouldest not have married unless thou hadst been conquered by concupiscence, and therefore broken thy vow of chastity.' And this second wife was a heretic and Bonifacius' own daughter had been baptized by heretical priests. As to this visit across the seas, we really know nothing. Baronius conjectures a visit to the Vandal king at the command of Placidia, and a marriage with one of his kindred: but this is mere guess-work. A visit to Ravenna to take part in the rejoicings at the accession of Valentinian III, and to receive the thanks of Placidia, seems to me much more probable.

Augustine goes on to remonstrate with Bonifacius on the rapine already perpetrated, and the further rapine which he feared would be perpetrated by his followers, 'that multitude of armed men, loving the world with fierce lust, whose desires thou wilt have to flatter, whose ferocity thou wilt have to fear.' 'But what can I say as to the ravage of Africa, which the African barbarians are carrying on unresisted by any man, while thou art so engrossed by thy own schemes of self-defence that thou art not taking any measures for averting so great a calamity.'

Professor Freeman points out that this passage has nothing to do with the Vandal invasion, but relates to the outrages committed by the 'African barbarians,' those wild Mauritians whose guerilla warfare Bonifacius had withstood long ago when only a Tribune with his *foederati*. In this he is clearly right, but I hesitate to follow him in his conclusion that 'Bonifacius, as his saintly friend witnesses, had grossly neglected his duty and he was called on to account for it.' All Augustine's reproofs seem to me consistent with the theory that Bonifacius, though he had declined from his previous high standard of religion,

NOTE L. and perhaps of morality, in his private life, had dealt faithfully and loyally by Placidia, until by the intrigues of her counsellors he was compelled to busy himself in 'schemes of self-defence.'

The story of the Imperial campaign against Bonifacius is obscure and uninteresting. Three generals in joint command, with the strange names Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinox, are sent against him. Sinox betrays his two colleagues to Bonifacius, then shows himself a double-dyed traitor, and is himself put to death by Bonifacius. Count Sigisvult, apparently a Gothic captain of *foederati*, receives the chief command of the expedition, but we hear absolutely nothing of the war which may have followed between him and Bonifacius: only, at this very time, perhaps even before Sigisvult has arrived, we hear of the coming of the Vandals.

As to this, the central event of the whole history, Professor Freeman shows how slight is the support given by Prosper to the story of Procopius. 'The sea,' we are told, 'was made a thoroughfare to the nations which were ignorant of the management of ships, their aid being invoked by the combatants.' We can just discern that this is meant as a description of the passage of the Vandals into Africa. But who made that passage possible? 'The combatants' [*concertantes*]. That is a very curious way of describing Bonifacius who, both in the preceding sentence and in the following clause, is mentioned by name. Can we suppose that Placidia's generals were mad enough to invoke Vandal aid against the rebel governor? That seems improbable to the last degree. I do not profess to be able to explain this strange entry of Prosper's, which does not indeed contradict the narrative of Procopius, but shoots across it with a strange and perplexing light. I would only suggest: (1) that it is possible that the double traitor Sinox, when he found himself falling, may have opened negotiations with the Vandal hosts who were mustering round Calpe, and that these negotiations may have gone on side by side with those of Bonifacius; and, (2) that Prosper, who is evidently an admirer, we might almost say a partisan of Bonifacius, possibly uses this vague word '*concertantes*' in order to veil as much as possible his hero's share in the fatal invitation. It must not be forgotten that even Prosper in his entry for the year 422, where he first brings Bonifacius on the scene, remarks that his government of Africa was the cause

of great disasters to the State [*idque reipublicae multorum laborum initium fuit*]. NOTE L.

As to the rest of Bonifacius' African career there is practically no difference of opinion. I therefore pass on to the closing scene of his life, which we may consider in connection with his rival.

4. *Aetius*, whatever may have been the former relations between them, is undoubtedly in 432 the one great antagonist of Bonifacius. Felix has been for two years in his bloody grave with his wife and their favourite deacon beside him: and there is no one at the Imperial Court to rival the might of Aetius. But at this time (for what reason we know not, but the Procopian narrative would furnish a motive) Placidia ventures to summon her old champion Bonifacius to her side and he comes, in the curious phrase of Prosper '*ab Africâ ad Italiam per Urbem*,' having received from the Augusta the dignity of *Magister Militum*, of which Aetius had been presumably deprived. Aetius meets him in arms: and here Professor Freeman usefully reminds us that it was a regular pitched battle that followed—a drama of real Civil War though in one act only—and that it was fought, according to one trustworthy witness¹, five miles from Rimini. Professor Freeman justly derides the notion that the fight was in the nature of a duel, something like the feudal 'wager of battle' in order to decide between the two rivals, and that the great place of Master of the Soldiery was meant to be the prize of victory. For all this there is no authority, and the thoughts here hinted at all belong to a later age. But undoubtedly Marcellinus does speak of a single hand-to-hand encounter between the two chiefs, nor does there seem any difficulty in combining this with the words of the other chroniclers which describe the movements of armies. There was a battle in which the army of Placidia, commanded by Bonifacius, got the victory: but in that battle there was a single combat in which he was mortally wounded by his opponent's longer spear. He died, not on the field of battle, but either 'a few days' or 'in the third month' after, his wound having possibly gangrened. If we like to believe Marcellinus he gave to the weeping wife, who was about to become a widow, the advice not to remarry unless she could do so with Aetius.

¹ Prosperi Codex Havniensis.

NOTE L. Aetius himself, though Consul for the year, has entirely fallen from power. He seeks to live in retirement on his own land, is hunted out by some private enemy whose hostility he had doubtless provoked in the years of his supremacy, flees to Rome, thence to Dalmatia, thence to the plains of the middle Danube, and after dwelling for some time (we know not how long) in the homes of the Huns is at length restored to the favour of Placidia by the good offices of these squalid allies, whom he was one day so gloriously to withstand.

In reviewing the whole question I would point out two facts which seem to me of some importance:—

(1) that Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius on his great expedition into Africa (533), expressly says that he got his information as to the passage of Gaiseric into that province from the Vandals themselves¹. He may therefore be fairly supposed to have heard from the lips of the grandsons of the invaders so important and so memorable a fact as the name of the rebel governor by whom they were invited into Africa.

(2) Joannes Antiochenus² tells briefly the same story as Procopius with reference to the intrigues of Aetius against Bonifacius, but he does not tell it in the same words. Now Joannes, though a comparatively late author (he probably lived in the seventh century) and though he certainly used Procopius freely in his compilation, had also some good contemporary authorities before him, especially Priscus, and there seems some probability, though I would not state it more strongly than this, that he may have found the story in one of these as well as in Procopius.

Upon the whole it seems to me that 'the Procopian legend' has still a reasonable claim to be accepted as history. Professor Freeman's battering-ram has undoubtedly made some serious breaches in the walls, but I do not think the garrison are yet reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion.

¹ Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω πρὸς Βανδίλων ἀκήκοα (De Bello Vand. i. 3).

² Fr. 196 (Müller, iv. 613).

NOTE M. BISHOPS AND CHURCHES OF RAVENNA.

The history of the Empire at the period which we have now NOTE M.
reached is so closely bound up with that of Ravenna, and eccle-
siastical events occupy so prominent a place in the annals of that
city that it seems necessary to devote a few pages to the *Liber*
Pontificalis of Agnellus, our chief authority for this portion of
history. It is undoubtedly a great disadvantage to have to
derive our information from a monkish Chronicler who lived four
centuries after the time for which we need his guidance. The
mosaics, as has been hinted in the text, kept alive the remem-
brance of the names and the personal appearance of many of his
saintly heroes: but the myth-making faculty was active during
that morning of the Middle Ages, and many of the quaint
legends recorded in the pages of Agnellus may have derived
their colour from the Carolingian period rather than the Theo-
dosian. Still with all its deficiencies and all its yet greater
redundancies the *Liber Pontificalis* is a most valuable memorial
of what men were thinking and saying in the city by the Ronco
in the days of the last Theodosians, of Theodoric and of the
Exarch of Ravenna.

The book of Agnellus, which has been preserved from oblivion
practically by only one MS. of the fifteenth century, has been
admirably edited by Dr. Holder-Egger for the 'Monumenta
Germaniae Historica,' and this editor has not only prefixed to
his work a careful and exhaustive preface as to the life of
Agnellus, but has also succeeded in bringing order and harmony
into the apparently hopeless chaos of his chronology. I gladly
substitute Holder-Egger's well-substantiated conclusions for the
conjectures on the same subject, which were somewhat too rashly
expressed by me in the first edition of this work.

Agnellus was born about the year 805, of a noble and wealthy

NOTE M. family at Ravenna. He bore also the name of Andreas which he derived from his grandfather, through whom he was descended from a certain Johannicis, poet and secretary of state, who took a leading part in an unsuccessful rebellion of Ravenna against the tyrant Justinian II (709). Agnellus himself was trained as a priest in the Cathedral Church of Ravenna, and when quite a young man was made abbot of two monasteries in that city, a piece of promotion which brought him not only dignity but wealth. One of these monasteries was, however, afterwards taken away (he says without any just cause) by the Bishop of Ravenna (who had formerly been his bosom-friend), but was eventually restored to him.

Agnellus was of short stature but comely face. He had a great flow of words and sang the holy offices more sweetly than a nightingale. He seems to have been a clever nimble-minded man, with some skill in decoration (he himself says that he was 'artificiorum omnium ingeniis plenus') and some knowledge of Greek as well as Latin literature; altogether a man of what seemed extraordinary learning and culture in a very barbarous age. Being apparently the youthful genius of his native city, he was importuned by the other Presbyters of Ravenna to rescue from oblivion the Bishops, nearly fifty in number, who in the course of eight centuries had presided over that important See. He undertook the work, but found the labour so severe that his health suffered therefrom, and he sometimes threw down the pen, doubtful whether he should ever be able to resume it. But the pressure of his colleagues overcame his reluctance, real or feigned. If he found enough material in the memories of the oldest inhabitants, he wrote a long life of an eminent saint; if he found no such material he invented it; if his health was not adequate to the labour of invention, he treated his brethren instead to a disquisition on an obscure text of Scripture, which certainly became obscure when he had handled it sufficiently.

There is a mixture of the pathetic and the ludicrous in the appeals which he sometimes makes to his too persistent friends. Take for instance his life of St. Aurelian, Bishop of Ravenna, from 520 to 521. 'He was an eminent man, young in years, old in wisdom, mild towards the people, courteous towards his flock. . . . But, my dearly beloved, that you may know what heavy burdens you have imposed upon my neck, I have not been able

to learn any facts about this man except that he acquired NOTE M.
certain property for the cathedral in the territory of Comacchio
. . . and that a monastery was built in his time. But on account
of your prayer, that this man's history may not appear too short,
I will, with Divine help, relate boldly what my human intellect
is quite unable to declare. . . .

‘Now you wish that I should proceed. But I am very sick
and weak in body, and can do nothing to-day. To-morrow,
with the Creator's help, I will begin.

[A day intervenes.]

‘Oh! do not press me as you did yesterday. Your eloquence
has urged me quite enough. Think of the words of Solomon,
“He who presseth for words too vehemently squeezeth out
blood.”

‘Remember that this wisdom of mine is not my own but the
gift of the Almighty. Ah, wretched me, who am daily pressed
with such questions! Do not thus treat me. If you want to
have this *Liber Pontificalis* finished quickly and deposited in
your hands, consider your own frailty, and then mine also.
To-day I number six lustres (thirty years) besides two years and
six months, since I quitted my mother's womb. Never have
I suffered such tortures, never have I been so constrained as
I was by you yesterday. But if it is your pleasure to drag me
hither and thither by the ears, to tie my hands behind my back,
to lay your strokes upon my breast and my shoulders, I will
consent. Do what you will and then leave me alone, and keep
what I have already written concerning the Pontiffs of Ravenna:
you will hear nothing more from me. I will finish this life of
Aurelian, and then be silent ever after¹. . . .

‘Remember what I say: I wish you to know that if I leave
off this *Liber Pontificalis* on account of your persecution, a time
will come when you will read my half-finished book and will
remember with a groan what I am now saying to you. I desire
with the help of Almighty God to bring this labour of mine to
its proper ending: you, by your too great haste, in fact wish me
to leave off. I will not do it. But as I consider that I am your
debtor bound to answer that question about the rivers of Etham
I will now do it.

¹ This threat was not fulfilled. His second book is equal in length to the first,
which he is here completing.

NOTE M. 5. *St. Calocerus*, 'a man of advanced age, who wrought many wonderful signs and rescued many souls from the power of the demons.'

6. *St. Proculus*, 'who expressed himself with honeyed sweetness in his sermons to the people, and handed as it were cups of milk to their thirsting souls. The crown of white hairs was on his head when he ended his episcopate with his life.'

7. *St. Probus*, 'a meek and pious man, bright in aspect, fervent in work.'

8. *St. Dathus*, 'a religious and very pious man, and a frequent preacher to the people.'

9. *St. Liberius*, 'a great man, a never-failing fountain of charity, who brought much honour to the Church.'

10. *St. Agapetus*, 'whose name in the Latin tongue signifies *Charitosus*. He daily celebrated love-feasts ('Αγάπαι) with strangers and assiduously bestowed gifts on the poor.'

11. *St. Marcellinus*, 'a just man and honoured for his prayers. After a long space of years he ended his life and his pontificate: and his body gave out such sweet odours that most precious myrrh, burnt as incense, seemed to fill the nostrils of those who buried him.'

12. *St. Severus*, the wool-comber Bishop whose story has been told in the text. His name occurs among the prelates who signed the decrees of the council of Sardica in 344. Notwithstanding a story which connects his death with that of Genimianus, Bishop of Modena (who was still living in 390), it seems probable that Severus was an old man when he was present at Sardica, and that his pontificate ended about the middle of the century.

13. *St. Liberius II*, 'an eminent man, a father of the orphans and liberal in his alms.'

14. *St. Probus II*, 'Anointed with Divine grace, and beautiful to look upon, decrepit with age, heavy in body, mirthful in countenance, imbued with heavenly grace, strengthened by God, unto whom he sought perpetually.'

15. *St. Florentius*, 'a righteous man, father of the poor and guide of the widows.'

16. *St. Liberius III*, 'a saintly man, goodly in form, clear of mind, with a milk-like flow of eloquence, a destroyer of idols, and one who had the joy of seeing the Christians in his time

visibly increase and the pagans diminish.' He is said to have NOTE M.
been a contemporary and an eye-witness of the assassination of
the Emperor Valentinian II, who was really slain not at
Ravenna but at Vienne, and all the details are quite incorrectly
given.

17. *St. Ursus*, 'a most chaste and holy man, who had an earnest and noble countenance and was moderately bald. He first began to construct a temple to God, so that the Christians previously scattered about in huts should be collected into one sheepfold.'

Without taking this language about the huts literally, we may accept the fact that St. Ursus was the first to build a really metropolitan church for Ravenna. At this day the Duomo (unfortunately rebuilt in the eighteenth century) bears the name of St. Orso. The original building with its five naves, separated by four rows of columns, fifty-six in number and all taken from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, must have been a goodly sight.

Another name for this 'Ecclesia Ursiana' was the Anastasis (Resurrection). The wall on the women's side of the church was decorated with a figure of St. Anastasia. High over all rose a dome (*testudo*) 'with various coloured tiles representing different figures.'

The Pontiff Ursus lived to see his work completed, and after an episcopate of twenty-six years 'he laid him down to die on the 13th of April, on the anniversary of Christ's resurrection, and was appropriately buried in his own cathedral of the Anastasis.'

The pontificate of Ursus is assigned by Dr. Holder-Egger (though with some hesitation) to the years between 370 and 396: the dedication of the cathedral to 385.

[18. *St. Peter I*, 'a most holy man of tall stature, attenuated frame, emaciated countenance and wearing a bushy beard. He together with all his predecessors from the time of St. Apollinaris had been of Syrian extraction' (a strange and inexplicable tradition this, which seems to be alluded to in Sidonius' letter about Ravenna, quoted in the preceding chapter¹). This Bishop Peter is rejected both by Holder-Egger and by Rubeus the historian of Ravenna, and is believed to owe his existence

¹ See p. 861.

NOTE M. to some confusion as to the date of Peter Chrysologus. We accordingly give the number eighteen to his successor.]

18. *St. John* the Angel-Seer, one of the two great bishops of Ravenna contemporary with Placidia. He appears to have been elected about 418, and to have died at some time between 432 and 440, that being the period during which Pope Sixtus III ruled the Church of Rome. Holder-Egger appears inclined to put his death about 439. As there is thus an unfilled interval between the death of Ursus and the election of John, one is inclined to doubt whether Holder-Egger has not been too hasty in his entire rejection of 'Peter I.'

'John was a man right venerable for his virtue, a nourisher of the poor, a lover of modesty and chastity, one at whose prayer the angelic hosts descended upon earth: of moderate stature and thin face, lean with fasting, a great alms-giver to the poor.

'In his time the Church of *St. Laurentius*¹ the Martyr, situated in Caesarea, built by Lauricius, was completed. We can still behold from the magnitude of the building what great diligence must have been used in its construction. I think I had better not be silent as to the story which I have heard told concerning the erection of this Church.

'The Emperor Honorius gave his chamberlain Lauricius a sum of money wherewith he was to build him a palace in Caesarea. Having received the money he came to that place and there built [not a palace, but] a Basilica to the Blessed Martyr. Having entirely finished his work he returned to his master, whom he found sitting on his throne in imperial vestments, and who asked him, with much excitement, whether the royal palace which he had ordered him to build were yet completed. (For malevolent men, full of envy and inbred sin, had assailed the ears of the Emperor with their temptations, telling him that the blessed Lauricius was building not an imperial mansion but a church.) The chamberlain answering said, that he had built a great and noble palace, that it had porches and lofty towers, and couches² here and there affixed to the very walls of the house.

'So the wrath of the Emperor was quieted, and when, after

¹ No remains apparently of this church.

² Alluding possibly to seats for the congregation.

a long march, he beheld the building rising in air he was filled with complacency¹. But when they had actually entered the holy building, Lauricius darted away and took refuge behind the altar. Honorius, after giving orders for his arrest, prostrated himself on the floor of the Church. Thereupon a gem of great value fell out of his crown, and became fastened in the stones of the pavement. The Emperor himself passed into an ecstasy, and when he raised his head and the mist had passed away from his eyes he saw behind the altar of St. Laurentius (which the aforesaid Pope John had consecrated) Lauricius standing and Laurentius, Christ's athlete, laying his hand upon Lauricius' shoulder. Then the Emperor laid aside all his wrath, and declaring that Lauricius was a more righteous man than himself he venerated him as a father, and ordered all things in the palace according to his advice. Lauricius lived in the light of this world ninety-six years, and died in a good old age in the time of the same Emperor², who with his soldiers mourning followed the bier.'

The next story of Emperor and Bishop is one which, whether true or false, was an important factor in the after-history of Ravenna.

'The Emperor Valentinian III,' says Agnellus, 'was so greatly moved by the preaching of the holy man, that he took off his imperial crown in his presence, and with lowly words and reverent gesture, begged his blessing. Having received it he departed with glad countenance, and not many days after he bestowed upon him fourteen cities with their churches, to be governed by him with arch-priestly power. And these fourteen cities with their bishops are to this day subject to the Church of Ravenna. This bishop first received from the Emperor a *Pallium* of white wool, just such as it is the custom for the Roman Pontiff to wear over the *Duplum*; and he and his successors have used such a vestment down to the present day³.'

¹ An incidental proof how little as yet the ecclesiastical Basilica had deviated in external appearance from its imperial pattern.

² This must be a mistake. The inscription on his tomb, quoted by Agnellus, shows that Lauricius outlived Honorius by at least fifteen years.

³ As the passage is important, I will transcribe the original:—'Non post multos dies idem Augustus sub consecratione B. Johannis Antistitis xiv Civitates cum suis Ecclesiis largitus est Archieraticâ potestate, et usque in præsentem

NOTE M. The historical student will see at a glance how much importance may be attached to these few sentences. The question of Investitures, and the dependence or independence of the Church of Ravenna from that of Rome are both concerned here. Of course the champions of the Papal prerogative do not admit that the passage has any authority.

Shortly before the death of John, his biographers place that marvellous event which gave him his name of 'the Angel-Seer,' and which is an early instance of those legends of the Holy Grail with which English readers have been rendered familiar through Tennyson's 'Sir Galahad.' 'When the aforesaid Joannes was singing a solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Agatha, and had accomplished all things according to the rite of the holy Pontiffs, after the reading of the Gospel, after the protestation (?), the catechumens who were privileged to see him saw marvellous things. For when the saint was beginning to say the canonical words of prayer and to make the sign of the Cross over the Sacrifice, suddenly an angel from heaven came and stood on the other side of the altar in sight of the Pontiff. And when after finishing the consecration he had received the body of the Lord, the assisting deacon who wished to fulfil his ministry could not see the chalice which he had to hand to him. Suddenly he was moved aside by the angel who offered the holy chalice to the Pontiff in his place. Then all the priests and people began to shake and tremble, beholding the holy chalice, self-moved, inclined to the Pontiff's mouth and again lifted into the air and laid upon the holy altar. A strange thrill passed through the waiting multitude. Some said "The deacon is unworthy," but others affirmed "Not so, but it is a heavenly visitation." And so long did the angel stand by the holy man until all the solemnities of the mass were ended.

'After a short time, having blessed all his sons the citizens of Ravenna, with joyful countenance as one bidden to a feast, John ended his days on the fifth of June. He was buried in the Basilica of St. Agatha, behind the altar in the place where he saw the angel standing, and we see daily his portrait over

diem xiv Civitates cum Episcopis sub Ravennae Ecclesiâ reductae sunt Iste primus ab Augusto pallium ex candidâ lanâ accepit, ut mos est Romanorum Pontifici super duplo idem induere, quo usus est ipse et successores sui usque in praesentem diem. Agnelli, *Lib. Pontif.* apud Muratori, ii. 67.

the sedilia, from which it appears that he was a man of slender NOTE M.
form, with hair mostly black, but a few white locks interspersed.
But his holiness was greater than his years, for the Lord of
Heaven looks not so much at men's ages as at their hearts.

‘And now, my brethren, through the favour of God I have fulfilled my promise as far as I was able, and written the life of Joannes Angeloptes. But thy deeds, oh Petrus Chrysologus, who is sufficient to declare? Though my voice were made of adamant and came forth from brazen lungs, and though I had a hundred verses in my *ligarii* (?), even so I could not narrate all thy actions.’

19. *St. Peter Chrysologus* ‘was beautiful of aspect, delightful in form. Before him was no Pontiff like him in wisdom, neither did any such arise after him.’

Undoubtedly Chrysologus was one of the great ecclesiastical figures of the fifth century, a man not unworthy to stand by the side of Chrysostom of Constantinople and Leo of Rome. As far as his date can be ascertained, he seems to have come into the See about 439, and to have died some time before 458. He was a native of Imola, and was, according to the legend recorded by Agnellus, a humble deacon ministering in the cathedral church of that city, when Pope Sixtus III (432–441), obeying an intimation which he had received in a vision from St. Peter and St. Apollinaris, presented him to the clergy of Ravenna, and insisted upon their receiving him as their Bishop instead of the candidate of their chair. But this legend has about it many marks of a late origin, and has probably at the best only a small nucleus of truth.

Of the actual episcopate of Chrysologus there is not much that need here be recorded. He is said to have taken part, by correspondence, in the Council of Chalcedon (451), and to have addressed a severe letter to the heretic Eutyches. ‘After a space of 30 years a claim is barred by mere human laws; why then dost thou after about 500 (?) years presume thus to address thy railing accusations against Christ? But thou oughtest to humble thyself before the holy Roman Pontiff, and diligently to keep his precepts, and think of him as if he were St. Peter the Apostle still present in the flesh, holding the primacy of the Roman See.’

The internal evidence is quite sufficient to show that no such

NOTE M. letter was ever addressed by Ravenna to Chalcedon. One letter however on the subject of the Eutychian heresy, and some homilies, are still extant, which by the consent of scholars appear to be admitted as his genuine compositions. His true memorial however is the lovely chapel of San Pier Crisologo, or Arcivescovado, to which reference is made in the text.

When it was made known to him by a divine intimation that death was approaching, he left the archiepiscopal splendours of Ravenna and repaired to his own ancestral Imola. There, in the Basilica and by the altar of Cassian, once schoolmaster, then martyr, and now patron-saint of Imola, he stood and uttered a long and beautiful prayer to God and address to his people. After which, 'turning to the altar of St. Cassian, he said, "I pray thee, blessed Cassian, intercede for me. I was as it were a home-born servant in thy house, when Cornelius nourished me up in the bosom of thy Church. Returning to thee once more I now give up my body to thee and my soul to Almighty God." With these and other words, hurled forth as from the mouth of a conqueror, while all around were weeping, he gave up his spirit on the third of December. And the grave-diggers laid his sacred body in the spot which he himself pointed out behind the episcopal seat in that Church, and there it remains unto this day.'

Chrysologus was succeeded by

20. *St. Neon*, and he by

21. *St. Exuperantius*,

both of whom Agnellus has placed before Joannes Angeloptes but who evidently must be transferred to this place. Little is known of either, except that a letter was addressed to Neon by Pope Leo the Great in the year 458. Apparently the two saints together fill up the interval from about 455 to 477.

To the modern traveller Neon's chief claim for remembrance consists in his decoration of the Baptistry, that little octagonal building which, like so many of its kind in North Italy, stands a little apart from the Duomo (*Ecclesia Ursiana*) to which it belongs. A large cistern—evidently used for the full immersion of the neophyte—stands in the centre of the building. On the dome above, the vivid mosaics depict the baptism of Jesus by John. Jordan, in aspect like a classical river-god, contemplates the great event, while all around the lower part of the dome

stand the stately figures of the Apostles. Some hexameters, NOTE 1
still inscribed on the walls in the time of Agnellus, attributed
'the glory of this renovation to the magnanimous Neon, chief
of the priests, who, with beautifying reverence, ordered all
things anew.'

22. *St. John II* ruled the See from 477 to 494. Here at last we get two certain dates from the inscription on his tomb, and the recovery of this name and these dates enables us to correct an omission of Agnellus and to understand the cause of the wild errors which he has committed in his chronology. For it is now clear that in his life of John the Angel-seer he has run two bishops into one, and has calmly blended transactions reaching over a period of some sixty or seventy years, the death of Honorius, the invasion of Attila, the war between Odovacar and Theodoric, in his life of a bishop who according to his own account ruled his See for 16 years, 10 months, and 18 days¹.

It was this John II who negotiated the peace, the short-lived peace between Odovacar and Theodoric which terminated the long siege of Ravenna (493)².

23. *St. Peter II* (or *III*), 494-520(?). By a similar confusion Agnellus has omitted to mention this prelate, and has attributed one of his buildings to St. Peter Chrysologus. That this Peter was the successor of John II is made almost certain by the fact that his name occurs on the roll of the bishops who attended the synods in Rome between 501 and 504, called in connection with the schism between Symmachus and Laurentius. We hear of Peter also in 519, as failing to control the excesses of the anti-Jewish rabble at Ravenna³. We may therefore at least say, that he was bishop for the first two decades of the sixth century.

24. *St. Aurelian*, who occupied the See for little more than a year, is the Bishop whose biography, with its quaint confession of the biographer's ignorance of his subject, has been already quoted⁴. It is interesting to note that a fragment of his will still exists, written on papyrus. We learn from it that the will

¹ This computation, taken from the epitaph above mentioned, evidently belongs to the second John, not the first.

² See vol. iii. p. 234.

³ Anon. Valesii, 82, 83. See vol. iii. 298, 299.

⁴ See p. 900.

NOTE M. was (as we should say) 'proved' before the magistrates of Ravenna, on the 3rd June, 521¹.

25. *St. Ecclesius* (circa 521-532) 'a holy vessel, of moderate stature. He had a head covered with bushy hair, and shaggy eyebrows; he was moderately white-haired and beautiful to look upon. In his time, the temple of the blessed martyr Vitalis was dedicated by Julianus the Treasurer along with the bishop himself.' A dispute arose between this Bishop and some of his clergy who had begun to attend the sports of the amphitheatre, and in other ways had broken the bonds of ecclesiastical discipline. The dispute was referred to Pope Felix III, whose judgment signed by Ecclesius and the clergy of both the opposing parties, still exists, an interesting and valuable document.

The portrait of Ecclesius in mosaic, corresponding pretty accurately to the above description, is introduced in the apse of the church of St. Vitale.

Together with Pope John, and several other prelates and officials of high rank, Ecclesius was sent by Theodoric on a strange and ill-judged embassy to the Emperor Justin I, to obtain a mitigation of the persecution of the Arians. Whether he shared the imprisonment which was the punishment inflicted on the Pope on his return from his unsuccessful mission we are not informed².

26. *St. Ursicinus* (circa 532-536), 'a lowly man, having a ruddy face and large eyes, tall in stature, slender in figure, holy and a worker of holiness. This holy man ordered that the church of St. Apollinaris [in Classe] should be founded and completed by Julian the Treasurer. In all the regions of Italy there is no church like to this, with precious stones which glow by night as well as by day.'

27. *St. Victor* (circa 537-544), 'a man of beautiful face and brisk countenance. He made a *ciborium* of silver over the altar in the church of St. Ursus [the cathedral], a marvellous work. Some say that he did this jointly with the common people, and others that in the time of Justinian I, the orthodox Emperor suggested that he should undertake this work, and he in turn asked the Emperor for help, whereupon Justinian, moved by compassion, granted the whole revenue of Italy in that year to

¹ Marini Pap. dipl. 112 (quoted by Holder-Egger).

² Anon. Valesii, § 90. Compare vol. iii. p. 512, &c.

the blessed Victor [for the purpose of the ciborium]. And NOTE M
having received it Victor constructed the work which ye now
see, and which when the ancient work is removed is of the full
weight of 120 pounds of silver.'

There are signs of a vacancy of the See (well accounted for by the troubles of the times) between the death of St. Victor and the election of

28. *St. Maximian* (546–556, or 557). 'He was tall in stature,' says Agnellus, 'of slender body, thin in the face, with bald head, with blue-grey eyes, and adorned with all grace.'

After the lapse of thirteen centuries we can still look upon the face of this noteworthy prelate, theologian, architect and historian, even as it was represented to the men of his own generation, on the walls of the church of St. Vitale. There is seen the broad, sleek face of Justinian, who by an artistic fiction is represented as assisting at the consecration of the Church. The diadem, the purple robe, the jewelled sandals, all the glory of an Emperor of Rome in the sixth century are represented in the freshly-glowing mosaic. Three great officers of state stand close beside him: his body-guard with spear and shield stand ready for his defence. On the left of the Emperor are three ecclesiastics; at their head Bishop Maximian wearing his *Pallium* and holding a jewelled cross in his right hand. His great, dome-like forehead is bald, but the few hairs still left on either side of it have not lost their blackness. The face is distinguished from those of the commonplace courtiers and churchmen who surround him, by something of the dignity of study and of thought. It is eminently fitting that this bishop should be represented standing side by side with the Emperor of the East in the Church at Ravenna, for it was to Imperial favour that he owed his great place in the city by the Ronco. He was a mere deacon in the church of Pola, the Istrian city, but when after the death of Victor, a deputation of priests from Ravenna arrived in Constantinople urging their various claims and pressing Justinian to bestow the coveted *Pallium* on one or other of them, the Emperor waived them all aside and ordered Vigilius the Roman Pontiff, who was at that time a refugee in his dominions, to consecrate the deacon Maximian, a man in the 49th year of his age, at Patras in Achaia, and sent him with the episcopal *Pallium* to Ravenna.

NOTE M. The pride of the men of Ravenna was wounded by this intrusion of an Istrian stranger into their See. Among other ill-natured stories which were circulated to account for the extraordinary favour shown him by Justinian, it was said that when digging in a field near Pola, he had discovered a great vessel filled with gold and precious ornaments. At once he ordered an ox to be slain and filled its belly with some of the treasure. Then he ordered his shoemaker to make a pair of stout jack-boots and these too he filled with golden pieces. The balance that was left over after these appropriations he took with him to Constantinople and handed it over to the Emperor¹. Great was Justinian's need of money at this time for his costly wars, and even while thanking the generous finder he could not refrain from asking if there were any more treasure behind. 'I swear to thee, oh Emperor,' said the deacon, 'by the salvation of thy soul that there was nothing more in the vessel except what I have spent on the belly and on shoe-leather.' Justinian, thinking that he had all the treasure except what had been expended on absolute necessities for the journey, considered within himself what reward he could give for such generous loyalty; and in this way (said popular rumour) Maximian obtained the bishopric of Ravenna.

If he had indeed by devious ways climbed up to that high dignity, when he had obtained it he did not bear himself therein unworthily. The citizens at first closed their gates against him, and he remained for some time in a palace outside the walls which had been built by an Arian bishop in the time of Theodoric. The chief men of his party chafed over the delay and were for sending to Constantinople to invoke the intervention of the Emperor. But Maximian steadfastly refused to appeal to the secular arm. 'He was a shepherd,' he said, 'and he would not slaughter his flock.' He invited first one and then another of the hostile party to dine with him, and after eating and drinking he gave them some of the treasures which, according to the story, had once been hidden in the boots or in the ox's belly. They all went back charmed with their entertainer,

¹ Had the treasure been found 'in Caesaris loco,' in some place belonging to the Emperor? In that case the Emperor was entitled as of right to one half of the find (Inst. ii. 1. 39). Or are we to consider it as a free-will offering on the part of Maximian?

praised his wisdom and prudence, and lamented the sad estate of ^{NOT} the Church of Ravenna which was going limping on her way without a bishop. Before long the gates were opened: and the citizens went forth with crosses and banners to welcome their pastor. They kissed his feet, and they led him with acclamation through the flower-crowned streets to the Basilica of Ursus and the bishop's-house¹ of the sainted Chrysologus.

In the ten years of Maximian's episcopate he was a great builder of churches. He built the beautiful church of St. Mary, in his native city of Pola, and in Ravenna the church of St. Andrew which he intended to enrich with the body of the Apostle: but as Justinian—so says the legend—insisted on detaining the precious relic at Constantinople in order that the sister-cities of Old and New Rome might each possess the body of one of the brothers, Simon and Andrew, Maximian had to content himself with the hair of the Apostle's beard, which he carried to Ravenna and placed under the high altar of his new church. To Maximian also, as we have seen, fell the honour of completing and dedicating in 547 the church of St. Vitale, and in 549 that of St. Apollinare in Classe. He contributed many precious vessels to the sacristy of the cathedral, and caused the seventy-two books which were used in the service of the church to be beautifully copied, himself diligently collating copy and original to guard against error.

But what especially interests us in this prelate and justifies us in lingering somewhat over his name is that he was evidently one of the chief historians, we might perhaps say the only Italian historian of the sixth century. 'After the blessed Jerome and Orosius and other historiographers, he laboured at chronicles, and following in their steps, in divers books traced out his own chronicle of the nobler kind of princes, not only emperors but also kings and prefects².' We have apparently only one short quotation taken expressly from the 'Chronica' of Maximian, but finding as we do a peculiar fullness and richness of detail in some of our authorities whenever they touch on affairs specially interesting to a citizen of Ravenna, we have a right to conjecture that some of them at any rate had this chronicle of Maximian before them when they were writing.

¹ *Episcopium*.

² *Agnellus* 78.

NOTE M. The precise relation to Maximian of 'Anonymus Cuspiniani,' 'Anonymus Valesii,' and the continuer of Prosper (Codex Havniensis) has been much discussed and is perhaps not yet entirely settled; but that some relation existed between them is placed almost beyond a doubt.

29. *St. Agnellus* (circa 556–570) is the last bishop whom I propose to mention here, as the ecclesiastical history of his successors connects itself intimately with the civil history of the Exarchs of Ravenna. This bishop, according to the description of his much later namesake, 'had a ruddy face, a full figure, thin eyebrows, pink scalp, piercing eyes and a double chin under his beard. He was of middle height, comely in person, perfect in work, but after the loss of his wife, laying aside the belt of military service he gave himself up entirely to God. He was of noble descent, rich in possessions, abounding in flocks and herds and all kinds of wealth. Among the rest of his property he left five silver vessels, ornaments for the table, to his grand-daughter, his daughter's daughter¹.'

Justinian is said to have handed over to Agnellus and the Church of Ravenna all the possessions of the Goths in the city and suburbs, but probably by this we are to understand only the ecclesiastical possessions of the Arian Gothic community. The episcopate of Agnellus was made chiefly memorable by his 'reconciliation,' that is reconsecration for Catholic worship, of six great Arian churches which had been built in Ravenna and its neighbourhood under the princes of the house of Theodoric. Among these were the Church of St. Maria in Cosmedim, otherwise called the Arian Baptistery, the Church of St. Theodore, and the Church of St. Martin 'in Coelo Aureo,' afterwards known as 'S. Apollinare Dentro.' It was Agnellus who gave to the last named church those two superb mosaics representing the procession of the Martyrs and the Virgins which are now the crowning glory of marvellous Ravenna.

For the convenience of actual visitors to Ravenna (for whose sake chiefly this note is written) I append a tabular statement of the chief ecclesiastical buildings still visible there, with the names of their founders and the approximate dates of their erection.

¹ Probably the reason why these are specially mentioned is because the Church had hoped to become the owner of them.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Founder.</i>	<u>NOTE M</u>
Ecclesia Ursiana (Cathedral) and Baptistery.	385	St. Ursus.	
St. John the Evangelist.	425	Galla Placidia.	
St. Agatha.	Early part of 5th century.	Unknown.	
Chapel of St. Peter Chrysologus (at the Arcivescovado).	439-458.	St. Peter Chrysologus.	
St. Peter the Greater (now S. Francesco).	Circa 450-460.	St. Peter Chrysologus and Neon.	
Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (SS. Nazario e Celso).	Circa 450.	Galla Placidia.	
St. Theodore (now Spirito Santo).	Early part of 6th century.	Theodoric.	
Arian Baptistery (now S. Maria in Cosmedim).	"	"	
St. Martin 'in Coelo Aureo' (now S. Apollinare Dentro).	"	"	
St. Vitalis.	Circa 530-547.	St. Ecclesius, Julian the Treasurer, and St. Maximian.	
St. Apollinaris 'in Classe.'	Circa 535-549.	St. Ursicinus, Julian the Treasurer, and St. Maximian.	

CHAPTER XX.

SALVIAN ON THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

NEAR the end of the life of Placidia, a book was written in Gaul, and circulated from monastery to monastery, which evidently produced a profound impression on the minds of the generation who first read it, and which remains to this day one of our most valuable sources of information as to the inner life of the dying Empire and the moral character of its foes. This work is the treatise of St. Salvian, Presbyter¹ of Marseilles, concerning the Government of God², in eight books.

Life of St.
Salvian.

The author was born in Gaul, possibly at Cologne, towards the end of the fourth century. He appears to have spent several years of early manhood at Trier, and to have gone thence to Marseilles, in which city he passed the middle and later portion of his life. He was married; and had a daughter named Auspiciola, after whose birth he and his wife Palladia, according to the not infrequent custom of the times, took the so-called vow of perpetual chastity, and consecrated themselves to the religious life. He was still living, at a good old

¹ He is erroneously called Bishop in the title-page of some editions. There appears to be no doubt that he died a simple Presbyter.

² Otherwise 'concerning the Present Judgment [of God].'

age, about the year 480, and was then spoken of by a contemporary ecclesiastic¹ as 'a Presbyter of Mar-
seilles, well furnished with divine and human learning, and, not to speak invidiously, the master of the holy bishops Salonius and Veranius.' His book 'De Gubernatione Dei' was probably composed between 440 and 450.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

The enigma which demanded solution from Salvian, as it must have done from all of his contemporaries who looked forth with any intelligence upon the catastrophe of the Roman Empire, was this, 'Why, if this world be ordered by Divine Providence, is the framework of society, which is now no longer Anti-Christian but Christian, going to pieces under the assaults of the barbarians?' Augustine had dealt with one half of this question, but he had treated it merely as a part of Christian polemics. He had contended, in the 'De Civitate Dei,' that these calamities were *not* the result of Rome's renunciation of Paganism. He had not, except casually and incidentally, sought to investigate what was their true cause. Orosius, while to some extent following his master's lead, had ultimately come to the conclusion that the state of the Empire was not unsatisfactory, and therefore that the enigma did not exist. A transitory improvement in the affairs of Honorius in the year 417, a slight bend backwards towards prosperity of the stream which had been flowing long and steadily towards ruin, might make this contention plausible in the eyes of a small religious *coterie*; but such desperate optimism was sure to be rejected sooner or later by the common sense of mankind.

The riddle
of the age :
'Why is
the Empire
falling?'

¹ Gennadius.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

Salvian's
answer
'Because
of the
vices of the
Romans.'

With a truer perception of the real conditions of the problem than either of his predecessors, and with the increased knowledge afforded by another generation of manifest decline, Salvian set himself to answer the same question, and arrived at this conclusion, the sum and substance of his whole treatise, 'The vices of the Romans are the real cause of the downfall of their Empire¹.' The fuller and more complete solution of the problem, namely, the Divine purpose to weld the Latin and Teutonic elements together into a new and happier Europe, does not seem to have presented itself to his mind. Such a conception was hardly possible to a Roman of that age to whom the Barbarian was as much out of the pale of political capability as the Gentile was out of the pale of spiritual privilege in the eyes of the Pharisee. But as a truthful man, enthusiastic, like one of the old Hebrew prophets, on behalf of pure living and just dealing, he saw and could not escape bearing witness to the immense moral superiority of the Barbarians over the Romans. This contrast gives emphasis to all his denunciations of the vices of his fellow-countrymen. 'You, Romans and Christians and Catholics,' he says, 'are defrauding your brethren, are grinding the faces of the poor, are frittering away your lives over the impure and heathenish spectacles of the amphitheatre, you are wallowing in licentiousness and inebriety. The Barbarians, meanwhile, Heathens or Heretics though they may be, and however fierce towards us, are just and fair in their dealings with one another. The men of the same clan, and following the same king, love one another with true affection. The impurities of the theatre are unknown

¹ 'Sola nos morum nostrorum vitia vicerunt' (end of book 7).

amongst them. Many of their tribes are free from the taint of drunkenness, and among all, except the Alans and the Huns, chastity is the rule.' BOOK I.
CH. 20.

A contrast so drawn between the Teuton and the Latin nations cannot fail to be highly gratifying to the former, and we too, on the strength of our Teutonic ancestry, claim our share in these laudations. But on the other hand, it is impossible not to feel in reading Salvian's book that though he is thoroughly truthful and in deadly earnest, one must not accept as literal truth every point of the contrast which he draws between Roman immorality and Barbarian purity. As Tacitus in the 'Germania' undoubtedly sometimes paints up German freedom in order to render the slavery of Rome under Domitian more hateful by contrast; as the philosophers of last century drew many an arrow from the quiver of the Red Indian to discharge it against the rotten civilization of which France under Louis XV was the centre, so doubtless has Salvian sometimes used the German chastity, the German simplicity of life, to arouse a sense of shame in his Roman reader. Besides, he is preacher as well as man of letters. In reading his pages, one every now and then seems to hear his hand descend upon the rail of the *ambo* in the centre of the crowded cathedral; and at such a time it would be obviously indecorous to suggest a doubt whether a whole German nation could be literally described by one epithet of praise and a whole Roman province by another term of vituperation.

It must be added, moreover, that Salvian admits many blots on the character of his barbarian clients. 'Only,' as he contends, 'not one of these tribes is altogether vicious. If they have their vices they have also

Salvian's statements not to be accepted without qualification.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

virtues, clear, sharp, and well-defined. Whereas you, my beloved fellow-provincials, I regret to say, with the exception of a few holy men among you, are altogether bad. Your lives from the cradle to the grave are a tissue of rottenness and corruption, and all this notwithstanding that you have the sacred Scriptures in your hands, drawn from the purest sources and faithfully translated, while their sacred books have suffered all manner of interpolations and mistranslations at the hands of evil authors¹.

The following are the chief passages in which Salvian describes the special vices of the different barbarian races :—

The special
vices of the
barbarians.

‘The nation of the Saxons,’ he says, ‘is fierce, that of the Franks untrue, of the Gepidae inhuman, of the Huns immodest. In short, it may be said that the life of all the barbarous nations is a course of vice². But are their vices as blameable as ours? Is the immodesty of the Hun, the perfidy of the Frank, the drunkenness of the Alaman, the rapacity of the Alan, as blameworthy as similar crimes committed by Christians?’ [All of these were heathen, not Arian, nations.] ‘If the Hun or the Gepid deceive, what marvel, since the criminality

¹ ‘Eadem, inquis, legunt illi, quae leguntur a nobis. Quomodo eadem, quae ab auctoribus quondam malis et male sunt interpolata et male tradita? ac per hoc jam non eadem, quia non possunt penitus dici ipsa, quae sunt in aliqua parte vitata. . . . Nos ergo tantum scripturas sacras plenas, inviolatas, integras habemus, qui eas vel in fonte suo bibimus vel certe de purissimo fonte haustas per ministerium purae translationis haurimus’ (v. 2).

² ‘Gens Saxonum fera est, Francorum infidelis, Gepidarum inhumana, Chunorum impudica: omnium denique gentium barbararum vita vitiositas’ (iv. 14). This may be rather a concession for argument’s sake to an opponent than Salvian’s own deliberate judgment on the facts.

of falsehood is unknown to him? If the Frank perjure himself, is that strange, since he looks upon perjury as a mere fashion of speech, not a crime?' BOOK I.
CH. 20.

Then, side by side with the perjury of the Franks he places the new form of profanity, the oath 'per Christum,' which had come in among the Roman provincials. Profanity
of Gaulish
pro-
vincials. 'By Christ I will do this,' 'By Christ I say that,' were the perpetually recurring exclamations of the Christian inhabitants of Gaul. Nay, sometimes one heard, 'By Christ I will kill so-and-so,' or 'By Christ I will rob him of his property.' In one case it happened to Salvian himself to plead earnestly with some powerful personage that he would not take away from a poor man the last remnant of his substance. 'But he, already devouring the spoil with vehement desire, shot forth savage glances from his eyes against me, enraged at my daring to interfere, and said that it was now his religious duty, and one which he dared not neglect, to do the thing which I besought him not to do. I asked him "Why?" and he gave me the astounding answer, "Because I have sworn *per Christum* that I would take that man's property away from him¹."'

In another passage² he balances the virtues and vices of the chief races of the barbarians against one another in the following fashion:—'The nation of the Goths is perfidious but modest, that of the Alans immodest but less perfidious; the Franks are liars but hospitable, the Saxons wild with cruelty but to be admired for their chastity. All these nations, in short, have their especial good qualities as well as their peculiar vices.' Combining these two passages, and comparing them with hints

¹ iv. 15. Compare the allusions to this habit of swearing on all occasions in the sermons of Chrysostom. See p. 491. ² vii. 15.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

uttered in other parts of the book¹, we may conclude that, in the relations between the sexes, the Tartar hordes of Huns and Alani stood exceptionally low, and the Goths and Saxons exceptionally high, in the scale of sexual morality. Want of loyalty to solemn treaty-obligations was the chief fault attributed to both Franks and Goths by their Roman neighbours in Gaul. Peculiarly wild and savage cruelty was the besetting sin of our Saxon forefathers. Drunkenness was not then generally laid to their charge, as it was to that of the nation of the Alamanni, who occupied the region of the Black Forest and skirmished by the upper waters of the Rhine.

Salvian's
pictures of
Roman
society.

After all, however, Salvian's sketches of barbarian character, though the most frequently quoted parts of his book, are not so valuable as his distinct and carefully-coloured pictures, evidently drawn from the life, of Roman society and Roman institutions. How vividly he brings before us the debates of a *conventus* (or assembly of *notables*, to borrow a phrase from a much later period of French history) assembled for purposes of taxation in the capital of a Gaulish province.

The Con-
ventus.

'Messengers arrive express, bringing letters from the highest Sublimities' [the Emperors] 'which are addressed to a few illustrious persons, to work the ruin of the multitude. They meet: they decree certain additions to the taxes, but they do not pay those taxes themselves, they leave that to be done by the poor. Now, then, you rich men, who are so prompt in ordaining fresh taxes, I pray you be prompt likewise in

¹ E.g. 'Esse inter Gothos non licet scortatorem Gothum: soli inter eos praejudicio nationis et nominis permittuntur impuri esse Romani' (vii. 6).

paying them. Be foremost in the liberality of your contributions, as you are foremost in the liberality of your words. You have been paying long enough out of my pocket ; be good enough to pay now out of your own. . . . Does it seem unreasonable to complain that one class orders the taxes which have to be paid by another class ? The injustice of the proceeding is most evidently shown by the wrath of these same rich men, when by any chance taxes have been passed in their absence and without their consent. Then you shall hear them saying " What a shameful thing ! Two or three persons have ordered a levy which will be the ruin of thousands." Not a whisper of this before, when they were present at the assembly. All which plainly shows that it is a mere matter of pique with the rich that any important matter of taxation should be settled in their absence, and that they have no feeling of justice which would be offended by unrighteous edicts being passed in their presence.

' And as the poor are first to pay, so they are the last to be relieved. If it should happen, as it did on a late occasion, that the Supreme Powers [the Emperors] should, in consideration of the ruined state of the cities, decree a return of some part of the contribution of the Province, at once these rich men divide among themselves alone the gift which was meant to be for the solace of all. Who, then, remembers the poor ? Who, then, calls in the needy to share the imperial bounty ? When it was a question of laying on taxes, the poor were the only persons thought of. Now that it is a question of taking them off, it is conveniently forgotten that they are tax-payers at all. . . .

' In what other race of men would you find such

BOOK I. evils as these which are practised among the Romans?
CH. 20.

These ex-
actions not
practised
by the Bar-
barians,

Where else is there such injustice as ours? The Franks know nothing of this villainy. The Huns are clear of crimes like these. None of these exactions are practised among the Vandals, none among the Goths. So far are the barbarian Goths from tolerating frauds like these, that not even the Romans, who live under Gothic rule, are called upon to endure them. And hence the one wish of all the Romans in those parts is that it may never be necessary for them to pass under the Roman jurisdiction. With one consenting voice the lower orders of Romans put up the prayer that they may be permitted to spend their life, such as it is, alongside of the barbarians. And then we marvel that our arms should not triumph over the arms of the Goths, when our own countrymen would rather be with them than with us. . . .

whose land
therefore
became an
asylum for
refugees
from the
Empire.

‘Although the fugitives from the Empire differ in religion, differ in speech, differ even in habit of body from the barbarians, whose very smell, if I may say so, is offensive to the Provincial, yet they would rather put up with all this strangeness among the barbarians than submit any longer to the rampant tyranny of the Roman revenue officers. . . . And thus the name of Roman citizen, formerly so highly valued and even bought with a great price, is now voluntarily abandoned, nay, it is shunned; nay, it is regarded with abomination. . . . Hence it comes to pass that a large part of Spain, and not the smallest part of Gaul, is filled with men, Roman by birth, whom Roman injustice has de-Romanised¹.’

¹ This passage is taken from Book v, chaps. 7 and 8, freely rendered and combined with chap. 5.

Such was the fiscal condition of the provinces which remained to the Empire in the middle of the Fifth Century. How easily we could imagine, in listening to that description of a Gaulish *conventus*, that we had glided unconsciously over thirteen centuries, and were listening to the preparation of a *cahier*, setting forth the wrongs of the iniquitously-taxed *Tiers Etat* before the convocation of the States General.

The lamentable consequences of such exactions on the condition of the poorer classes are clearly traced in the pages of Salvian. The poor Provincial, who could not fly to the Goths because his whole property was in land, hunted to despair by the tax-gatherer, would transfer that land to some wealthy neighbour, apparently on condition of receiving a small life annuity out of it. He was then called the *dedititius* (or surrenderer) of the new owner, towards whom he stood in a position of a certain degree of dependence¹. Not yet, however, were his sorrows or those of his family at an end, for the tax-gatherer still regarded him as responsible for his land, and required the old amount of taxes at his hands. From the life-rent for which he had covenanted he might possibly be able to satisfy this demand, but on his death his sons, who had utterly lost their paternal inheritance, and still found themselves confronted with the claim for taxes, were obviously without resource. The next stage of the process accordingly was that they abdicated the position of free citizens and implored the great man

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

Downward
steps in
the course
of the
small pro-
vincial
land-
owner.

Dedititius.

¹ In the Institutes of Justinian the Dedititii are defined as the third and lowest class of Liberti, 'Sed Dedititiorum quidem pessima conditio jam ex multis temporibus in desuetudinem abiit,' and it is accordingly abolished (i. 5. 3).

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

Colonus.

Servus.

Cruel
treatment
of slaves.

to accept them as *coloni*, a class of labourers, half-free, half-enslaved, who may perhaps with sufficient accuracy be compared to the serfs *adscripti glebas* of the middle ages. But they had already begun to drink, as Salvian says, of the Circean cup of bondage, and they could not stay the transforming process. Before long they became mere slaves (*servi*), without a shadow of right or claim against their new lords. Such was the downward course by which the free Roman landholder was changed into the mere beast of burden of some rich noble who was influential enough to hold at bay for himself the ruinous visits of the tax-gatherer¹.

Of the condition of the slaves themselves, Salvian draws a melancholy picture. Insufficiently supplied by their avaricious masters with the bare necessities of life, they were almost compelled to rob in order to keep soul and body together², and the masters, however they might affect to blame their thievish habits, knew in their secret hearts that no other resource was left to them. Even when the master himself was tolerably kind-hearted, the common herd of slaves suffered torment from the fellow-slaves who were set over them. The steward, the driver, the confidential valet, were so many petty tyrants who made the life of the poor drudge, whether in the house or in the field, well-nigh unendurable. Sometimes, in desperation, a slave would fly from his fellow-slaves to their common master, and

¹ v. 8, 9.

² In the Theodosian Code, iv. 8. 2, it is ordained that a slave who proves his right to freedom, shall restore to his late master 'quae de furtivis compendiis obscure capta ac pasta sunt.' It was, therefore, a recognised fact that the slave's peculium was mainly made up of his pilferings from his master.

would find a shade more of compassion from him than from them ¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

The spirit of injustice, and hard, un pitying selfishness, according to Salvian, pervaded all classes. The prefect looked upon his prefecture as a mere source of plunder ². The life of the merchant was one long tissue of fraud and perjury, that of the *curiales* (burghesses) of injustice, that of the officials of calumny, that of the soldiers of plunder ³.

All pervading spirit of injustice.

The long indictment against the Empire, of which only a few counts are here transcribed, may be closed by Salvian's description of the fall of the two cities of Trier and Carthage, the capitals of the two great provinces of Gaul and Africa. Of both cities he seems to speak from personal knowledge. He resided many years at the former, and a hint which he lets fall makes it probable that he had at least visited the latter.

Three times had Trier, 'the most opulent city in Gaul,' been besieged and taken by the barbarians. Still it repented not of its evil ways. The gluttony, the wine-bibbing, the immersion in carnal delights ceased not; and it was a special characteristic of the place that in all these degrading pleasures old men took the lead. Some of the citizens perished of cold, some of hunger; the naked bodies lay at the head of all the streets, and 'death exhaled new death.' Still the hoary sinners sinned on; and, after the third sack of the city, a few of the oldest, and by birth the noblest among them, petitioned the Emperor for shows in the

Calamities of Trier and unrepentant state of that city.

¹ iv. 3.

² 'Quid aliud quorundam, quos taceo, *præfectura quam praeda?*'
iv. 4.

³ iii. 10.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

amphitheatre (*circenses*) by way of consolation for their losses. The theatrical and amphitheatrical performances of that age, idolatrous in their origin and unspeakably immoral in their tendency, always excited the opposition of an earnest ecclesiastic¹, and one of the most eloquent passages in the whole book is that in which Salvian rebukes this request of the nobles of Trier for such exhibitions.

Cry for
'Circenses.'

'Citizens of Trier, do you ask for games? and that, when your country has been laid waste, when your city has been taken, after the bloodshed, the tortures, the captivity and all the calamities of your ruined town? What can be imagined more pitiable than such folly? I confess I thought you of all men most miserable when I heard of the destruction of your city; but I think you more miserable now when you are begging for games. . . . So then, oh man of Trier! thou askest for public amusements. Where, pray, shall they be celebrated? Over tombs, over ashes, over the bones and the blood of the slain? What part of the city is free from these dread sights? Everywhere is the appearance of a sacked city, everywhere the horror of captivity, everywhere the image of death. . . . The city is black with her burning, and wilt thou put on the sleek face of the merry-maker? All around thee mourns, and wilt thou rejoice? Nay, more, wilt thou with thy flagitious delights provoke the Most High, and draw down the wrath of God upon thee by the vilest idolatries? I do not wonder now, I do not wonder that all these evils have befallen thee. For if three

¹ Apparently the words of the Baptismal Service, 'Abrenuntio diabolo, pompis, *spectaculis* et operibus ejus,' were understood as containing a special reference to the shows of the amphitheatre (vi. 6).

catastrophes failed to correct thee, thou deservedst to perish by the fourth¹.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

In yet stronger colours does this prophet of the Fifth Century paint the magnificence, the sins, and the downfall of Carthage: Carthage, which had risen again from the dust to be the rival of the towers of Rome; Carthage, rich in all the appliances of the highest civilization, in schools of art, in schools of rhetoric, in schools of philosophy; Carthage, the focus of law and government for the continent of Africa, the head-quarters of the troops, the seat of the Proconsul. In this city were to be found all the nicely graduated orders of the Roman official hierarchy, so that it was scarcely too much to say that every street, every square had its own proper governor. Yet this was the city of which the great African, Augustine, had said, 'I came from my native town to Carthage, and everywhere around me roared the furnace of unholy love².' And too plainly does the language of Salvian, after all allowance made for rhetorical exaggeration, show what Augustine was thinking of when he wrote those words. Houses of ill-fame swarming in each street and square, and haunted by men of the highest rank, and what should have been venerable age; chastity outside the ranks of the clergy a thing unknown and unbelieved, and by no means universal within that enclosure; the darker vices, the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah, practised, avowed, gloried in—such is the picture which the Gaulish presbyter

Magnificence and wickedness of Carthage.

¹ vi. 15.

² 'Veni Carthaginem et circumstrepebat me undique sartago flagitiosorum amorum,' Confessions, iii. 1.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

draws of the capital of Africa¹. Perhaps the weight of his testimony is slightly lessened when he complains in a later passage² of the hatred which existed in Carthage against monks, so that when one of that order of men appeared with his pale face and tonsured head in the streets of the city, abuse and execration were wont to arise from the inhabitants against him. The description is so vivid, and Salvian's picture of the vices of the citizens is so black, as to suggest the possibility that he himself, as an ecclesiastic visiting Carthage from Marseilles, had once been subjected to one of these outbursts of fury. But the chief facts to which he bears witness were too notorious to admit of falsification, and are moreover too well confirmed by other evidence.

Purifying
influence
of Vandal
Conquest.

Into this City of Sin marched the Vandal army, one might almost say, when one reads the history of their doings, the army of the Puritans. With all their cruelty and all their greed they kept themselves unspotted by the licentiousness of the splendid city. They banished the men who were earning their living by ministering to the vilest lusts. They rooted out prostitution with a wise yet not a cruel hand. In short, Carthage, under the rule of the Vandals, was a city transformed, barbarous but moral³.

Rome fell
because she
had proved
untrue to
the Aryan
traditions
of family-
life.

The pages of Salvian's treatise are unrelieved by one gleam of brightness or of hope, and it is therefore of necessity a somewhat dreary book to read or to comment upon. But drearier than anything which he has written would be the thought that such a fabric as the Roman Empire, so splendid a creation

¹ vii. 16, 17.

² viii. 4.

³ vii. 20-22.

of the brain of man, an organization upon the whole so beneficial to the human race, could have perished without an adequate moral cause. That cause he gives us, the deep corruption of life and manners in the Roman world. At the same time he truly remarks that this taint was not found in the genuine old Roman character, but was imported into it from Greece¹. Looking back through the mists of pre-historic time we can dimly discern the Aryan progenitors of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Goths cherishing certain religious beliefs and certain ideas of a strong and pure morality which guarded the sanctity of the home. The Teutons, when they descended upon the dying Empire, still preserved that precious Aryan inheritance intact. The Greeks had long since lost it or bartered it away for other gifts, the products of their delicious climate, their sensibility to artistic impressions, an analytical intellect and a capacity for boundless doubt. In later ages Rome, influenced by her Hellenic sister, had lost it too; and the corruption of her great cities showed in all its hideousness the degradation which might be achieved by a civilization without morality and without God.

One of her own poets had said, 'Abeunt studia in mores²,' or as we might express it, 'Literature colours morality.' It is almost a truism to say that the maxim might be thus developed, 'Morals colour politics.' The character and actions of the individual must affect the character and actions of the community; the more or less of righteousness and purity in the

¹ 'Romani, sed non antiqui, jam scilicet corrupti, jam dissoluti, jam sibi ac suis dispares et Graecis quam Romanis similiores,' vii. 20.

² Ovid, *Heroides*, Ep. xv. 83.

BOOK I.
CH. 20.

citizen influences for good or for evil the duration of the State. By fraud, by injustice, by power abused, by an utter want of sympathy between the classes of society, by a generally diffused 'recklessness of unclean living,' even more than by the blows of the barbarians, fell the commonwealth of Rome.

END OF VOL. I.

Stanford University Libraries



3 6105 004 926 288

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-9201
All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

APR 28 1994
F/S JUN 30 1994

